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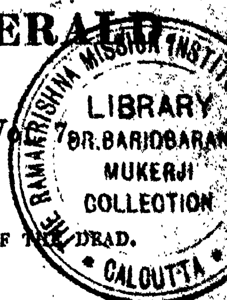
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ON THE RESPECT DUE TO THE MEMORY OF THE DEAD.

De mortuis nil nisi bonum.

It would be easy enough to choose gayer topics than those we sometimes delight to dwell upon; for society has at least as many comic as tragic features. But perhaps a careful examination of our present literature may show, that of all subjects for speculation, those that really come home to men's business and bosoms, and have a relation to the lead and bearing of the mind, are least laboured by periodical writers. Whether our authors find it easier to seem original, in the short flights they allow themselves, by clothing the transient events of the day in commonplace imagery and quaint expression, than to interest by endeavouring to lift the minds of their readers above ordinary and vulgar associations, we cannot tell; but it is very certain that the great majority of them rise very little above trifling. Being not at all ambitious of invading their province, and having, perhaps, a secret predilection for very different subjects, we generally strike into a more laborious course, and trust to the common light of truth for making it agreeable.

Our present subject, the respect due to the memory of the dead, has a very deep-rooted, general interest,—an interest in which every man more or less sensibly shares, and which, if well considered, will be allowed to have given rise very naturally to the maxim we have chosen for our motto. Whenever, in general society, the dead are made the topic of conversation, a disposition to censure lightly their faults and errors, and to enhance their merits and agreeable qualities, is observable in most men; and, indeed, the contrary would, for the most part, be regarded as exceedingly unamiable and savage. A disposition so generally prevalent must have some grounds in our common nature; what these are, it is our present business to enquire.

Man is naturally magnanimous, and, in general, drops all hatred, and even envy, the most persevering of all passions, as soon as their object is prostrated and rendered powerless by misfortune or death; his feelings regarding the grave, in most cases, as an asylum to which humanity may retire unmolested from the struggles, and trials, and sufferings, and bitter remembrances of life. "There the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest"! Perhaps our rival or our enemy, had he fallen into our power, would not have appeared to deserve any punishment approaching in severity the loss of life; perhaps he might have been forgiven;

and, therefore, when death has stepped into the arena, and laid our adversary at our feet, we should experience, in siding with this king of terrors, a feeling of injustice and pusillanimity, and appear to be bearding the dead lion. It happens, too, very frequently, that we contend with only a portion of a man's character, with his love of power, with his petulance, with his pride, overlooking, for the time, his generosity and other amiable qualities; but when the contest is closed by death, when our fears and our jealousies are for ever extinguished, and the medium thus removed through which only the man appeared detestable, we begin to wonder at and repent of our former opposition, and to say within ourselves: "He was, after all, a much better man than we thought him."

The petty insults and injuries that disturb the tranquillity of private life, intrusted to so frail a chronicle as the memory, soon sink into oblivion, unless where, as in Arabia, the *lex talionis* perpetuates their remembrance. But to such as carry their reflections but a very short way into futurity, the fame or infamy that survives them in their little circle appears of some consequence; to their surviving friends it is of as much as if it were to be engraven on the forehead of renown to make the circle of eternity. The paltry vices, for example, and mean tyranny of a country magistrate, however vexatious to his contemporaries, can be of no moment to posterity; they will, therefore, assuredly be forgotten in much less than a century; but the reflection that the happiness of his children and friends must be deeply affected by the good or bad name he may leave behind, will have influence, as often as such a reflection is made, upon the magistrate's conduct; and would have more, if he saw ignominy more constantly following in the track of crime. But, in general, men have very little temptation to brand with infamy the memory of the dead; it is so much labour, they think, in vain; and when the first bursts of resentment or indignation have exhausted themselves to no purpose, it would appear to them as rational to make war with the elements, as to continue to triumph over an inmate of the grave.

By forbearing to do what they very well know to be useless, politic men likewise expect to obtain the reputation of generosity and greatness of mind; they do not exult, not they, over a prostrate foe; they respect the sanctity of the tomb; their enemy is gone to answer before the last tribunal for his actions; religion forbids them to urge their hatred beyond the precincts of hell or heaven. This has weight with mankind. The true secret, however, of their moderation is, they fear no further opposition from the dead. There is another reason which makes men tender of the privileges of death: they are conscious of failings in themselves, and know that they must die; it may be their own turn next, they think, to undergo the sifting of envy, or to encounter the searching eye of justice; their consciences whisper what must be the result; they tremble for their good name, and endeavour to soften the rigour of posterity by affecting forbearance for their predecessors.

By the softness of their nature, many, in reality, are backward to utter censure, however well merited; they view even the vices of mankind with pity; and mercy appears to them the most divine of all attributes. We are all, perhaps, interested in impressing upon each other the value of a merciful disposition, as it is the lot of all occasionally to need forgiveness; but that unwillingness to wound the feelings of mischievous

individuals, or of their family after their death, is a[illegible]favourable to the general good, may very justly be questioned. Fear is a much more powerful principle than gratitude, and operates more promptly and universally; and, therefore, sternness and rigour are more natural allies to virtue than extreme mildness and mercy. Poets may be allowed to enhance, by the splendour of metaphors and similes, the loveliness of mercy, and tell us that

It droppeth like the gentle dew from heaven !

but reason would never disenthrone justice to put mercy in its place. It is at best but a kind of handmaid to justice, and may sometimes be permitted to intercede for the criminal. Of all the virtues, justice, perhaps, is least popular; it is, in its nature, awful, and sublime, and unbending, and self-sufficient; it is incessantly surrounded by toil, and watchfulness, and self-denial; but, in the midst of these terrible satellites, it maintains a perpetual serenity. In these circumstances of justice we discover the reason why truly great men are seldom objects of love to the multitude, who are awed by the severity of virtue, but reserve their affection for easy, complying dispositions. In illustration of this truth, we have frequently observed in conversation the effect produced upon ordinary minds by Sallust's contrasted pictures of Cato and Cæsar: the "malis pernicies," the "nihil largiendo," the "malebat esse, quam videri, bonus," of the former, all characteristics of justice, have received but a cold approbation tinctured with dislike; while the "clarus factus mansuetudine, et *miserecordia*," the "*dando*, sublevando, *ignoscendo*," of Cæsar, have diffused a glow of satisfaction through the heart. This we have considered a silent confession that they would have stood better with the urbane forgiving tyrant, than with the honest but stern republican, who, in being the "malis pernicies," was the object of their aversion.

Owing to a false tenderness for the dead, or, more generally, perhaps, a real tenderness for the living, we seldom find the genuine characters of men depicted in their epitaphs, which are generally nothing more than

Sepulchral lies our holy walls to grace.

Under proper regulations, a tomb-stone might be made a kind of Rhadamanthus, and give sentence upon the ashes deposited beneath with inexorable justice. Were this the case, we might read the history of a country's morals in its burying-grounds, or on the walls of its churches; and might learn to calculate the degrees of influence which the country and the city exert upon men's virtue. But, at present, what woful havoc would not truth make with the vocabulary of tomb-stone-cutters! For our part, we have sometimes been unable to repress a sad smile, when, taking shelter from sun or shower under the lugubrious yews of some country church-yard, we have perused at leisure the encomiums of those faithless historians, the tombs! According to their accounts, we were treading on the ashes of saints and sages, who, with Berkeley, had "every virtue under heaven." In one instance, some of our own intimates were there, but so bedecked by the rural sculptor with virtues and fine qualities, from the same principle that humble affection strews flowers over the grave, that we with difficulty recognised them. Not that they had by any means been bad men; far from it; but while

they were harmless, they were insignificant, never having given themselves the trouble to exert the energies of virtue.

Many persons conceive they are greatly benefiting the cause of public virtue by endeavouring to eternize the memory of a late honest politician, whose life it seems was every way irreproachable. But, although he could have been no ordinary man, who was able to behave with firmness and without reproach in public and private life, not having united genius with innocence, he was no subject for fame. Men have no permanent sympathy for any thing but intellectual power, and experience a feeling of burlesque as often as they attempt to attach eminent importance to qualities merely amiable; such attributes never being the ground of great reputation, or impressing upon mankind that sense of awe and admiration which is ever the effect of intellectual greatness. Socrates is not considered the pattern of humanity for his patient bearing towards Xantippe, for his goodness as a father, as a friend, as a citizen; in these respects, many, perhaps, whom fame never heard of, have equalled him; he is looked upon as the first of men, because, to an incomparable genius, he united the energy of active virtue, with passion and dignity, and indifference for riches, and poverty, and death. His character was divine, because his virtues were the offspring, not of natural instincts or tendencies, but of genius and study; of that genius which generated the minds of Plato, of Xenophon, of Aristotle; that is, carried human nature as far as intellect can carry it. One may easily perceive by this the folly of attempting to excite an artificial enthusiasm for an inferior individual, whether before or after death; his portion is and should be oblivion.

Every prejudice in society may be traced more or less immediately to government, and among others the irrational respect thought to be due to the dead. Princes not very distinguished in general for virtue, feel from the eminences of their station a peculiar repugnance to scrutiny, and consider attacks upon a predecessor as nothing less than the first approaches of envy, as they term it, towards their own persons. But if the sovereign protects his own immediate ancestors from deserved censure, he can, with no face of justice, refuse the same privilege to his courtiers; to render his protection effectual he must procure the sanction of the laws: thus the principle is acknowledged, and it henceforth becomes criminal to speak the truth of any respectable villain. This is the true source of that trembling anxiety with which the memory of the dead is watched in monarchical governments, being a consequence of that principle which makes truth a libel. As it is only an ingenious expedient to screen the vices of the prince, it should have no existence in a free country, in which virtue ought ever to be valued above peace; and as virtue is generated by praise and emulation, it must necessarily languish where it is confounded by the laws with vice and immorality, by being inclosed within the same pale of protection. It is said, and of course very truly, that although the laws in monarchical governments forbid men to express their real sentiments of each other, they have no power to force them into wrong conceptions of character, and that thus virtue is actually respected and vice detested *in spite of the laws*. This is saying nothing more than that the laws have no power over our *thoughts*; but it is because we dare not speak what we *do* think that these laws are vicious and tyrannical. High personages, as we have seen, such as kings and ministers, have their vices protected by the laws even after death;

to expose their faults, to show what they were, to say to mankind, "these were the gods ye worshipped!" is libellous, either because it is said to bring the government into contempt, or to tend to disturb the "king's peace." History itself lowers its voice and treads softly, as it draws near present times, lest it should provoke the notice of the Attorney-General, be fined, and sent to the King's Bench prison to reflect upon the matter.

All this is a strong indication that the love of fame and dread of infamy act very powerfully on the minds of princes, though the love of pleasure and dominion is found, in the greater number, to be still more powerful. They are flattered too by the hope of eluding obloquy by cunning devices, such as keeping in pay poet-laureates, historiographers, news-writers, &c., who, with the nicest sophistry, gild over their crimes, and convert their frailties and follies into subjects of praise and congratulation. One monarch makes petticoats with peculiar neatness for the Virgin Mary; another is a connoisseur in coat-making; a third fishes with great felicity; a fourth understands to perfection the composition of soups and ragouts. This is matter of praise during the lifetime of the illustrious cooks and fishermen: as, while Nero and Domitian lived, it was matter of praise that the former was an amateur actor and poet, and the latter an expert fly-catcher; but the most loyal writer living does not now go out of his way to sing the praises of those old legitimates for the above-mentioned princely accomplishments, though, in a reigning monarch, they would strain hard to find something laudable in such practices. However, as we said, the mere fact of princes maintaining a *menagerie* of poets, newsmongers, and historians, to display their magnificence, is a proof that they are unwilling to be branded with infamy after death, to leave behind them a name odious to the ears of men, and inserted in the Index Expurgatorius of renown. From this hint mankind might draw a useful lesson. Kings of past ages are free game: their vices are not sacred; William the Norman, or Louis XI., or Richard III., may be held up to execration with impunity. Let men carry their reflections into futurity, and imagine they hear the judgments of their remote descendants; it will considerably dispel the mist through which they always look at present objects.

Coarse matter-of-fact reasoners contend, we are aware, that nothing short of the dread of personal punishment can deter the powerful from crime. But princes, they perceive, are most anxious to transmit the power they possess to their offspring, and also are persuaded that all power is engrafted on opinion; their reason, therefore, must inform them that the fortunes of their race will depend very much upon their present conduct and the reputation they shall leave behind them; and although their unchastened passions, and the insolence of sovereignty, often lead them into the most shameless excesses, it is clear, from their solicitude to ward off its point, that they consider fame to be the weapon which God has put into the hands of mankind to avenge themselves on their tyrants. A prince, succeeding to a wicked father, must read in the ambiguous countenances of all around him, in spite of the *jussus vultus* for which courtiers are celebrated, that he is viewed, like the dawn that follows a tempestuous night, with doubt and awe; and if ever he visits the tombs of his forefathers, must shudder to think that the dust before him, the parental dust, though cased in marble, and covered by trophies

and monuments of glory, is execrated by his people, who long in their hearts to trample it in the dunghill, as the most hateful offal of humanity. When the Romans dragged the mangled carcase of Nero through the streets, the reigning Emperor might have read the fate, under similar circumstances, of his own remains; and it is the fellow-feeling, produced by a reflection of this kind, that has induced so many sovereigns to be respectful to the corses of their deceased enemies. It is certain, then, that princes are bitterly stung by the odium cast upon the memory of departed tyrants; their hearts sicken at the bare mention of Caligula and Elagabalus. How much more if such men had been their own ancestors, their immediate predecessors, their fathers! Let such reasoners imagine in their own hands a sceptre haunted by the associations that would unavoidably arise in such a case, and they will hardly doubt so pertinaciously the influence of fame.

The desire, indeed, of posthumous reputation is natural to all men, and is a powerful auxiliary to virtue; but to an acute observer the value of this reputation must appear considerably diminished, when it is seen with how little regard to truth and justice fame is sometimes bestowed. For if the mind be warmed by the reflection that, in spite of time and death, it shall leave the remembrance of its excellence impressed upon the hearts and memories of men, its hopes are also shocked and checked when it considers the characters of its associates, and their slight claim to be exempt from oblivion. The mansion of fame appears under this view an immense granary, in which the chaff of humanity is preserved with as much care as the grain. If we would winnow this chaff away. it can only be done by respecting the claims of truth; in short, by calling men, whether dead or living, by their right appellations. We owe therefore, no respect to the dead, because they are dead, but only inasmuch as they were respectable when living; consequently, the maxim "de mortuis nil nisi bonum," is wicked and pernicious.

ANACREONTIC—FROM THE ARABIC.

Sparkling nectar! sparkling nectar!
Cool my lip, and calm my grief,
Come thou glowing
Draught, and flowing
To my heart's wound, bring relief.

She who wounds me, she who wounds me,
Dwells in groves of blossom'd scents,
Where, though veiling
Her assailing
Eyes, they kill with pestilence.

But her ruby, but her ruby
Lips the remedy contain—
Wine and fragrant
Myrrh the vagrant
Spirit call to life again.

PICTURE OF THE NATIVE GOVERNMENT OF HYDERABAD, BY AN EYE-WITNESS.

THE real condition of the native states of India, whether independent, or enjoying what is called British protection, is at any time but imperfectly known to European readers. Recent inquiries respecting the state of Hyderabad, arising out of the transactions developed in the Papers lately printed by order of the Proprietors of India stock, have, perhaps, made some Englishmen better acquainted with the affairs of that Native Government than with those of any other in the East; and the interest excited by such knowledge appears to have induced a strong wish for more. It is true, that these Official Papers, and Mr. Russell's printed Letter, which appeared about the same period, have exposed much that was before hidden, and which, but for the motion of Mr. Kinnaird for the production of the first, would probably never have seen the light. We hear, also, that there is more than one work preparing for the press on the subject of the transactions between the Nizam's Government and the British authorities at Hyderabad and Calcutta. All this, as it promotes publicity, must do good; for all that is required to obtain universal condemnation of the system by which states under British protection are governed in the East, is to make the evils of which it is so productive universally known. With this impression, we give insertion to the following article, from the pen of an intelligent observer, who drew the sad picture which it presents of the state of things at Hyderabad, about the period at which the discussions respecting the loans to that state were commencing; and who, being unable to publish it in India, from his being at a Presidency where the censorship existed in full force, reserved it in his portfolio until a favourable opportunity might occur for its appearance in England. That period has now arrived, and it has been accordingly transmitted to us for publication: an example which, we hope, will be followed by many other retired Indians in England, who must have similar materials in their possession relating to other parts of India, and who, by making them public in a similar manner, would have the happiness of contributing, without much exertion, to the improvement of India, and the consequent advantage of England; benefiting at once the country from which they have acquired their fortunes, and the country to which they have retired to enjoy them.

The sovereign power of the Hyderabad state is nominally vested in the Nizam. As, however, the whole military power, both there and in the surrounding country, is under the control of the British Government, the sovereignty is covertly, but substantially, exercised under its authority. The Nizam is a huge, fat, lazy, effeminate man; a sort of hermaphrodite. He is devoted to sensual and Cyprian habits. His physical powers are enervated, and his mental faculties destroyed by debauchery. This prince seldom quits his seraglio, from whence he issues his mandates, which are usually communicated by women. He never holds a durbar (or audience) but when it is deemed unavoidable. The Subah feels a jealous suspicion towards his relations, and seldom receives his sons except on the 1st day

of the Mohammedan year. His authority, both legislative and judicial, is entirely controlled by the British Resident; and even the Native nobility barely acknowledge the supremacy of their lawful sovereign.

The British Resident, being far removed from the Supreme Government, it is by them, perhaps, thought necessary to grant him large power; and since this power is not direct, but carried on by influence, he exercises a delegated sovereignty, and is in reality almost absolute.

The Resident's measures are carried into execution by the Nizam's Minister, whose chief aim seems to be to delude his Prince, and to extort money from his fellow-subjects. He has thus contrived to abolish the office of treasurer, and to devote the whole amount of the revenue to the payment of the current expenses; so that the Nizam has now no means left, except such as are deposited in his private treasury at Golcondah. It is this poverty of his public treasury which places him at the *mercy* of British protection.

The taxes are imposed, and the revenues are collected, in the most arbitrary manner possible. Extortion and corruption prevail among all classes, from the Minister and his associates down to the landlord and the peasant. If a jagheerdar, or land-owner, becomes rich, he is called upon to pay a heavy tribute to the state. The jagheerdar, to throw this burden from his own shoulders, endeavours, by persuasion or violent measures, to screw the money out of the pockets of the poor ryots or cultivators. Should he fail in this, he then defies the Minister, and breaks into open rebellion; or, if secured before he escapes, he is hurried off to the capital, there to be incarcerated in a dungeon, and to undergo every degree of torture, till he satisfies the Minister's demand, or expires under the infliction of punishment.

The ryots or cultivators, in their turn, experience the same treatment from the jagheerdars or land-owners. When the ryots fall into arrear of rents, whether from the failure of their crops, or from excessive assessment, they are treated with the most barbarous cruelty. It would be in vain for them to think of redress: there is no hope even of this for the poor. Tyranny drives them to despair, and they can only be released from their sufferings by the payment of money which they do not possess. Reduced to this condition, they often fly to the hills, and there embrace a savage life, in order to escape from the evils of a more degraded and a more suffering state. They there enlist under some desperate chief, who has become obnoxious to the Minister, from his talents, his intrigue, or his valour. Under this adventurer they make excursions, and rob the villages throughout the country. The jagheerdars themselves frequently connive at these depredations, and receive a share of the spoil taken even from their own tenants. It cannot be matter of wonder that, under such a system, the people should be vicious and unruly; the wonder rather is, that men should suffer so patiently as they do, without desperate and bloody resistance, under a Government where not even the shadow of justice can be obtained, where the life of any person may be purchased for the smallest sum, and where crimes of the deepest die, not excepting even murder, may be redeemed by bribery or fine.

In a country, over the whole face of which such vices as these prevail, it may readily be conceived that the metropolis is the point to which they converge. Accordingly we find that the city of Hyderabad is the

very focus of sin, and the Sodom of modern Asia: the result of all this misgovernment is, that the people are rapidly degenerating into a state of nature, as far as lawless disorder can be so called, with the additional evil of having all the vices of civilization engrafted on their savage propensities.

To assist the finances of the state, and to support the sinking fortunes of individuals, a bank has been established at Hyderabad. It is conducted by Mr W. Palmer, a gentleman who inherits the virtue and talent of his family. This bank lends money at high interest to the needy renters of land and others on mortgage; and for sums advanced to the Government it gets assignments on the revenue. By these transactions the bank has been said to realize 32 per cent. within one year; though at the same time it has contributed to ease the calamities to which this groaning nation has been subjected.

A defective system is the first cause, and the abuse of patronage, perhaps, the secondary cause of this misrule. In this country, as in almost every other in the East, may be seen abundant instances of the bad effect of tempting any man with too much power. In the distribution of the large patronage of such a state as this, which comprises nearly all the lucrative situations belonging to it, there must be much temptation to serve friends and relatives, favourers and flatterers, as well as strangers and honest men. The Officers employed on the Hyderabad establishment receive large salaries. The East India Company pay and pension them, though they are serving another state, the Company taking care, however, to be well secured for their doing so. The Nizam, too, pays them exorbitantly. To conceal this last fact from him, many of the Officers formerly received large presents in lieu of pay; but no sooner had the Nizam discovered this trick, for it deserved no other name, than another equally productive, and not less ingenious, was substituted in its place. In lieu of receiving presents, Officers are now borne on his Highness's establishment, and receive salaries, not as British Officers, but as elephant-men, camel-men, bullock-men, and so on. Whether there are any Officers on this potentate's establishment, whose names are entered as filling the more confidential and exalted stations of eunuchs of the seraglio, does not appear; but such offices would be quite as dignified and equally appropriate.

In the year 1815, a disturbance took place in the city of Hyderabad, which is little known; though some of its features are curious, history furnishes us with too many instances in which expensive and bloody wars have arisen out of frivolous events. The present was a memorable example of this connexion between great events and little causes. By it the Nizam's Government was put to a large expense.[1] The subsidiary force was moved from Jaulnah to the capital, and many men were killed to support the dignity of an English functionary, which was offended in the person of his *tailor!*

The origin and management of this war were as follows:—The Nizam's third son, Moobarrick-Ud-Dowlah, surnamed Hyder Ali Khan, confined the tailor of an English Officer for pertinaciously insisting on the payment of certain revenue, seized by a friend of the young Prince's, but justly due

[1] Perhaps three lacs of rupees.

to this tailor, on account of some lands that had been assigned to him, as a reward, it is presumed, for his *professional* services. Hyder Ali Khan bears the character of a licentious and tyrannical individual, and has often caused disturbances ending in blood in this unhappy city. The English Officer being admitted into "the presence," as it is called, demanded the release of his tailor. The Nizam ordered him to be set free accordingly, and even presented him with a shawl, in open durbar,—an honour conferred only on persons of the highest distinction, and promised him that a guard of his own should in future mount over Moobarrick-Ud-Dowlah, or Hyder Ali Khan, to keep him under restraint, and prevent further violence. Hyder Ali Khan soon after, with great justice, upbraided his father for subjecting him to such dishonourable treatment as this, abandoning his son to gratify the pride and insolence of foreigners—meaning the English. Being determined, however, to revenge his own wrongs, he engaged his uncle, Mahna Sahib and his son to assist him. He then barricaded all the houses, and placed matchlock-men, good marksmen, on the tops of those leading to the palace; and ordered all who might object to allow his troops to occupy their houses to be brought to him, that they might be beheaded! Matters being thus arranged, the Russell Brigade, under Captain Hare, marched into the city, with orders to place a guard over Moobarrick-Ud-Dowlah at all hazards. The British were vigorously resisted. They forced the Prince's troops, however, to retire within his palace; but from thence a heavy fire was poured on the Brigade. The British at length blew open the gate, and fired the palace, but could not force the entry of the inner court. Foiled in their object, the British retired, and were followed by the Prince's men as far as the house of Chundoo Loll the Minister. Captain Darbay, one non-commissioned officer, and twelve men, were killed in this affray. A large detachment was then sent for from Secundrabad to support further efforts. Meanwhile, Muneer-ul-Moolk, the Nizam's brother-in-law, and nominal minister, sent to the Resident to request that the troops might not enter the city, and to say that the Prince would consent to take a guard. Hyder Ali Khan, however, haughtily spurned at the insulting idea of having a guard of English troops placed over the Subah's son! The troops were accordingly withdrawn; but no sooner had the British retired from the city, than Hyder Ali Khan sent to his Royal Father to say, that to *him*, and to him *only*, would he submit. The Subah sent his palanqueen for him; but the Prince, instead of going in it, rode through the city in triumph, and was hailed and blessed by the people till he reached the palace of his lawful sovereign. This, however, was a triumph and an insult to the British pride not easily to be forgiven; and, accordingly, ever since that proud day, Hyder Ali Khan has been immured in the fortress of Golcondah, there to mourn in solitude the dependence of his country, and to curse the effects of that despotism which he himself had practised with such passionate delight.

Let us turn, however, from scenes of war to the no less painful scenes of oppression. The subjects have an affinity, and the transition from one to the other is according to the usual order of events. The first act of oppression, in point of time, and not the least in guilt, was the murder of several men in consequence of an attempt that was made to rob the British Resident. This gentleman, while travelling, was attacked by ban-

ditti. In the scuffle he fortunately succeeded in vaulting on horseback behind a trooper of his escort, and escaped unhurt. On his arrival at Hyderabad, he represented to the Nizam's Government the danger to which he had been exposed, and very properly desired that the culprits might be sought after, and punished as they might prove to deserve. Upon this the royal mandate was given, that a certain number of men, of questionable or suspected character, should be seized and hung in the neighbourhood of the place where the British Resident was assaulted! Several men were accordingly arrested, and, without even the *form* of a trial, were executed on the spot! It is true that these murders were committed entirely by the Nizam's Government. But if this be the manner in which they repay what is called British protection, what must be their opinion of English feelings and English notions of justice, and from whence do they derive them?

The next act of tyranny to be noticed is that of two untried, and therefore, at least to be presumed, innocent men, who were actually flogged to death! These men were accused of having committed a robbery in or near the Residency at Hyderabad, and without any trial whatever they were sentenced to be flogged. They were accordingly flogged by drummers belonging to an English regiment, and actually died of the punishment!

The confinement of Seetah Ramiah, a cousin of the head-writer of the honourable Arthur Cole, the British Resident at Mysore, was accompanied by circumstances of extraordinary cruelty. This Brahmin was, without any trial whatever, thrust into a black-hole, and kept there, according to some accounts, two, and according to others, four days, without food or water! Under this privation he sunk so low, that the Subadar of the guard reported that the prisoner was dying. The doctor was then sent to the prison to give the dying man food and water, and he remained with him till midnight; but Seetah Ramiah was so reduced, that for two days he was speechless. When he got a little better, he was sent to Chundoo Loll, to be by him confined. After remaining some time in the Minister's custody, he was again taken ill, having had nothing to eat but some fruit, which a fellow-prisoner had given him. Chundoo Loll then found that there was no just cause of complaint against Seetah Ramiah, and that he was dying; he therefore ordered him to be released, especially as great odium would fall on him if a Brahmin should die while under his charge. Seetah Ramiah was then released accordingly: and thus the affair ended. Acts such as these, namely, arbitrary confinements, cruel punishments, and even official murders, often take place without their being made public. Even in the city itself, when they are known there, they create a sensation for a day, and pass away to give place to new tales of cruelty: but their permanent influence necessarily corrupts the understanding, and renders the hearts of men callous to deeds of wrong, till at last they become habituated to oppression; and crimes, at first horrid to contemplate, become in their estimation consistent with the custom and the law!

Another very aggravated case of false imprisonment is that of Screenevasrow. This man was a native servant of the Commissariat, and was confined on *suspicion* of having been concerned in a conspiracy to de-

from the public. The case of Screenevasrow was first discussed in a court of inquiry; but he himself refused to make any defence before this tribunal: it, nevertheless, found sufficient cause to proceed against him. The next step to decide was, by what means and in what court the prisoner could be prosecuted to conviction? The Nizam's courts were uncertain and severe, and it was doubted whether a court-martial could take cognizance of the case. While these doubts were solving, matters remained at a stand, and at last the Supreme Government were applied to for advice. In the meantime the unhappy accused had mourned away more than *eight months* in prison! In this suffering condition he moved the King's Court for a writ of habeas corpus. The court, with a becoming spirit and judgment, ordered the writ to be issued.* A writ of habeas corpus was accordingly served on the Resident of Hyderabad, and the poor black prisoner was rescued from his confinement. In the Supreme Court it was decided that in the case of Screenevasrow there had been a false imprisonment. The innocence of the prisoner was further established by a commission of four gentlemen, who, by order of the Governor-General in Council, were sent by the Madras Government to examine into his conduct. These Commissioners, after going fully into the evidence against the prisoner, and without even hearing his defence, did most fully acquit him of the charges on which he was imprisoned. Here, then, is an instance of a man being, on the mere report of a court of inquiry, made to suffer eight months imprisonment, and subsequently acquitted by a court of commission, and by the Supreme Court of justice in India. Thus it is to live under British protection!

Under so vicious a Government as this, even the best regulations are, by the manner of their execution, converted into fresh sources of evil. The Marquis of Hastings, ever forward in the cause of justice and humanity, issued a peremptory order to prevent travellers and troops on their march from plundering and pressing others into their service, as well as to regulate the prices of all articles which they might require on their march. A sepoy was placed in each village, on the great roads leading through the Nizam's dominions, to enforce this order, and a copy of the instructions, in English and Persian, were left with each of them for the guidance of the villagers and travellers. To thwart this good measure, Govend Bucksh, Chundoo Loll's brother, assembled the head-men of the village, and *forced* them to PAY for this valuable privilege, permitting them again, in their turn, to screw this imposition out of the poor ryots!

To give a better idea of the character of this Govend Bucksh, other traits of his government shall be related. The zemeendar, whom he placed at Jafferabad, entered into a treaty with certain banditti there to plunder all that passed on the great roads within his district, and to share the booty between them. This practice continued for some time till a horrid murder was committed. The Government then ordered Govend Bucksh to seize the parties concerned in this murder. Govend Bucksh no sooner received the orders than he seized the zemeendar, with whom he was in league, and who knew nothing of the murder in question, plundered him of his all, and then sent him to be disposed of at Hyderabad! This same Govend Bucksh, in his own capital of Arrungabad, has long prac-

tised the same system: employing banditti to plunder the rich men in the city, and sharing in the spoil!

Let it not be inferred, from what has been stated here, that any personal imputation of tyranny is meant to be attached to the conduct of the British Resident, or any English officer in particular. Indeed the Resident himself is remarkable for mild, soft, and courteous manners, for an accomplished, polished, and highly sensible mind, and for great private virtues and public zeal. Whence, then, it will be asked, proceed these incongruities? Alas! they are the necessary result of a corrupt, intriguing, domineering, and extorting SYSTEM; from too much power being placed in the hands of weak and erring man, who, by nature, is imperfect, and who, if, like other mortals, he has reason and passion to influence him, is sure to be corrupted by absolute rule. The root of the evil, then, lies in a defective system, which cannot too soon be remedied.

The supporters of arbitrary and unjust power speciously contend for the inviolability of the British treaty with the Hyderabad state. No doubt the law of nations requires that every state should keep its faith; but where is the treaty that has consigned a nation under *British protection* to such dire oppression as this? No such treaty exists. If it did, it would be contrary to reason and to humanity, and therefore *void*. It is upon the great law of nature that all human laws depend, and they ought never to contradict it. This law of nature is to be drawn from the right application of man's reason, which, as well as divine authority, tells us, that "we should do to all men as we would be done unto." Has England thus acted? Has she observed the rules of political justice toward this injured people? Has she not rather been guilty, towards them, of tyranny and treason?

It is frightful to witness these effects of arming man with absolute power, which always degenerates into tyranny, or the exercise of might over right. It is still more deplorable to see, under the guise of "British protection," and the sacred character of a treaty, the most cruel despotism exercised without control. "Whoever," says Plato, "conceives it in his power to do unjustly, readily does so: each person concluding injustice to make much more for his private interest than justice could do." Compacts are therefore best ascertained when grounded on mutual advantage, or when it is in our power to force those with whom we treat to be just and honest. "Few there are," as Puffendorf observes, "of so happy and noble a temper as to have that piercing sagacity which may discern what is for the lasting advantage of mankind in general, and of each in particular, and at the same time that strength and firmness of soul which may constantly *pursue* what has been prudently foreseen." But, if there be one of this high stamp among us, as Englishmen—one whose active virtue is on a level with his great mind and exalted station—let him stand forth, and, by reforming the abuses of the Hyderabad state, confer a lasting benefit on mankind.

TO THE MOON.

Hail to thy lamp, again, pale Moon!
In silence sinking down the west,
Hail! though thy beam disturbs too soon
The halcyon calm that charmed my breast;
Oh! why, in this expectant hour,
Didst thou arrest my wandering eye?
Why, but to triumph in thy power,
And wake me from my dream of joy!

Fair Queen! thy first revolving round,
Since exiled from my dear-loved home,
Saw me o'er Biscay's billows bound,
Regardless of its angry foam;
While gazing on thy welcome ray
Remembered scenes my heart absorb,
As Feeling poured, in simple lay,
Her vespers to thy infant orb.

But when, returning from thy course,
To re-assume soft Evening's reign,
As fell Disease, with venom'd force,
Poured maddening pangs through every vein,
Thy troubled disk was veil'd in cloud,
And dimly seemed thy lamp to burn,
With paler beams to wrap my shroud,
With fainter fires to light my urn.

Oh! I had lulled each pang to rest
That Recollection loved to trace,
And Hope had soothed my love-torn breast
With Friendship's near and fond embrace;
When gazing round Heaven's fretted dome,
Soon as I saw thy silver ray,
My heart again was filled with home,
And Joy's fair prospects swept away.

And now, on this auspicious eve,
That crowns escape from war and storm,
While future hopes my heart relieve,
Again I see thy crescent form
Retiring down the blushing sky,
Still warm from Day's expiring beams,
Like the soft tinge of home-felt joy
Reflected faint in Memory's dreams.

Enchanting Orb! if such thy power
To harrow up the feeling mind,
Oh! beam not thus in tranquil hour,
A ray of magic so refin'd.
For Friendship's wreath, that graced my brow,
Withers beneath thy paly sphere,
And fairy Hope, that beam'd but now,
Is changed, alas! to sad Despair!

ON LANGUAGE, SYMBOLIC WRITING, AND THE GREAT UTILITY OF LATIN.

The effects of reason and those of instinct are, in some cases, so much alike, that it is difficult to define the characters which distinguish them; but, for the general purposes of illustration, it may be sufficient to observe, that the actions or operations of the other animals, which are usually termed instinctive, differ from those of man, which are said to result from reason, in being alike in all the individuals of the same species when under similar circumstances; as, for example, the construction of a bird's nest, honey-comb, or ant-hill: whereas those of man vary infinitely in each particular case, not only according to the physical wants to which he is subjected, but also according to the mental peculiarities of the individual; and these peculiarities are not limited to the innate qualities or powers derived from nature, as in the other animals, or to that reason, which has resulted from the experience of each individual respectively, but are varied, to an infinite extent, by instruction imparted by others, or handed down from one generation to another.

Of the operations or practices of mankind, language is one that is universal; but it differs widely from those which may, as above stated, be termed instinctive. Most of the other animals, it is true, make use of various sounds to express emotions or sensations, such as those of pleasure, pain, or desire; but the language of man consists of sounds modulated, not according to the natural impulse of feeling, but according to set forms agreed on by social concert, so as that each sound conveys a particular idea, without any reference to sensation or emotion; and thus, though it might, in consequence of its universal prevalence, seem, on a superficial observation, to be of a nature similar to those functions of animals which are termed instinctive, yet the diversity of its construction, and its artificial adaptation to particular objects, show it to be in reality an invention emanating from that versatility of power which enables man to devise different modes of acting suited to his exigences; and its universal use arises, like that of clothing and habitations, from the benefits to be derived from it, and the power of producing it.

Language, thus universally established, being the chief means of communicating ideas, and of extending the knowledge of the arts which have been invented by man for the supply of his wants, it has, in the course of time, been greatly aided by the art of writing, which has been devised for effecting the same communications at a distance of place, or of time, and by means of which the knowledge of past events is conveyed down to posterity, and that of the arts continued and accumulated from generation to generation. That most generally in use, which may be termed vocabulary writing, being calculated directly to express language, is nothing but a substitute for the words which would be spoken if the parties to whom the communication is to be made were present. The vast utility of this invention is too evident to stand in need of any illustration; but there is a great diminution of the benefits which it affords, arising from the diversity of language in different countries, and in different ages. Were it not for this obstacle, writing would furnish a perfect medium for the communication of ideas and of knowledge over the

whole world, and of transmitting them to the remotest posterity; but in the use of writing, the diversity of language produces a difficulty even greater than in oral communication, the want of words being, in the latter case, supplied, in a great degree, by signs and gestures. This inconvenience being much felt, particularly in commerce, the branch of intercourse of most frequent occurrence between nations, many attempts have been made to obviate it by means of another method of writing, which we may term *symbolical*. It consists of characters, or marks, which denote the ideas or things themselves, rather than the words used to express them; and, consequently, the same characters can be understood, or, in other words, read, by persons using different languages, each applying his own words to express their meaning. This may be exemplified in the ciphers 1, 2, 3, &c., and in the character *&*, which are in use throughout Europe; and their meaning is as fully understood in all the nations as if they were written in the words of any one language in general use; though, in expressing them, an Englishman would say, *one, two, three, and*; a Frenchman, *un, deux, trois, et*; a German, *ein, zwey, drey, und*; and so forth.

A species of annotation founded on this principle has been adopted in China and Japan; in consequence of which, the inhabitants of each of these countries are capable of reading the writings of the other, though their languages are different, the same symbolic characters being common to both;[1] and we have reason to suppose that the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics were of a like nature. But it appears, that in Japan, besides these, a system of vocabulary writing, or of characters on the principle of our alphabet, is also in use, which has probably been adopted in consequence of the difficulty of adapting the symbolic method to different idioms, of which we shall treat presently. This method appears not only to be capable of serving as a common medium of communication among people using different languages, but also to be susceptible of a variety and precision of expression far surpassing those to be found in any language, abounding, as all languages do, in anomalies and defects; and it is not improbable that, in the course of time, it will be more generally used than it has been in aid of the sciences, in some of which it has long ago been partially adopted; as, for example, in arithmetic, algebra, chemistry, and others. But it is chiefly with a view to the former and more important of these objects, a common medium of communication among people using different languages, that the attention of persons of learning and ingenuity has been directed to it, and many persevering attempts have been made to introduce it for that end. These have all failed, from a cause which, we think, will continue to prevent the success of all such endeavours; and as it seems, in a great degree, to have escaped the notice, or, at least, the due consideration, of those who have bestowed so much pains and labour in the pursuit, we will explain it more fully than might otherwise appear to be needful.

We are so much habituated to the use of language, that it is difficult for us to refrain from employing it in our imagination in the course of every exercise of the mind; thus, for example, in making, in silence, the arithmetical computation $3 \times 5 = 15$, one will naturally imagine that he says, *three times five are fifteen*; and, though we perceive that

[1] Golownin's Voyage to Japan.

these words are not at all necessary for performing the operation, yet from the force of habit, we cannot easily avoid fancying that we recite them. This habit so thoroughly pervades all our reasoning, that it would be difficult for us to collect the meaning of a series of symbols denoting certain ideas or things, without simultaneously reciting in our imagination words to express them. Hence it arises that there is a great difficulty in reducing symbolic writing to practice, without a direct reference to words. This would not produce any obstacle to its use for the purpose we have in view, if the structure of various languages were so far alike as to admit of a translation of each separate word from one into another; as it is evident that it would in that case furnish an easy mode of expressing different words of the same meaning by the same character, and, consequently, of conveying to persons using different languages, ideas with the same precision as if the words were written in the particular language of each, which is fully exemplified in the ciphers 1, 2, 3, &c., as cited above. But the idioms of languages being so different as not to admit of a direct translation of each individual word, so as to express the aggregate meaning of a sentence, so the characters representing the words would be equally incapable of being used instead of the translation. To place this in a clear point of view, a short example will be sufficient. Let us suppose that we have to express, so as to be understood by a Frenchman, the sentence, *When the weather is fine, I like to take a ride on horseback:* there is nothing that would be more easy than to devise a character to represent every one of these words. Now, let us annex the French words to them, with the view of the same characters serving in both nations. The words would then stand thus:

1	When	quand	
2	the	le, *or* la	
3	weather	temps	
4	is	est	
5	fine,	beau—belle	
6	I	je	
7	like	aime	
8	to	a	
9	take	prendre	me promener à cheval
10	a	un—une	
11	ride	promenade-course	
12	on	sur	
13	horse-	cheval	
14	back.	dos	

Though the above French words are the nearest in meaning that I can find to the English, there are scarcely any of them exactly synonymous; and most of them differ very widely, not only in their primary sense, but in the manner of applying them; for example:

2. 5. In adapting a set of symbolic characters to the English language, we should not perceive any need for varying those denoting the adjectives, so as to express their gender; but when they should come to be applied to the French, this would seem, to persons accustomed to that language only, to be indispensable for giving the full expression; and, consequently, the French language, as well as the English, must be kept in view in framing any set of characters for general application. In like manner, an Englishman or a Frenchman would not feel the necessity of providing for a genitive or dative case; but when the characters should come to be applied to German, these would appear to be required in addition to the

distinction of genders in the adjectives: so, in Latin, an accusative; and thus, unless a regard were kept up to the particular structure of every individual language, which it would be impossible to do, it appears that the characters could not be so framed as to express the meaning of them all with any tolerable precision, it being always to be kept in mind that the natives of each country would, in reading them, apply their own words; and the omission of such variations as would express the inflexions peculiar to each language, would be so objectionable to the persons using it, that they would be induced to reject the system entirely.

So much for the inflexions of the words themselves; but when we come to consider the idiomatical structure of the sentences, the difficulty becomes still greater; as,

9 to 14—*take a ride on horse-back.* These words, when taken individually, cannot, by any means, be made to convey to a Frenchman the meaning which they express collectively; and, in like manner, it will be found, that there are but few cases in which the words of a sentence of moderate length, in any language, will express the same sense in another, when individually translated, into those which are nearest to them in their respective meanings.

It therefore appears, that it is in vain to attempt the establishment of a system of symbolic characters as a general mode of writing in different languages; and consequently, that, if we are to entertain the hope of finding one common medium of communication between all nations, and from one time to another, which is also a most desirable object, considering the mutable nature of all language, we must seek for it in another way.

It fortunately happens, that in Europe this desideratum, which it is not likely that the ingenuity of man could have supplied, has been furnished to our hands by fortuitous circumstances, in the Latin language. In consequence of the conquest and colonization of the southern countries of Europe by the Romans, almost to the total extermination of the original inhabitants, the Latin came to be established as the vernacular language of France and Spain, as well as of Italy; but being deprived of the support of literature, which fell into general neglect and disuse during the decline and after the fall of the Roman empire, and being in a considerable degree contaminated by the admixture of other nations, as well as by the aberration and abbreviation of pronunciation incidental to all languages uncontrolled by letters, it became greatly corrupted; and having gradually subsided into the present languages of those countries, was in danger of falling into total oblivion under its original form. But the church, by means of which the little literature remaining in those troubled ages was maintained, continued the use of the language, not only in the recital of the prayers, but as a medium of communication between its distant members in different countries, and of carrying on the operations of the hierarchy. The Greek, too, was cultivated to a considerable extent by the same body, in consequence of part of the sacred Scriptures, and other holy writings, being in that language. For the study of these languages and of theology, which was long almost the only science to which any attention was paid, the kings, and sometimes wealthy subjects, being actuated by the religious enthusiasm excited by the influence of the clergy, established and endowed schools and universities in many places, most of which continue to the present day, improved

in their constitution, and management by the progress of learning and experience. Though the clergy themselves, debased by ignorance and superstition, destroyed, during those barbarous ages, many of the literary works of Greece and Rome, sometimes from considering them as wickedly prophane, and sometimes even by erasing the writing for the purpose of obtaining the use of the parchment,—yet the church has been the connecting link in the chain between ancient and modern usages and knowledge, and has been the means of preserving and of handing down to us not only the languages, but also many of the useful arts and branches of the moral science of ancient Greece and Rome.

The sparks, so to speak, of ancient literature having been thus kept alive by means of the church, during the times of ignorance and unceasing barbarous warfare, they burst forth on the re-establishment of order and civil government, first in Italy, and afterwards in other countries; and the Latin and Greek languages having been, as shown above, one of the chief objects of attention among the clergy, they continued to be assiduously studied in all the schools. But the Latin was most in use; and it was so much the practice to employ it in their writings, that there are many works in it of a pretty correct style, which were produced at periods when the vernacular languages were seldom and but very imperfectly reduced to writing. These were indeed so much neglected, and the grammar and spelling of them so irregular, that it was usual for the most learned persons, when writing in their native language, even till nearly the beginning of the last century, not to observe any uniform system, but often, following the momentary impression of their feelings, to spell the same word in various ways in one page. It being thus so much the practice to use Latin in all works of importance, and especially on theology, law, and other sciences, it was not unusual for authors, when they were not sufficiently skilled to write it correctly themselves, to compose the work in their own language, and to employ persons to translate it into Latin for publication; as for example, Lord Bacon, who is said to have done so, and many others.

The vernacular languages, however, having, within the last 150 years, and the Italian from a still earlier period, been more attended to, and the grammar and spelling of them all having been brought into something of a regular form and system, the use of Latin has been gradually discontinued; and this change has been greatly promoted by the practice, which has of late become more prevalent than before, of studying foreign languages, the utility of using one generally understood being thereby much diminished. The only works now usually published in Latin are those on the definitive characters in natural history; and within these few years even that practice has decreased so much that it seems likely to be soon altogether abandoned. This, we think, is exceedingly to be regretted, not only on account of the manifest advantages still to be derived from the use of a language generally understood in all countries, but also by reason of the convenience derived from the technical phraseology, which has been more fully established and is better understood in Latin than in the other languages. As to the first of these considerations, it is evident that it would be superfluous to say much on it: for, notwithstanding the general practice of acquiring foreign languages, it often happens that a man of science is ignorant of them all excepting French; and, consequently, that a work in German, Swedish, or any other lan-

guage, would be totally inaccessible to him. For example, 'Schroeder's *Genera Plantarum*,' and 'Wildenow's *Species Plantarum*,' two standard botanical works of great excellence and in general use, were published in Germany; but being in Latin, are in the hands of almost every botanist in this country, and we doubt not in every other; whereas, if they had been published in German, their use would have been limited to a very small number in countries where it is not spoken. Again, on the other hand, in the 'English Botany,' another work of great excellence, chiefly by Sir James Edward Smith, the descriptions are in English, which renders it useless to most persons on the continent, except in regard to the plates; whilst the 'Flora Britannica,' also from the pen of that eminent author, being in Latin, is accessible to all, and is a standard book of reference among the botanists all over Europe. The frequency of translations obviates, in some degree, the want of a common language in the other brances of literature, wherein there is a greater number of persons who take a part, and consequently a greater inducement is held forth for people to incur the trouble and expense of making them; but in matters of science, the works being not only often bulky, but limited in demand to a much smaller number, many of them remain untranslated, and consequently inaccessible to most persons.

Now, as to technical phraseology. It being necessary in matters of science, for the purposes of precision, to have words of meanings more defined and more restricted to particular things than those which are required in the common occurrences of society; and it being easier to vary the sense of words already in use than to invent new ones, it became the practice in all the sciences to adopt, as technical terms, words of Latin, or of Greek moulded into a Latin form, which were usurped in senses so far different from those which they generally express as was necessary for defining the particular objects to which they were limited; and these new acceptations became more and more precise and determined, as the exigences of the science in its progressive improvement rendered necessary. For example, in botany, the word *calyx*, which signifies a cup in a general sense, might reasonably be supposed, when applied to a flower, to denote any part of it which should bear some resemblance to that utensil; such as the bell of a campanula, or the crown of a narcissus; but as this would not be sufficiently defined for the purpose of description, the sense of it has been limited in botany to that part of the flower which is under the coloured petals; and these, in like manner, are distinguished by another Latin appellation, *corolla*, which, signifying a small crown, would, in common language, be supposed to mean any thing of a small size, resembling a crown or diadem, and would not convey any defined idea of the coloured part of a flower. The Latin and Greek words, adapted in this manner to technical purposes, have been, from constant use for a great length of time, so well defined in their meaning, and so thoroughly understood by all the cultivators of science, as to afford the greatest facility and precision in descriptions not only of natural but often also of artificial objects; and the convenience arising from their use is so great, that writers on such subjects, in the modern languages, are in most cases constrained to adopt them, with or without altering the Latin terminations. As, for example, the words above cited, *calyx* and *corolla*, are generally used in English, in writing of the parts of the plant which they denote; for the latter, we do not

know of any English word that could be substituted so as to be understood; and though we might say *flower-cup*, instead of the former, it would not at all convey the meaning intended, unless such a term were first so fully established in use as to be generally understood in that sense, which could not be easily accomplished. In like manner, the word *raceme* has been adopted in English for the Latin *racemus*, to denote such a cluster of flowers or fruit as that of the vine; the word, in its common acceptation in Latin, bearing nearly the same meaning, but being more general, and not defining that particular sort of cluster. From this use of Latin terms, so generally established and so fully adopted by common consent, there arises a superior facility and convenience in applying that language to all kinds of technical definitions and descriptions, as will be readily perceived by any person on his either composing one of an animal or plant, or translating it from the Latin: for he will find it difficult or impracticable to avoid an awkward or barbarous air, which it will be apt to assume from the necessity of having frequent recourse to terms either altogether Latin, or Latin with English terminations; and after all, it will, in most cases, not be much better understood by a person unacquainted with that language, than it would have been if composed in it entirely; the principal part consisting of technical terms.

STANZAS—WRITTEN ON LEAVING ENGLAND FOR INDIA.

Yon rural cot's a peasant's home,
Who would not from his dear vale roam,
Nor cross the wide Atlantic wave
For all that wealth or fame e'er gave.

A tender wife, and rosy boy,
Fill high his cup of social joy—
Dear genial spirits! form'd to prove
A father's pride, a husband's love!

And these to cherish and maintain,
No thoughts distract, no labours pain;
For *her* fond looks, *his* prattling wiles,
Sweet are his cares, and light his toils.

How bright that calm domestic sphere!
For sweet Affection sojourns there;
And mild Content, with brow serene,
Has poured her sunlight on the scene!

Though many yield to prouder star,
Rove distant realms, or toil in war,
Are there on earth would envy not
Such happy loves, such tranquil lot?

Camberwell. R.

ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN BRITISH INDIA, AND STATE OF THE KING'S COURTS THERE.

No. II.

There is among the Natives a sympathy, an instinct, a tact in judging the presumptions of guilt charged against their fellows, and in drawing just inferences from the manners of witnesses, to which Europeans can never attain, and to which they seldom pretend.—COLONIAL POLICY AS APPLICABLE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

IN pursuing this subject, we have selected, as our motto, the foregoing passage, (from a work containing more just views of India than are almost any where else to be met with,) because it expresses an important and undeniable fact, and presents an irresistible argument which ought alone to decide the question, whether the natives of that country shall be immediately admitted to discharge the functions of jurors. That there are many other weighty reasons for this most salutary reform contemplated by his Majesty's Ministers, we have already shown; and we hope now to render it still more apparent, from a statement of facts illustrative of the operation of the present system, that it is an abuse, or "lottery" of the law, which, like other antiquated abuses and lotteries condemned by the increasing wisdom and virtue of the present age, ought to come to an end.

The philosophic Bentham, in his work on the 'Elements of the Art of Packing,' has analyzed, with admirable acuteness, the various sinister influences liable to operate upon the minds of judges and jurors, even in this more favoured country, where they are a portion of the people to whom justice is administered, breathing the same moral atmosphere with them, and watched by the keen scrutiny of the public press, ready to detect, and *at liberty* to expose the wrong done to the humblest member of society, whose fate, however humble it be, cannot but interest the many who are connected with him by the common tie of country; for if in his person the law should appear to be violated, all would feel called upon to rally round him as in defence of their common rights; and the inflictors of the wrong know that they cannot escape from the voice of general indignation, which would from all quarters be thundered in their ears. Hence they feel themselves acting under an awful responsibility, placed, as it were, in a great theatre, where the whole of England are looking on, expecting "every man to do his duty," and ready to punish the least perceptible deviation from it with the fearless impartiality of censure or applause.

The Indian jury has no such check in the conquered people upon whom it is operating; whose opinions are not regarded, and dare not be uttered, the Government having put a gag in the mouths of its sixty millions of subjects, lest their sentiments should be expressed. What they may think or feel is, therefore, neither known, nor inquired after, nor cared about, by the jurors, who form a distinct race by themselves, holding no social intercourse with, and looking down with infinite disdain upon, the mass of "black fellows;" some of whom they are occasionally called upon to assist in getting flogged and fettered, banished or hanged. Their fate,

be it merited or unmerited, interests nobody among the European race,—the ruling public, the only part of it whose opinion has any influence or weight whatever. To illustrate the case by an example—an imaginary one: Let us suppose the honourable Member for Galway to procure an Act of Parliament, decreeing that every person who maliciously takes away the life of the noblest of animals, the horse, should be regularly tried by a jury, and, on conviction, put to death,—the jurors in such a case would certainly not be deterred from screening the guilty by the consideration of what other horses might think on the subject: every thing would plead for the man; and as it would be counterbalanced by no regard for the brute, the jury, in spite of their oaths, would, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, probably come to a resolution similar to that of the Calcutta juror, who resolved never to hang one of his countrymen for shooting a "black fellow." The cases are in so far parallel, that, as the horses are dumb by nature, so the natives of India are dumb by law! Neither are admitted to have any voice in making or executing the laws by which they are governed, and both are looked upon as useful animals to be worked and flogged at the pleasure of their masters, without any right of complaint as a body, when over-driven; and, lastly, the British Parliament listens, with equal indifference, to the remonstrances of Mr. Martin in favour of the one, and to those of the friends of India in favour of the other.

The jury being, as shown by Mr. Bentham, a check on the judge, controlling the free exercise of his power, could never have been otherwise than disagreeable to him, "although, in one shape or another, the incumbrance has clung to his shoulders from the earliest days of the existing constitution;" nor, while the love of power continues to be implanted in the heart of man, will he cease wishing to remove or weaken all checks on its free exercise. The means of undermining or nullifying this check, which have been at various times resorted to by him, are reduced to three classes: corruption, intimidation, and deception. The first of these is naturally the guilty instrument of interested parties, the use of which is wisely guarded against by the mode of selecting, from a much larger number, the jurors by ballot, at the moment the trial commences, so that they cannot be known and corrupted before hand, and then keeping them apart from all communication with others, until their verdict be pronounced, so as to afford no opportunity for tampering with them in the interim. Intimidation, the second mode of nullifying the check, was formerly openly practised in England, but was too flagrant a mischief to be long tolerated. In India, however, it has assumed another shape, unknown to the law and to the constitution, the Judges having made it absolutely one of the qualifications of a juror that he shall belong to a class banishable at the pleasure of the individuals most interested in destroying the independence and efficiency of his Majesty's courts! But deception is the choice instrument of the Judge, by which he can at once gratify his pride and his love of power, or free agency, in the triumph of "understanding over understanding." The more ignorant the jurors are, the more incapable of forming opinions of their own, so much the better in his eyes; for they are the more disposed to adopt their notions entirely from him. Hence the preference given by Indian Judges to "boys, lunatics, drunkards, and men ignorant of the alphabet," because their minds, like the clay in the hands of the potter, are easily worked into any

shape: hence also the preference given to foreigners or Europeans generally, over persons born and bred in India, because the former, in proportion to their ignorance of the people, finding very great difficulty in forming a settled opinion, are the more ready to follow implicitly the suggestions of the Judge. He could not, with the same facility, persuade natives of the country that "black was white," in direct opposition to the experience of their whole lives; nor would the current of their feelings and prejudices be so easily made to flow in the direction desired by the bench, when one of the aristocratic body was to be protected, or his character white-washed with an exculpatory verdict. In such cases, it has been usual in India to hear the most inflammatory appeals to the passions of the jury, which, coming from the seat of judgment, aided by the superior logic of a practised professional speaker, are sure to bewilder the understanding and move the feelings of simple tradesmen, who are unskilled in judicial subtleties, and whose hearts are already but too much disposed to plead in behalf of a countryman. Seldom, indeed, has a verdict been recorded in India against any European in the rank of a gentleman, in whose fate the Judge can be supposed to have been particularly interested. In the few exceptions that have occurred, never, perhaps, has the least rigour of the law been inflicted, it still resting with the Judge to nullify the verdict, or suspend or mitigate the sentence. With all these advantages in their favour, Indian Judges have sometimes thought the jury not sufficiently docile or obsequious; and have not failed to show a restive disposition when they felt the curb of its verdict opposed to their supreme will. A late instance of this is well recollected in Calcutta, where a Judge (Sir F. Macnaghten) having a police-officer brought before him, charged with some crime, wished to get him acquitted, and received the jury, which presumed to pronounce a contrary decision, with a speech to the following effect: "Gentlemen, you may think you have done your duty; I shall now do mine: I fine this man one *pucka pice*"![1] The culprit, however, was a native of the country, against whom the *refractory* verdict was given, which the Judge treated with contempt, by making the punishment a nominal fine of the lowest coin that could be named!

The power of the Indian Judges is enormously increased in another very irregular, if not illegal mode; that is, by the absence of juries altogether in civil cases. This is so repugnant to the spirit of the English laws as practised in this country, that to many it will appear hardly credible that such a thing should be tolerated any where. In India it is really much more mischievous than it would be in England, inasmuch the Judges there have more need of the discrimination of a jury to aid them in the discovery of truth for the due administration of justice among so very peculiar a people. Gentlemen, however learned, coming fresh from Europe, and looking at them and their affairs through the medium of preconceived European notions, cannot possibly be otherwise than frequently deceived; and it generally happens, that those who fill these high situations on the bench, only remain so long in the country as to become tolerably acquainted with its inhabitants, when they leave the field to others equally raw and inexperienced. Thus the natives of India have their persons and property placed at the entire mercy of a succession

[1] A small copper coin.

of strangers to their habits and customs, who decide every thing according to their supreme will, without check or control, there being no jury and no Court of Appeal nearer than nine or ten thousand miles off! This has been petitioned against; and to remove any difficulty from the fewness of Europeans to form jurors, gentlemen of the army have volunteered to undertake that duty; but all in vain. The Judges have invariably clung to their power, which few indeed, if they can help it, ever consent to abandon.

There would have been some excuse for them in obstinately resisting a remedy for this defect in the judicial system, if they had never found it to be attended with any inconveniences,—if they had never felt the want of the spectacles of a jury to strengthen their juridical organs of vision. But they have confessed, and denied not, on many occasions, their utter incapacity to discriminate between truth and error,—to decide with certainty between the true and the false case set up, or to distinguish the honest from the perjured witnesses. The course they have adopted, instead of being a cure for, is a great aggravation of the disease. They have created a rule of court—a piece of judge-law—decreeing that, in some cases, (that is, as often as the Indian Judge thinks fit,) when the parole evidence is very contradictory, it may be put out of view altogether, and the matter decided on the other circumstances of the case. In this manner, true and false witnesses are placed exactly upon a par, which is equivalent to a triumph over the former. The latter finding their security in the inability of the court to detect them, perjury has grown into a regular profession in the Indian courts; for it is not the sanctity of an oath, but the danger of detection and punishment, which is the great security against perjury, as may be seen by the imprecations which thousands daily, without the least scruple, invite down on their own heads, who would not for the world risk exposure to shame by telling a falsehood, far less incur the *penalty* of committing perjury in a public court. The Native witnesses were relieved from this last restraint as soon as they found that they could so completely impose upon the British Judges as to leave them in total uncertainty which was truth and which was falsehood. Then it was in vain to talk of punishing false-swearers; for the honest witness would be in the same danger as the knave; or perhaps greater, as his ingenuity in extricating himself would be less. Thus, full scope was given to the regular professors of imposition, who are known to practise in the British Indian courts (particularly the Company's) with such success, that some have doubted whether it would not be better for the public interests, if the Judges were at once to abandon the vain attempt to discover which party has justice on his side, and regulate their decisions by a cast of the dice! "The Natives," says Sir H. Strachey, "have attained a sort of legal knowledge, as it is called; that is to say, a skill in the arts of collusion, intrigue, perjury, and subornation, which enables them to baffle us with infinite facility."—"An Englishman," said Mr. Verelst, "will ever be found unfit to follow the subtle Native through all his arts."

The extraordinary success of these professional manufacturers of false evidence in our courts, next compelled other Native suitors, even when their cause was just, to resort to them in self-defence; for they could no longer trust to simple truth and justice prevailing with Judges so liable o be imposed upon; consequently, it was thought quite necessary that

even a just cause should be strengthened by a redoubt, or outwork of falsehood, erected around it, to keep off the enemy! This, although it may be contrived with great ingenuity to meet the antagonist's false attacks, must, at the same time, expose the rightful litigant to another danger; for when the court discovers the hollowness of his outwork, as will often happen, it is apt to suspect the whole of his case to be a baseless fabrication. On this ground, perhaps, the cause is given against him entirely, or at least his witnesses are put exactly on a par with those on the opposite side: in either event, truth is completely confounded with fiction, and perjury triumphs.

In addition to the confessions above noticed of the inability of the Company's courts to discover truth, Judge Macnaghten has recorded his testimony to the same effect as to the Court of Requests in Calcutta. In charging the Grand Jury in June 1819, this Judge observed, that

It was, he believed, eighteen months since he had expressed a wish to have some of those witnesses who are known to make a TRADE *of giving false evidence* in the Court of Requests brought before his court. He knew, however, of no prosecution for the commission of this offence in that court; although there it is notoriously believed to be a matter of course; so much so, that the fact of having been examined as a witness in that court was, in general, considered as a disparagement of character. [He might with truth have applied exactly the same observations to his own court.] He gave it advisedly as his opinion, on the best of his judgment, founding himself upon the informations which he had read, and drawing the inferences which he conceived must follow, that if the business of the Court of Requests was so conducted as to render it impossible to prosecute or even not to facilitate prosecutions of those who may be aggrieved by perjuries committed there, it would be better at once to abolish the court, and leave the public altogether without remedy for the debts it took cognizance of. [Under 250 rupees, or from 25*l.* to 30*l.*]

Colonel Stewart is of nearly the same opinion with respect to the Company's courts in general. As a remedy for the same evil, an Indian Judge, whose sentiments, as declared in a private letter to a friend in England, are before us, thinks it would be better to abolish the laws altogether. But why seek such extravagant remedies, when the true one—a jury, or panchayet, by whatever name it may be called—is so simple, so natural, so effectual? Speaking of the great difficulty of deciding so as to satisfy his own conscience, he remarks;—

Where truth and moral principle are totally unknown; where forgery and perjury are practised in every judicial proceeding, and this amongst a people the *most expert, shrewd, and intriguing*, of any in the universe, who shall rise from his [judgment] seat after his daily labour and pronounce whether he has on that day been the author of justice, or of injustice? This is not a country for la[illegible] laws are created to be evaded by the artful villainy of the Natives, or tu[illegible] by them into engines of oppression and injustice. There is certainly [illegible] equity in our system than in the English courts, [illegible] power vested in the Judge; but however strange [illegible] err, I am perfectly satisfied that were we scarcely fettered by any law, [illegible] would be more justice in our judgments, and we should err less frequently than is the case now. However frequently I resolve not to care about it, unhappily the very next hour finds me in my court-room in a high fever to determine whose *lies* nearest approach the *truth*. For such is the nature of these people, that it is utterly out of their power to speak the truth; and the party who have justice on their side will, out of pure *love of falsehood*, often lie themselves out of their rights.

He should have said the "love of success," which, even with a just cause, they only hope for through the aid of corroborative falsehoods; the unhappy consequence of the radical defect of the courts themselves; no confidence being placed in their powers of discriminating evidence, the Natives have recourse to those means of attaining their ends which experience teaches them are most successful. This is so plain, that it is almost superfluous to give it any illustration. But, to suggest an obvious one, if the facility of counterfeiting bank-notes is sufficient to inundate this *virtuous* country with forgeries, will not the facility of imposing on Judges in India make perjury abound in that country without supposing a love of falsehood? This is the simple fact: our courts are the great corruptors of the people; the nurseries of perjury, forgery, and every species of fraud, which, since the introduction of our system, have notoriously increased to an enormous degree, beyond what was ever before known. Hence the amount of villainy and vice which now exists, being the fruit of that system, instead of affording any excuse for it, forms its deepest stigma. To the system justly belongs that odium which its authors and abettors wish to throw upon the Native character. For an imperfect administration of justice has the same tendency to debase, as a perfect one has to improve the public morals.

While our courts present so promising a field for fraud and falsehood, these vices must continue as hitherto to increase and multiply. Already, we are assured, a troop of hired witnesses is considered among the Natives a necessary part of the establishment of every man of property, who would infallibly be ruined in a short time with judicial proceedings, unless he were always prepared to defend his property against the witness-gangs of his neighbours, by having his own ready to combat them with oath for oath, and lie for lie! Our courts are the arena of endless contention; where all the arts of deception, plots and counterplots, are played off or exhausted. But if a Native jury formed part of the court, then, instead of its penetration being baffled by the artifices of the most "shrewd, expert, intriguing people in the universe," this very subtlety would be brought over to exert itself in promoting the ends of justice!

The Judges of the Supreme Court have not failed to feel the evil, although they have resisted the true remedy in every shape; abjuring, as we have seen, Native jurors of all kinds, and even English juries in civil cases. Pursuing their usual course, for this difficulty they have, as above stated, invented something like a "rule" of court; and one which most justly deserves the character given to such practices by Mr. Bentham, of being unfit to have any existence. This is to throw away the parole evidence altogether, whenever the court may take it into its head to do so, and decide the case from any other circumstances that may happen to be known. To quote one or two of the instances in which this rule has been laid down; in the case of The King *v.* Hayes, April 1822, Sir Francis Macnaghten in charging the jury, said—

It is melancholy, but it often happens in this court, that we are obliged to *cast off from our consideration all the mere swearing on both sides*, and decide upon circumstances which are less likely to deceive us.

Again, in the case of Mr. Henry Blundell, June 1823, the same Judge told the jury, that—

It ought not to be swayed by the number of witnesses, because it was a well-

known fact that in India it was as easy to get six witnesses to swear to a thing as to get one; that there was no difficulty in getting *any number* of witnesses to swear to any thing; no punishment or severity had been able to prevent it; and every Judge in that country was in the habit of disbelieving witnesses without regard to their number: that is, they made *a distinction between evidence and swearing.*

This phrase, so often repeated by Sir Francis, and that of "casting off from his consideration the mere swearing of witnesses," evidently refers not to disregard of the numbers of witnesses merely, which would have been easily expressed with precision in this manner—"We hold it to make no difference whatever, whether a fact be sworn to by one Native witness or a hundred." That alarming doctrine is no doubt included in his *rule*, but it goes much further. It amounts to this, that there could be no balancing of the comparative weight of testimony on both sides, because it is (assumed to be) as easy in that country to bring a respectable array of evidence in support of falsehood as in support of truth. In no other possible way could his doctrine be understood by a jury; nor is it otherwise intelligible. It could not mean that the evidence of one or two respectable witnesses should weigh against that of three or four of inferior character. For difference of character is a test not hinted at as supposed to have any existence; all witnesses are put upon a level, as equally unworthy of reliance. Native evidence, in the gross, is treated as a mass of undistinguishable perfidy! The court consequently takes the liberty to select and reject what it pleases, according as the fancy or caprice of the Judge may choose to give credence to one story rather than another. But it so happens that a fictitious story may be made so plausible as to look more probable than the truth itself. For instance, if a jury were asked, without any previous knowledge of the facts, whether it were more probable that a mariner, (called Robinson Crusoe,) wrecked upon a desert island, had lived there alone twenty years; or, that a private individual, called Napoleon, raised himself to the throne of one of the greatest nations in Europe, made his brothers kings over several others, and at last died a prisoner on a barren rock? The true history would surely appear by far the more incredible of the two. To such a conclusion must we often come, if "casting off from our consideration" the number of witnesses on either side, we follow that most fallacious guide "probability." Yet no other guide remains when all the swearing is systematically thrown aside as good for nothing; the arbitrary discretion of the court then becomes absolutely uncontrolled, and a greater inlet is opened for corrupt decisions, than if Native evidence were, like slave evidence, excluded altogether. For, while our West India slaves are not allowed to be heard at all, their statements cannot be used as an instrument of deception. Our East Indian subjects are heard, but they are believed, or not believed, just as it may suit the purpose of a Judge, to take one piece of the evidence or another wherewith to cloak his corrupt partiality.

Nothing can cure this monstrous tendency of such proceedings to confound all law and justice, but the check of an enlightened jury, free from all partial bias, and not liable to be made the tool of the court either by prejudice or imposition. With the banishable juries now in use, composed of persons, foreigners in the country, strangers to the situation and habits of the body of the people, incapable of unravelling their motives or de-

tecting their artifices, the will of the Judge has unbounded sway. For the jurors finding themselves surrounded with a chaos of doubt and difficulty, know not what conclusion to form, and are ready to believe or disbelieve evidence in implicit conformity with his advice.

The mode in which this system operates will, perhaps, be better conceived from a consideration of the sort of cases with which it has to deal. Let us take the following, which occurred within a very few years; —In April 1822, John Hayes, Esq. Judge and Magistrate of Tipperah, stood charged before the Supreme Court of Calcutta, (Sir F. Macnaghten on the bench,) with the murder of Pertaub Narayn Doss, a respectable zumeendar of that zillah. In February, the preceding year, this man had fallen under the displeasure of Mr. Hayes, who kept him, on some charge or other, in attendance at his court from that time to July, without once allowing him to visit his own home. About that time, Mr. Hayes having occasion to go away to a distant part of the country, the zumeendar in his absence stole a short visit to his afflicted family, and particularly a dying son. He returned, however, to Commillah, before the Judge came back to resume his duties; but Mr. Hayes being informed that the zumeendar had dared to neglect the order for his being *hazir* (in attendance) at the station, had him dragged instantly before him, loaded him with the grossest abuse, and, without any judicial proceeding or investigation whatsoever, caused him to be tied up like a malefactor, and to receive twenty blows with the rattan on the bare back by the hands of the common executioner; he was then thrown into gaol, and from the neglect of his wounds, and want of medical aid, as well as of those comforts and attentions to which custom had habituated one of his rank in life, all aggravated by the public ignominy he had just suffered, after languishing three days, he sunk under the accumulated weight of his miseries of body and mind.

This was the case for the prosecution. That set up for the defence admitted the infliction of the *illegal* punishment, admitted the imprisonment, and admitted the man's death on the third day after; but denied that the latter was brought on by the two former. Although the deceased was in good health three days before, (with the intervention of that treatment,) he became a lifeless corpse; yet, by the defence, the event was disconnected from its antecedents in this way: it asserted that he died of cholera morbus; this being a disease not well understood, and therefore generally looked upon, according to the vulgar notion, as a mere act of fate, or chance, or providence; consequently, it takes all responsibility from man. For if cholera were, like all other diseases, supposed to proceed from natural predisposing causes, then, in this instance, it might have been brought on by the cruel treatment which immediately preceded it; and in that case it would still be murder as much as if the man had died of the mortification of his wounds. This latter the defence denied, alleging that the deceased was well treated, and that his wounds were healing up, when, unfortunately, he died of the inexplicable cholera; that is, as the court understood it, by the special interference of Providence; for the physician examined on the trial was never once asked whether cholera might not possibly be induced by such atrocious usage.*

* [illegible] on this point, was that put to Dr. Halliday, who

The contrary was *assumed* as a fact equally certain with any truth in scripture, or proved beyond all demonstration.

The question then really resolved itself into this,—whether a man, who, from being well, died in three days after, had his death hastened by natural intervening causes; or died purely by the act of Providence? The witnesses who swore to the first view of the case, were nine in number: three servants and a nephew of the deceased; a servant of the Company, salt agent at Noacolly; a servant of a zumeendar of the same zillah; another of a lady at Dacca; a zumeendar at Chittagong district, and the son of another zumeendar. The English surgeon of the station was also summoned for the prosecution, but absented himself. The evidence for the defence, that is, the witnesses in support of providential death, were twelve in number: a vakeel of Mr. Hayes's, the defendant's court; two mookhtars of the same; a subahdar of the provincial battalion; the Native doctor of the jail; the darogah and duffadar of the same; the jumadar and executioner assisting in the punishment; the servant of a talookdar; and a money-lender. The great majority of these, or about nine out of the twelve, were Mr. Hayes's immediate dependants; the only exceptions being the two last, and the subahdar.

Such was the array of evidence on both sides, nearly matched in point of numbers, and each witness of the one party swearing most consistently with his colleagues, but in direct opposition to their opponents; who, in the same manner, swore in most cordial co-operation. The scene of action was several hundreds of miles distant from Calcutta, where it was tried, and to which the jurors are confined by the Company's law. It lay in a country of which they could know almost as little as of the heart of the Burman empire; it being under a system of government almost equally remote from any thing of which they have experience; a country, in which Judges are more than kings in arbitrary power, and the people around them more obsequious than slaves; where their influence, or rather the terror of their authority, is such, that we have heard a gentleman, on whose judgment and experience we can place the utmost reliance, give it as his solemn opinion, that if a Judge were to commit a murder in his open court at noon-day, in the presence of thousands, it would be impossible to prove it to the satisfaction of the Supreme Court of Calcutta; since, however many might swear to the fact, a much greater number would come forward to swear the very reverse; so that nothing but complete uncertainty would remain.

In this case, the Judge, (Sir F. Macnaghten,) as usual, laid down his rule, that the jury should cast off from their minds all the mere swearing on both sides. But this being done, there unfortunately remained almost no evidence at all; for there was no documentary proof, except what is called the "soorut-haal," that is, the official report of the inquest held on the body of the deceased. Now this report was drawn up by the very same persons who appeared as the defendant's witnesses, and was in

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thought it highly improbable, (though not impossible,) that such punishment should cause death:—

"Question: If he (the person punished) had been in a weak state, had his back cut open by flogging, and the wound entirely neglected for three or four days, in a warm climate, in the month of July, and you were not aware of any other cause, would you not attribute his death to that?

"Answer: Yes; if I knew of no other."

complete contradiction to their verbal testimony. For in court, all the twenty or more witnesses were unanimous that the man died in gaol; on the inquest, a part of the same persons who swore this for the defendant, had resolved that the deceased left the gaol alive, but died two days after in the hospital! This discrepancy the defendant's witnesses now attributed to an error of the clerk who drew up their report. Having "cast off all the mere swearing," then, (according to the Judge's advice,) in order to "decide on circumstances less likely to deceive," was this treacherous report, got up for an iniquitous purpose, one of those things more to be relied on? By this rule, in fact, nothing was left that the mind could lay hold of; all evidence was at an end. There remained only two stories, respecting which, the Jury were to ask themselves which is the most probable, exactly in the same manner as if the stories had been told by two parrots. The Judge thought it improbable that a man should die of the flogging, confinement, and bad treatment in gaol; the jury adopted his opinion in that respect; but as it is certain the man did die within the three days, they decided in their own minds that he died of cholera; that is, in their conception, of a disease supposed to proceed from no natural cause at all.

No other conclusion could possibly be formed by a dozen of Calcutta tradesmen trying the Magistrate of Tipperah, when the Judge had instructed them to throw away all consideration of the weight of testimony on either side. For, in the first place, judging from *probability*, (the only guide then remaining,) it is improbable that any given man has been guilty of a murder; because not one in a thousand has the cruelty to commit it: and of those who have the cruelty, not one, perhaps, in a hundred would have the folly or hardihood to expose himself, by commiting it, to the risk of punishment. Hence there are a hundred thousand chances to one against any individual being guilty! Nothing can overcome this improbability but the weight of testimony; but where, as in India, testimony is denied to possess any weight, there is no longer any test of guilt or innocence. It has been well remarked, that the law requires at least two witnesses to convict a criminal of a capital offence; on this ground, that the oath of one person ought not to be allowed to overbalance the accused's declaration of innocence, whereas two witnesses give a preponderance against him. If, however, six witnesses be no better than one, according to the rule laid down by the Indian Judges, no conviction can ever take place when this rule is applied. Even if the accused be a Native, his denial ought to counterbalance the unanimous charge of a dozen Native accusers, since all are to be alike disbelieved, whatever their number; but if the accused be an Englishman, whose word is entitled to credit, his simple declaration of innocence must triumph over ten thousand Indian witnesses! The rule in question was enforced by the Judge, (Sir F. Macnaghten,) with all his eloquence, in two remarkable criminal cases: that above described of Mr. Hayes; and in that of Mr. Blundell; both gentlemen high in the Civil Service, both exculpated by the evidence of their dependants, and both acquitted. The latter was a case of a very different description, still more remote from European conception, and hardly to be described. For such cases, it may be said, without qualification, that no competent tribunal at present exists in India; since, to the Supreme Court, as now constituted, they are proved to be quite uncognoscible. But a jury, composed half of British

planters or settlers in the interior, and the other half of the most respectable Natives, zumeendars, or others, would be perfectly qualified to ascertain the facts, and answer all the ends of justice.

It may be easily inferred, that the incapacity of the Indian Judges to discover truth in civil cases, where they have no aid of a jury, is still more striking. Of this we need not go far for proofs; but have only room for one or two of the most decisive.

In the end of July 1823, the Supreme Court at Calcutta was occupied two days with a case thus described by a most [illegible]ate reporter:—

It would be useless to go through all the contradictory evidence in this case, and we shall content ourselves with observing, that we never witnessed such point-blank swearing and such downright perjury as *must have been* uttered on one side or the other, or *perhaps* on both. Their whole object seemed to be to invalidate each others testimony; and remarks were made from the bench that one or other of the parties *must have been* perjured; and the Judge regretted that there was nothing sufficiently clear to prove on which side the perjury lay, that they might have been indicted for the offence.

Here two stories were told by the witnesses on the opposite sides, as totally different from each other as possible; yet both so well told, and consistently supported, that at the end of two days' investigation, the Judge remained as completely ignorant of the real facts of the case, as if he had never heard a single syllable of evidence! All he knew was that there *must have been* perjury in the case; (certes, there must, when what one side swore was white, the other swore was black;) but the Judge knew no more on which side the truth lay than the man in the moon! Was ever judicial tribunal convicted of such monstrous incapacity! Whether the case was, in the sequel, decided by a throw of the dice, or in what manner, we are unable to say. In another, which occupied the court for about a month, in April 1822, involving property to the amount of a million sterling, there was the same contrariety of evidence; about a dozen persons, on each side, swearing directly in the teeth of each other. One of the points to be determined was, whether or not a certain Hindoo family were, in respect to their property, joint or divided; on which, after investigation, the Judge says:—

I will venture to say of all the Natives who now hear me, there is not one of any respectability who could not tell us whether the family were divided or not; the better sort of Natives have great meetings and friendships among themselves, and are acquainted with each others family affairs There are hundreds and hundreds in Calcutta who must know the fact: why has not a single Native of respectability been called to give evidence.

The simple reason is, that the court is notoriously such a sink of perjury, that for a Native to appear in it at all, as a witness, is, in public estimation, considered little less than infamous. Respectable Natives, therefore, to escape disgrace, when evidence must be had, put hired witnesses in possession of the facts to be attested, and these swear to them as of their own knowledge. But while the Judge was exclaiming that the fact, after which he had been so long groping in the dark, must be perfectly well known to hundreds and hundreds of respectable Natives, many of them perhaps standing in his presence, did it never occur to him that if these intelligent men were placed in the jury-box to try the case, the thick mist, by which the court was darkened, would instantly vanish. The cloud of perjury enveloping the proceedings would be forthwith dis-

pelled, and the light of truth shine as clearly as the sun at noon-day. The cunning artifices of perjured witnesses, however baffling to foreigners, would avail them little before their own countrymen who knew them to the core, and who could easily hunt them through all their winding subterfuges. The false swearer would shrink from the penetrating glance of the native jury, and his profession, now so flourishing, would soon decay, when the practice of it became attended with so little hope of advantage, and so much danger of detection.

By this connecting link of a Native jury, a chain of reliance would be established between the witnesses and the court, which is the only means of putting the latter in possession of truth. At present there is no reliance, the parties being all entire strangers to each other, brought together fortuitously from the remotest parts of the globe, and the court sees an endless variety of human beings passing through it, of whom it knows nothing. But the character of almost every witness could be strictly appreciated by a Native jury; either from its being actually known to those on the jury, or capable of being ascertained by the evidence of other witnesses of known character. In this way, testimony would acquire a tangible consistency, capable of being weighed and estimated with something like certainty. At present it is a mere phantasmagoria passing in review before the eyes: the spectator may stare and speculate on the outward show, but cannot possibly bring it within his grasp. Now, our judicial proceedings are a perpetual drama, of which the judges are the audience, and see the witnesses or actors only in their dress-characters, wearing their masks and buskins. But put the Natives themselves in the jury-box, and we should immediately get behind the scenes; we should obtain a sure key to the dramatis personæ, which would save us from being misled by the Proteus forms of any of those Oriental Matthewses, who, as we have heard, in the vocation of a witness, act one day the part of a pious Brahmin, and another of a true believer in the Koran, as the various cases may require, making a mere mockery of our courts and judges, who can so easily be duped and misled.

In order, then, to facilitate the administration of justice, for which the present means are proved to be so inadequate, Native juries are indispensable. And what reason exists for so long excluding the natives of India from this privilege, which belongs to freemen in every part of the British dominions? Are they to be kept, in this respect, on a level with slaves, because under the rule of the East India Company? In the adjacent island of Ceylon, colonial government has long ago introduced this improvement of Native juries, which has proved, as it ever must do, a great public blessing. In a few years it raised the people to a higher rank in the scale of civilization and humanity. As if feeling the gracious impulse of a new nature, they could no longer behold their fellow-creatures degraded, and generously set their bondsmen free. On the opposite continent, where there is no trial by jury, every thing is reversed: those who were independent and wealthy are sinking down to the condition of slaves; and every thing indicates the general increase of vice and misery; the laws being so defective, that instead of doing good they do mischief, by holding forth the strongest temptation to perfidy, and by being made the greatest engine of injustice. The people, having no share in administering the laws, have no confidence in them; the good not being permitted to aid

in their execution, the bad have full scope in their general conspiracy to defeat them.

A wiser procedure might reasonably have been hoped for, at least within the jurisdiction of his Majesty's courts, since the judges had only to carry into execution the salutary principles of those laws, which they are in duty bound faithfully to administer. In the case of a foreigner who merely accidentally lands on our shores, the laws of England generously allow him a jury composed of one half of his own countrymen. Could less, then, be due to those in India who are not foreigners, but born under the British flag; who are not strangers in a foreign land, but his Majesty's subjects, living in their own country? On what principle of English law are they defrauded of their privileges as subjects, and even treated worse than aliens? Not a half, not a third, not even a twelfth of the jury is conceded them. They are totally excluded, as if the tint of their skin placed them beyond the pale of the law. Nay, they are treated worse than the despised African negro, who, notwithstanding his woolly head and sooty hide, is not debarred, if a free man, from discharging the functions of a juror, even although he may once have worn the chain of slavery.[3] By what rule of law have the natives of India been thus degraded below all the rest of the human species? It is by no authority of the laws of England that they have been subjected to this cruel degradation, but by the East India Company, and Judges subservient to the Company, who, by a prostitution of all law and justice, have debased sixty millions of human beings to the rank of slaves. What punishment, what infamy, is sufficient for the authors of this enormous injustice? While the British Parliament in one quarter of the world has been labouring to break the chains and alleviate the sufferings of the unfortunate Africans; in another, a few paid servants of the Crown, acting as servile instruments of a selfish monopoly, have dared, by their own authority, to debase to the rank of slavery an infinitely greater number of British subjects in the East, than all the enslaved negroes of the West, whom the Parliament, in its mercy, has been long striving to raise to the rank of freemen.

[3] An instance of this is mentioned in the last Number of the 'Quarterly Review.'

ODE ON THE RETURN OF THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS FROM INDIA.

Inscribed to the Directors of the Honourable Company, by the Illustrator of Ossian's Poems.

THRICE welcome, Chief, to Britain's happy shores,
From those vast realms where mighty Ganges pours—
Through scoop'd-out Kentaiff rocks—her sacred tide,
O'er sunny plains, extending far and wide,
And *golden* sands—not golden unto thee—
Too generous and too honest—noble pride!—
To risk for wealth thy true Nobility!
Hence, like Fabricius, thou hast conqueror come
From hoards—to soul-brought happiness at home!

With genius towering high,
Thy firm exalted soul,
Which little worldly views
Could never yet control,
Was led by thought sublime;
And hence rose far too high
For Mammon's selfish sons,
Who could not thee descry—
The statesman, warrior, urged
By true philosophy!
Reserve, ye niggards, for your selfish kind
His well-won rights! and plod in error, blind.

Chief of a House renown'd,[1]
Reflecting honours on thy line—
With laurels justly crown'd
At Glory's ardent shrine,
Ere yet the gallant Rawdon ran
The race of youth to the accomplish'd man!
Yes, let the foeman's Chieftain tell
His brother chief that all is well—
"That sage Experience guides the trains
That should Columbia free,
But that his well-disciplined bands,
Three thousand arm'd to free their lands,
With boding tremblings see,
Nor heed his threats, nor his commands,
Where Rawdon's single thousand stands,
With bayonets cross'd in nervous hands,
From whose dread charge they flee!"[2]

Rising in danger over all alarms,
Victorious over proud Rebellion's arms,
As when on Gallia's shore,
Her host full ten to one he view'd,
While press'd, surrounded, and pursued,
Illustrious York,—yet unsubdued!—
From dangers Moira bore!

Him wide exhausted India needs—
The theatre of ruthless crimson War,
And lawless British deeds—
Where haply he proceeds,
Nor drives her red ensanguined car,
While many a thousand bleeds;
But smiling Peace extends o'er all her plains,
And joy and comfort gives the docile swains:
And joy and wealth to you,
Whose calculating cares
Not nobler feelings can pursue
Than plans for larger shares.
For he your empty Treasury fill'd with gold,
That made the ungrateful slaves of Mammon bold!

The Chieftain's Indian race is run,
Where long he glorious shone:

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[1] The noble Marquis is descended from Edward IV.

[2] During the American war, a letter was intercepted from General Lee to General Washington, in substance as above stated.

The immortal man requireth bread—
Ye give to him a stone!
From frozen realms even to the torrid zone,
Millions confess'd his sway—
Gentle and matchless—clearing through
Dark Error's midnight way:
Progressive still, by sacred laws,
On earth, that spoke of Heaven,
He proved to man the Great First Cause
Had noblest talents given!
While conquer'd Chiefs confess,
And conquer'd realms obey,
The man who bore them happiness
From Error's tyrant sway—
Bright Glory claims him for her own,
And true Nobility her darling son;
Not more triumphant on the tented field,
Than in the Council, where the Sage's voice
Can make the uninform'd to reason yield,
And millions bid rejoice!
'Tis his to stanch the source of human woe,
Wherever wrongs may cause the tear to flow.

His Sovereign's early friend,
Whom wisdom did commend;
Thrice happy in his choice—
His royal heart may well rejoice,
That young Discrimination fix'd his mind
On him, whose heart by Heaven seems design'd
An ornament to grace, and model for, mankind.

Long may he live to greet,
With Friendship's genuine smile,
The Noble of his youthful choice,
The favourite of our Isle!—
And when the frost of long elapsing years—
Of wished-for years to come—
Throws o'er the Illustrious Friends her cares,
And venerable each appears
In Britain's courtly dome,
For great illustrious deeds repaid,
Still Britain be their home!

And let the Historian's noblest page
Our Monarch's judgment prove;
And let the Poet's living lay
His Patron give to latest day,
Worthy his Monarch's love!—
While grateful Science rears her head,
Or Learning cloisters seeks, or shed,
The unfading wreath that Friendship twined,
To bind the Princely and the Noble mind,
On earth shall bloom, and flower above,
In loveliest Amaranthine grove,
Delightful still to see!
For Bards unborn shall sing in lays,—
How Hastings shone in George's days,
Patron of High and Low,—his praise—
To late Posterity.

RESEARCHES ON ANCIENT EGYPT.

Laugh where we must, be candid where we can.—Pope.

We have already noticed the first volume of Sir William Drummond's 'Origines; or, Remarks on the Origin of several Empires, States, and Cities;' and now proceed to make a few observations on the second. There are, it would seem, but four motives that can induce a man to study the remains of antiquity: mere curiosity; the desire of amusement; the desire of acquiring wisdom for himself; and that of acquiring the same wisdom to be imparted to others. It is certainly delightful to look back, from the height of improvement upon which we now stand, at the infancy of human knowledge, and to observe how our rude ancestors struggled to subdue the hardships of their condition. Our minds are placed by this means in the track of invention, from whence we may perceive the first inflections, as it were, of those circumstances which generated the sciences and arts of life, and learn, by analogy, to discover if there be yet any hidden paths leading from our present position to new arts and improvements. We enable ourselves also to determine the value of modern pretensions to originality, by repositing in our memory the forms of ancient intellectual productions; and may also discover, among the obsolete usages and practices of antiquity, something worthy of revival. Further than this, we know of no utility that can result from the study of ancient history. Curiosity of a certain kind may always indeed be gratified by following the traces of tradition; but, meanwhile, the mind is cheated of its proper food, and becomes languid and effeminate.

It is quite clear that Sir William Drummond's motives to study, at least his chief motives, are curiosity and amusement. This is evident from the whole texture of the volume before us, taken up almost entirely with the most frivolous inquiries. For instance, the author devotes a whole chapter, of forty pages, to researches on 'The ancient names of Egypt and of the Nile;' another, of fifty, to an 'Inquiry whether any reminiscences of the deluge can be traced in the mythology, or in the monuments, of the ancient Egyptians;' and no less than three chapters, making seventy-two pages, to M. Champollion and his "hieroglyphics." Then follow 'Chronological remarks on the origin and duration of the Egyptian Monarchy,' which are actually spun out to one hundred and thirty pages, very prettily sprinkled with Coptic, Ethiopic, Chaldaic, Hebrew, Greek, &c. and with citations from Jablonski, Kircher, &c. just in the manner of the laborious fabricators of folios in the sixteenth century. We dare say all this may appear very valuable learning in the eyes of some people; but we have no faith in antiquarianism or hieroglyphical discoveries, and suspect the sanity of those who devote their lives to pursuits so useless. What is it to us who was the tyrant that heaped up this or that pile of stones and mortar on the banks of the Nile, or first disgraced himself by the worship of cats or crocodiles? Is the rich field of human knowledge so entirely exhausted that we must turn back to these fooleries of barbarous ages for topics? It would be altogether as rational to imitate our periodical contemporary, and write nonsense about the bricks of the modern Babylon. In all studies but antiquarianism, labour produces some sensible result; an author discovers, or thinks he

discovers, something, and this discovery he publishes; suppressing the long and tedious routes through which he *did not* reach it, as well as that through which he did. For to publish all the researches which led to a certain discovery, is much the same as if a shoemaker should not content himself with selling his customer a pair of shoes, but should compel him to buy at the same time the awls and other tools with which he made them. The author thinks his reader cannot but be highly delighted with some certain idea of his, and thereupon he says, "you like that thought then: I will tell you how I came by it;" and forthwith he tells him how many folios he pored through in search of it; how many were of service to him, how many were not; nay, perhaps, he may even go the length to inform his gentle reader what kind of room he slept in, or what sort of fields he haunted at the moment of conception. It is this exposure of the scaffolding of thought that constitutes the great art of book-making: but an antiquary, never reaching any result, has nothing but scaffolding to show, and publishes his researches in order to convince his readers that he has been labouring in vain.

The author of 'Origines,' &c. has interwoven some useful matter, it must be confessed, with the woof of antiquarianism; having entered, in the course of his investigations, into an inquiry concerning the naval power, the medical, anatomical, chemical, and astronomical knowledge of the ancient Egyptians, and also concerning the origin of animal worship among the same people. In Chap. IV. he proves, by several very clear and cogent arguments, that the opinion generally entertained both by ancients and moderns, respecting the aversion of the Egyptians for the sea, and their entire ignorance of navigation, is erroneous. For, in the first place, beginning with the remotest antiquity, the traditions respecting the voyages and conquests of Osiris, though they should not have been founded, as regarded Osiris, on strict historical truth, were yet indications that in early times the Egyptians possessed the reputation of having been a maritime people. Diodorus Siculus, he observes, relates that Sesostris fitted out a fleet of 400 sail; and, according to Pliny, these ships were of rather large dimensions. Cecrops also, and Cadmus, and Danaus, performed voyages of considerable length; and under their guidance, and that of other chiefs, the Egyptians planted colonies in Greece and in the countries bordering on the Euxine. Nechos fitted out a fleet which circumnavigated the whole of Africa, from the northern point of the Red Sea to the mouth of the Nile. The author likewise draws proofs from the mythology that the Egyptians were not originally averse to the sea; Isis, their favourite goddess, being, in their theology, the deity presiding over the ocean. She is "represented in Egyptian monuments as sailing in the *baris*, or barge of Osiris;" and on some occasions, her veil is spread as a sail; whence Cassiodorus may have been led to say, "vela Isis rati prima suspendit." The Greeks themselves erected temples to Isis, as the protectress of mariners; and Plutarch says she was the same with Thetis. Her worship prevailed in many of the sea-port towns of Greece, Italy, and Gaul, and penetrated, according to Tacitus, into the wilds of Germany. From all which, it seems clearly to be inferred, that the Egyptians carried on a commercial intercourse with various distant nations.

In Chap. VI. 'Of the Astronomical Knowledge of the Egyptians,' are many ingenious speculations on the origin of astronomical instruments,

The author appears to think that the telescope was not unknown to the ancients, and his opinion is at least plausibly supported. "Moschopulus," says he, "an ancient grammarian, mentions four instruments with which the astronomers of antiquity were accustomed to observe the stars—the *catoptron*, the *dioptron*, the *eisoptron*, and the *enoptron*." This writer supposes the *catoptron* to have been the same with the *astrolabe;* but of the latter little appears to be precisely known. "The *dioptron* seems to have been so named from a tube through which the observer looked. Were the other two instruments named from objects being reflected in a mirror placed within them? Aristotle says, that the Greeks employed mirrors when they surveyed the celestial appearances. May we not conclude, from this circumstance, that astronomers were not always satisfied with looking through empty tubes?" Our antiquarian thinks the ancients were acquainted with lenses, and has collected passages from various writers which corroborate his opinion; besides which, he infers from the numerous uses to which glass was applied in the most remote ages, that magnifying glasses could not have been unknown to the Chaldeans and Egyptians. The art of colouring glass was known to the Egyptians, Phenicians, and Babylonians; coffins for the dead were made of it in Ethiopia; the Greeks knew how to melt and cast it, and to imitate precious stones with coloured crystals; and the Romans, according to Winkelman, surpassed the moderns in the manner of colouring glass. These remarks are thus followed up by the author:

Some of the observations of the ancients must appear very extraordinary, if magnifying glasses had never been known among them. The boldness with which the Pythagoreans asserted that the surface of the moon was diversified by mountains and valleys, can hardly be accounted for, unless Pythagoras had been convinced of the fact by the help of telescopes, which might have existed in the observatories of Egypt and Chaldea, before those countries were conquered and laid waste by the Persians. Pliny (L. 11.) says, that 1600 stars had been counted in the 72 constellations, and by this expression I can only understand him to mean the 72 dodecans into which the Egyptians and Chaldeans divided the zodiac. Now this number of stars could never have been counted in the zodiac without the assistance of glasses. Ptolemy reckoned a much less number for the whole heavens. The missionaries found many more stars marked in the Chinese charts of the heavens, than formerly existed in those which were in use in Europe. The Persians, as it appears from a passage in the *Nimetullah,* had a tradition, for it could have been nothing else, that the galaxy appears white from the great multitude of stars which it contains. Democritus seems to have been informed of a similar tradition; probably during his stay in Egypt. His statement was supposed to be founded in error; but when Galileo turned his telescope to the galaxy, he became convinced of the fact. Democritus likewise said that some of the planetary bodies were unknown to the Greeks. The Chaldeans asserted that they had discovered more. (Seneca Quæst. Nat.) These, it would seem, could only have been the satellites of Jupiter, and perhaps of Saturn. That the Brahmins had discovered these satellites may be strongly inferred from their reckoning the planetary bodies to be fifteen in number.

Suidas, at the word ὕαλος, (glass,) indicates, in explaining a passage in Aristophanes, that burning mirrors were occasionally made of glass. Now how can we suppose burning mirrors to have been made of glass, without supposing the magnifying powers of glass to have been known? The Greeks, as Plutarch affirms, employed metallic mirrors, either plane, or convex, or concave, according to the use for which they were intended. If they could make

burning mirrors of glass, they could have given any of these forms to glass. How then could they have avoided observing, that two glasses, one convex and the other concave, placed at a certain distance from each other, magnified objects seen through them? Numerous experiments must have been made with concave and convex glasses, before burning mirrors made of glass could have been employed. If astronomers never knew the magnifying powers of glass, and never placed lenses in the tubes of the *dioptrons*, what does Strabo mean, when he says, "Vapours produce the same effects as the tubes in magnifying objects of vision by refraction?" (L. 3. c. 138.)

You are an admirer of antique gems, intaglios, and cameos. You acknowledge the moderns to be inferior to the ancients in works of this nature. How happens it, that the former cannot work so finely with the aid of the microscope, as the latter did without it? You are unable to solve this question, and you are at last forced to acknowledge, that the gems, which you admire, could not have been cut in such perfection without the aid of magnifying glasses. But the knowledge of the powers of the microscope supposes the knowledge of the powers of the telescope.

The Persians pretend that Alexander the Great found a mirror in which the universe was represented. This mirror, which they call *aynah Iskander*, would seem to have been a reflecting telescope. Certainly there have existed traditions for which it would be difficult to account, if no telescopes had ever existed before the age of Galileo. The Greeks reported that Pythagoras had shown letters written on the disk of the moon by means of a mirror. Roger Bacon, who flourished in the 13th century, says that Cæsar surveyed the coast of Britain from that of Gaul, by the help of a glass; and this report, whether true or false, shows that a tradition existed of the ancient use of telescopes in the time of Roger Bacon, when these instruments were certainly unknown to the moderns.

In Chap. VII. the author inquires into the state of the sciences of medicine and anatomy among the Egyptians. The medical profession appears from the English bible to have flourished in Egypt in the days of Jacob: but in the Septuagint the word translated *physicians* by our countrymen, is rendered by a term signifying *embalmers*. Sir William is of opinion that the same persons were then accustomed to cure the living and embalm the dead, and that thus both translations are partly correct. However this may be, in Homer's time the medical profession was in high esteem in Egypt; and afterwards, when Herodotus visited that country, there were physicians for every different part of the body, and for every different disease. The healing art was an hereditary profession in that country, physicians begetting physicians, *in secula seculorum*, as kings in modern countries beget kings. The mode of practice also was prescribed by law, and was to be precisely that recommended in the Hermaic books. This law, according to some authors, repressed all improvement, and kept the science of medicine for ever stationary. Sir William does not agree with these writers; he contends that the Hermaic books were *probably* forged at a late period, and that they were, according to Galen, *full of absurdities*. He asserts also, upon what authority we do not know, that these Hermaic volumes *were never seen* but in the hands of the *Pastophori* during a procession, and that *therefore* the abovementioned law *must have been* altogether nugatory. We have read that the directions of these sacred volumes were to be followed in all cases—we believe for three days—but that afterwards the physician was allowed to alter, *at his peril*, the mode of treatment, in case the *legal* method had not proved beneficial. In respect to the knowledge the Egyptians possessed of anatomy, Sir William speaks in a confused and

unsatisfactory manner. Little appears, in fact, to be known about the matter.

The Chapter on the 'Knowledge of the Egyptians in Chemistry and Metallurgy,' displays a great portion of that mischievous kind of learning for which we have already ventured pretty freely to censure this writer. He introduces from Zosimus some of the stupid dreams of the Jewish Rabbin on the origin of the word chemistry; and although he does this merely to show their absurdity, there is no excuse for his bringing them forward, since oblivion is the only refutation they deserve. In his own proper person he speaks of "Tubal-Cain," the great antediluvian "iron-founder," as a person who understood something of chemistry, as if in reality we knew any thing of Tubal-Cain, or of the times in which he lived. However, to make amends in some respect for this trifling, a good many sensible remarks follow, by which the author is desirous of showing that the Jews had made considerable progress in the knowledge of chemistry when they left Egypt, and that they acquired what they knew in that country. This is much better than pretending that the Egyptians, and all other nations, derived their sciences from the ignorant Hebrews; for, "quem unquam Græcorum legimus adiisse Judæam ad capiendum ingenii cultum: quem non in Ægyptum[1] descendisse?"

Having now travelled through the second volume of the 'Origines,' as far as the confines of the Hieroglyphic territory, which begins the next chapter, we retrace our steps, and direct our attention to the origin of animal worship among the Egyptians.

On this subject our theory and Sir William's differ *in toto*. He thinks that mankind began with a correct knowledge of the Deity, and a pure religion, and afterwards relapsed into ignorance and idolatry, though in every other respect they went on improving in wisdom. We think, on the contrary, as the most acute reasoners have thought, that originally men possessed *no knowledge* of the Divinity; that they commenced with the most stupid superstitions; and that, as they gradually rose by the light of philosophy to civilization and freedom, their theology, as well as every thing else, was improved. As the sun, moon, and stars, are the most beautiful and glorious objects in the universe, it is very probable that Sabeism was among the most ancient religions, or rather, perhaps, that it formed a portion of every religion. But we can by no means think that a people who originally worshipped the one true God, the great cause of nature, could by any means have been brought to adore even the glorious hosts of heaven. Sir William Drummond, however, believes that—

> At first the celestial bodies, over which the delegated emissaries of the Deity were supposed to preside, served as the types of the powers which guided them in their orbits; but when the heavens were divided into zones, the zodiac into parts, and the stars into catasterisms, new symbols were chosen to represent the celestial hosts. Accordingly, the sun, the moon, the planets, and the constellations, were indicated by emblems, which were varied, (and in later times prodigiously augmented in number,) as mythologists found occasion to invent and to employ them. But in examining these emblems, it would be difficult to say, why some of the most remarkable among them were used to denote the same things by nations widely remote from each other, unless they had been

[1] Burnet, Archæol. Philosoph. p. 58.

originally devised by the common ancestors of all mankind. A bee entering into the mouth of the Mithraic lion was the symbol by which the Persians represented the king, the sun, passing into the sign of Leo. The Egyptians denoted the same constellation by the same animal, which was not a native of Egypt. A lion, surmounted by the solar orb, was the device of the ancient monarchs of India. Again, the sun in the sign of Taurus appears to have been adored from the Nile to the Ganges. Witness the Egyptian Mnevis and Apis, the tauriform idols of the Syrians and Chaldeans, the Persian Mithras riding on the bull, and the respect and reverence in which this animal is still held by the pious Brahmins. May we not conclude from these circumstances, that the mythological systems of the Pagan nations had a common origin in Tsabaism, and dated their existence from a period when the solstitial and equinoctial colures passed through the signs of Leo and Taurus?

But while the worship of animal similitudes was thus common in the East, the Egyptians alone appear to have offered the homage of their adoration to animals themselves. This singularity attracted the attention of various Greek and Roman writers, who have endeavoured to account for it. Cicero, Diodorus, and Plutarch, attribute the existence of this superstition to the sense of gratitude which men felt for the services which were rendered to them by animals—by the cow that affords them sustenance by her milk, by the ox that toils for them in the field, by the sheep that furnishes them with clothing, by the dog that warns them of the approach of thieves, and by the ibis and ichneumon that fight for them against snakes and crocodiles. Why then, it may be asked, was the horse not reckoned among the sacred animals of Egypt?—Why was the bee, the honey-fly, as the Arabians call it, neglected? and why were the serpent and the wolf considered as worthy of adoration by the worshippers of Cneph, and by the inhabitants of Lycopolis?

I am inclined to consider the worship of animals as a superstition which is to be traced to Tsabaism, and which, owing to particular circumstances, took root and flourished in Egypt. There can be little doubt, I think, and as I have already stated, that the worshippers of the hosts of heaven had represented the asterisms by symbols, and that these symbols were chiefly taken from the figures of animals. Thus the first sacred sculptures, graven images, and hieroglyphs, became objects of veneration among the people; but in most of the countries of Asia the introduction of alphabetical characters brought hieroglyphs into disuse at a very early period. It consequently happened, that the association, which might have once existed in the minds of men, between the deities and the signs by which they had been represented in those countries, was gradually diminished, or perhaps entirely destroyed. In Egypt the case was reversed. There the use of hieroglyphs was continued. The people were still accustomed to see their Gods represented by hieroglyphical symbols, most of which were nothing else than the figures of animals. It can be no matter of surprise then, that the veneration of the ignorant and superstitious multitude was extended from the painted and sculptured figures to the animals themselves. Various circumstances might, no doubt, have contributed to establish this superstition. It was the interest of the priests to encourage it, because the power of the teachers of a false religion is always great in proportion to the credulity and fanaticism of their followers. Neither might the worship of animals have appeared incapable of vindication to those who admitted the doctrine of emanation, and who believed that portions of the divine essence might for particular purposes have become incarnate in the bodies of living creatures. The error began with the doctrine of emanation, and with the symbols by which the Tsabaists represented the leaders of the celestial hosts.

This whole chapter displays considerable ingenuity; the origin of animal worship is plausibly derived; but we are fully persuaded, notwithstanding, that the author has transposed the history of the case, and that animals were worshipped from gratitude upon earth long before they were translated by astronomy to the constellations.

CAPTAIN LYNN'S NAUTICAL AND ASTRONOMICAL TABLES.[1]

When, in walking through a library, we glance at the laborious works on divinity, history, law, and other branches of literature with which our persevering forefathers have loaded its shelves, we are disposed to wonder at the application and industry requisite for the production of such ponderous tomes, now rarely disturbed from their repose. In the same manner, we are struck, while hurrying over the leaves of the formidable volume before us, with a sort of wonder, how any man could be found to write down even such a mass of figures as its thousand closely-printed pages contain. But when we bring ourselves to the consideration, that every four or five of the millions of figures which we here see, are the results or products of calculations, in most cases elaborate and intricate, it is really astonishing that any man could voluntarily sacrifice his life, as it must almost seem, to such dry, hard, unyielding matter. Not, indeed, that any one man could, in the longest life, himself originally produce such a volume,—that we hold to be impossible; still what is here original, what improved, and what compiled, might suffice to appal the stoutest heart and the strongest head from daring to undertake, or hoping to execute. Such works must grow under the author's hand. He at first limits his views to something apparently attainable, and proceeds, from step to step, till he looks back in complacent amazement at what he must have looked forward to, could he have foreseen it, with sensations approaching to affright.

Nor is the intellectual and manual labour the only consideration: the expense of printing such a book of figures, (quadruple, perhaps, to that of one of words,) must be overwhelming to ordinary means. The common patrons of book-makers (the booksellers) can ill appreciate the merits of such works as this, and as little calculate its possible profits. But we have, happily, public bodies interested in the progress of improvement, and ready to step in between a useful labourer in the scientific vineyard, and his ruin, if unassisted. Considering the extent of our marine, military, and commercial, and the immense amount of our capital afloat, there is not, perhaps, any description of improvement in which so many and so much are immediately interested as in that of navigation; nor, consequently, any thing bearing so immediately and permanently on our

[1] Nautical and Astronomical Tables, for facilitating operations in Navigation and Nautical Astronomy; comprising several new Tables, particularly adapted for the mean atmospherical Refraction in the East and West Indies, and in the Temperate and Frigid Zones; the Transits of Sixty-one Stars over the Meridian of Greenwich, to the Year 1836, inclusive. To which are prefixed a full Explanation of their Uses and Application; Description of the most important Instruments used by the Mariner; copious Rules and Examples for finding the Latitude; with various short Methods of ascertaining the Longitude by Means of Chronometer, Lunar Observations, &c. &c. By Thomas Lynn, late Commander in the Sea Service of the East India Company, and Examiner (appointed by the Hon. Court of Directors) of the Officers of that Service; Author of 'The Improved System of Telegraphic Communication,' 'Star Tables,' and 'Solar Tables;' and Teacher of Navigation and Nautical Astronomy. London, 1825.

national prosperity as suggestions and discoveries tending to the safety of the lives and property committed to the dangers of the ocean.

We have not been fortunate enough, in the course of our career, to have met with *many* occasions on which we could conscientiously indulge in panegyric on the conduct of the East India Directors as a body. It is therefore, the more probable, that when such occasions do offer, we shall hail them with the greater satisfaction. We hear with unqualified pleasure, and we record it with unqualified praise, that the meritorious author, whose work now lies before us—one of their oldest nautical servants—has been most liberally patronized by the honourable Court, in the progress, and on the completion, of his vast work. Such patronage is equally creditable to both parties.

We farther learn, that the Corporation of the Trinity-House have also seen, and munificently acknowledged, the merit and utility of Captain Lynn's Tables. There is yet another public body, who, if they have not, (on which point we lack information,) we have little doubt, in due time, will direct a portion of the national patronage, with the distribution of which they are so liberally and judiciously intrusted, into the like channel: we allude to the Board of Longitude, which is more especially, and by statute, called on so to do. By the 58 Geo. III. c. 20., a continuation and extension of enactments, from the 12th of Anne to 26th of Geo. II., that Board is empowered to award divers sums of money "for making and publishing observations, calculations, and tables, or towards improving and correcting such as have been already made, or for other purposes useful to navigation." The Board are thereby authorized, at its discretion, to grant, in any year, several thousand pounds sterling for such purposes; and the empowering clauses of the Act are very judiciously appended to the Nautical Almanack.

That work, so extensively useful, being necessarily in the hands of almost every one intrusted with the command of a ship on a long voyage, thus disseminates a knowledge of our national bounty in rewarding improvements in that species of science so essential to our national prosperity. The hope and prospect of such reward and distinction must operate as a stimulus to deserve them; and we will take upon ourselves to say, that no volume has hitherto appeared, tending, as it professes, "to facilitate operations in navigation and nautical astronomy," so extensively as this collection of Tables by Captain Lynn.

In addition, therefore, to the public rewards to which this laborious work lays reasonable claim, and which we cannot bring ourselves to suppose will be withheld, we may felicitate the author on the reception which his Tables will meet with from the commanders and officers of his own service, and of the Royal Navy, to whom it will prove a most useful and important companion.

Having thus given this work our hearty commendation, we shall content ourselves with pointing at a few of its most prominently useful features, as they have presented themselves to our cursory inspection. We should not, indeed, on such an inspection alone, have felt authorized so strongly to recommend any work; but in the instance before us, we are borne out by the concurrent testimony of many eminent men, who, as we happen to know, have voluntarily recorded their testimony of its excellence.

The volume opens with a copious Introduction, containing a great variety of information, valuable to the incipient as well as to the practised mariner. The directions for choosing and adjusting astronomical instruments are well digested and perspicuous. Reasonable attention to these, on the part of those about to purchase, will alone amply repay the cost of the book; for when we consider the quantity of trash sold in this money-getting metropolis, under the abused name of mathematical and astronomical instruments, the importance of their being good, and the probability of their being bad, too much attention cannot be given to their selection.

Passing over several valuable Tables, those of 'Half-elapsed Time, Middle Time, and Rising,' arrest our notice. They are composed of numbers easy in construction, being derived from the simplest of circular properties, and calculated to seconds of time. They possess great merit, and deserve the applause of seamen in the solution of that important problem, 'To find the latitude by double altitudes.' They likewise afford a very convenient solution to Dr. Brinkley's method of finding the latitude by two stars; and they can also be used, with peculiar elegance and facility, in the solution of the lunar problem itself.

The form of Tables VIII. and IX., ('Requisite Tables,') is extremely convenient. For easy application, and for ready adaptation to different states of the atmosphere, they are, in our estimation, a great improvement on earlier formulæ.

Tables XXI., XXIV., to XXVI., contain the 'Transits of *Sixty-one* of the principal Stars over the Meridian of Greenwich;' and not only the exact apparent time of such transit, but their altitudes and bearing from a ship in that position; and, consequently, the certain means of finding the star, to the capacity of even a very young observer, with a slight attention to the introductory instructions, 240-1-2.

Portions of this work, under the titles of 'Star Tables,' and 'Solar Tables,' have been for some time before the public, and have been found exceedingly useful. Since their publication, the compilers of the Nautical Almanack have extended their transits from twenty-four stars to sixty.

The Tables for the reduction of altitude, and the altitudes of any celestial objects at certain hours, whereby the ship-time is found, and longitude, of course, by chronometer, are among those eminently useful. The Lunar Tables of Dr. Maskelyne are here adapted to three states of the atmosphere, those of Mr. Lynn's to two, and those of that eminent and liberal astronomer, Dr. Brinkley, to three. A Sexagesimal Proportional Table, for taking out the corresponding seconds to parts of logarithms, &c., or conversely, and the last 'Table of the Latitude, Longitude, &c. of Places,' extensive to a degree heretofore unattempted, may be included among the prominently useful parts of the volume.

But willing as we are to lengthen our notice of this highly meritorious work, we recollect that the great majority of our readers are neither nautical nor scientific. We will, therefore, let our commendation be strong rather than lengthened; and conclude with recording our decided opinion, that the safety of every ship proceeding on a long voyage, and the chance of shortening it, are increased by having on board, and giving due attention to, 'Lynn's Tables.'

UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS OF A TRAVELLER IN THE EAST.

No. IV.

Locusts in the Mediterranean—Pantellaria—Sicily—Mythology, Fiction and History—Gozo and Malta.

DURING our progress up the Mediterranean, we observed, on the morning of the 30th of June, the whole surface of the sea covered with locusts, most probably driven off the coast of Africa by a strong wind. They had been but a little time in the water, judging from the perfection of their bodies; and this opinion was afterwards confirmed by our finding several alive among the rigging aloft. We examined them minutely, and preserved two of the most perfect of them in spirits. They exactly corresponded with the description given of the *Gryllus Migratorius* of Linnæus, or common migratory locust, which, of all the insects capable of injuring mankind, seems to possess the most dreadful powers of destruction. Legions of these animals are from time to time observed in various parts of the world, where the havock they commit is almost incredible: whole provinces are in a manner desolated by them in a few days, and the air is darkened by their numbers; nay, even when dead, they are still terrible, since the putrefaction arising from their inconceivable number is such that it has been regarded as one of the probable causes of pestilence in the Eastern regions. This formidable locust is of a brownish yellow, variegated about the belly and legs with a bluish flesh-colour. It is armed with jaws, and furnished with feelers; its eyes are singularly dull, with perpendicular streaks of white in them, besides which it has three transparent specks in the front of its head. On all the feet the claws are double, and its hind ones are formed for leaping exactly like those of the common grasshopper.

History has not suffered their devastations to pass unnoticed. In the year 1748, they appeared in irregular flights in several parts of Europe, as in Germany, France, and England; and in the capital itself and its neighbourhood great numbers were seen; they perished, however, in a short time, and were happily not productive of any material mischief, having been probably driven by some irregular wind out of their intended course, and weakened by the coldness of our climate. Their ravages in various parts of the world, besides, at different periods, are recorded by numerous authors. In the year 593 of the Christian era, after a great drought, these animals appeared in such vast legions as to cause a famine in many countries. In 677, Syria and Mesopotamia were overrun by them. In 852, immense swarms took their flight from the Eastern regions into the West, flying with such a sound that they might have been mistaken for birds: they destroyed all vegetables, not sparing even the bark of trees and the thatch of houses, and devouring the corn so rapidly as to destroy, on computation, a hundred and forty acres in a day; their daily marches, or distances of flight, were computed at twenty miles, and these were regulated by leaders or kings, who flew first and settled on the spot which was to be visited at the same hour the next day by the whole legion; these marches were always undertaken at sun-rise. The

locusts were at length driven by the force of winds into the Belgic Ocean, and being thrown back by the tides, and left on the shores, caused a dreadful pestilence by their smell. In 1271, all the corn-fields in Milan were destroyed; and in the year 1339, all those of Lombardy. In 1541, incredible hosts afflicted Poland, Wallachia, and all the adjoining territories, darkening the sun with their numbers, and ravaging all the fruits of the East.

Volney, in his travels, after noticing the prevalence of earthquakes in the East, says: "Syria, as well as Egypt, Persia, and almost all the south of Asia, is subject to another calamity no less dreadful; I mean those clouds of locusts so often mentioned by travellers. The quantity of these insects is incredible to all who have not seen them, and witnessed their astonishing numbers; the whole earth is covered with them for the space of several leagues. The noise they make in browsing on the trees and herbage may be heard at a great distance, and resembles that of an army foraging in secret. The Tartars themselves are a less destructive enemy than these little animals; one would imagine that fire had followed their progress. Wherever their myriads spread, the verdure of the country disappears, as if a covering had been removed; trees and plants, stripped of their leaves, and reduced to the naked boughs and stems, cause the dreary image of winter to succeed in an instant to the rich scenery of the spring. When these clouds of locusts take their flight to surmount any obstacle, or to traverse more rapidly a desert soil, the heavens may literally be said to be obscured by them. Happily this calamity is not frequently repeated, for it is the inevitable forerunner of famine and the maladies it occasions. The inhabitants of Syria have remarked that locusts are always bred by two mild winters, and that they constantly come from the Desert of Arabia. From this observation, it is easy to conceive that the cold not having been rigorous enough to destroy their eggs, they multiply suddenly, and the herbage failing them in the immense plains of the desert, innumerable legions issue forth. When they make their first appearance on the frontiers of the cultivated country, the inhabitants strive to drive them off by raising large clouds of smoke, but frequently their herbs and wet straw fail them; they then dig trenches, where numbers of them are buried; but the two most efficacious destroyers of these insects, are the south or south-easterly winds, and the birds called the *samarma*. These birds, which greatly resemble the woodpecker, follow them in large flocks, and not only greedily devour them, but kill as many as they can; they are, therefore, much respected by the peasants, and nobody is ever allowed to shoot them. As for the southerly and south-easterly winds, they drive with violence these clouds of locusts over the Mediterranean, when such quantities of them are drowned, that, when their carcases are thrown on the shore, they infect the air for several days even to a great distance."

On the following day we had variable airs and calms throughout the whole of the morning; during which we observed the surface of the water for several leagues a-head of us to be covered with a red colour, broken into clouds in some places, and in others, forming one continued stream. On a nearer approach we found it to be a mass of animal putrefaction, swimming on the surface of the sea like oil, and emitting a most disagreeable odour. In several places we could distinctly discern fragments of locusts, and, on drawing up a bucket full of this filth, we

found several of their bodies almost perfect underneath this surface, the mass being several feet in depth. It occasioned such an unpleasant smell as to oblige us to throw it overboard immediately, nor were we clear of the general mass of it until midnight.

Running with a moder[illegible] all night, we were, on the next day, abreast of the uninhabited [illegible] Zambro; and at noon were off Cape Bon, a high promontory, projecting from a low and narrow sandy isthmus, remarkable for its summit displaying horizontal strata of white spar stone, which renders it barren and unproductive, the interstices being covered with a short brown heath.

At sun-set we were abreast of Pantellaria, and within a few miles of the town, which we observed to occupy a considerable space of ground; and the northern side of the island presented the appearance of a well-cultivated spot. A square tower stood near the water, and a pier inclosed some vessels whose masts we could plainly discern. It is represented as about 25 miles in circumference, and containing 4000 or 5000 inhabitants, under the dominion of Sicily. The principal productions are olives, figs, raisins, capers, and cotton; cattle are numerous, but bread-corn is imported from Sicily. In the year 1538, Dragut, Captain Pasha of the Turkish fleet, landed, took the fortress, and made 1000 prisoners, but soon abandoned it. Their language and dress are a mixture of the Arabic and Italian.

After some squally weather and contrary winds we at length came within sight of Sicily, making the coast towards its western extremity. I had before read the highly entertaining 'Tour of Brydone' through this celebrated island, and now recurred to it again with increased pleasure; but it was impossible to pass, for the first time, a spot so remarkable for the scenes of history, fable, and poetry, without feeling a desire to retrace and recapitulate its leading events.

Sicily is by far the largest, most fertile, and populous island in the Mediterranean. It was inhabited by a people originally Spaniards, and called Sicanians. The Sicules, inhabitants of Latium, penetrated afterwards into this island, and drove the Sicanians from the south and west parts.

Several colonies of Greeks next transported themselves into Sicily, and the ancient inhabitants were obliged to retire into the interior of the country. The Greeks built several handsome cities, several of which are remaining to this day; but the most considerable was Syracuse, founded by the Etolians.

Archius, of Corinth, a man bold and enterprising, entered Sicily with a colony of Dorians, and made himself master of Syracuse, about 765 years before Christ. The fertility of the country, and the convenience of the port, induced him to enlarge the city considerably, and it soon become one of the first in Europe.

Agrigentum, the next city to Syracuse, was equally exposed to revolution. Phalaris made himself master of it in the year 572, B. C., and exercised there during sixteen years every species of cruelty. He was killed by Telemachus, the grandson of Theron, the liberator of his country, and afterwards its king.

The fugitives of Syracuse wishing once more to get possession of their city, in the year 491 implored succour from Gelon, King of Gela, a city of Sicily. Gelon conducted himself with so much prudence, that the Syracusians unanimously elected him to be their king. His first care

was to reinstate agriculture, and he worked in the fields at the head of the labourers. He augmented Syracuse, fortified it, and become afterwards so powerful as to become master of all Sicily.

Gelon died in the year 476, B. C., leaving behind him the character of a good prince, and regretted by all ra[illegible]lians. He was succeeded by his brother Hiero, or Hieron, a [illegible] to be naturally hard and morose, but softened by Simonides, [illegible] and Bacchilides, whom he encouraged and long kept at his court. He died 466 years before the Christian era, and left the throne to his brother, Thrasibulus, who possessed all the vices without the good qualities of his predecessor.

Dionysius rendered himself master of Sicily in 405, B. C., reigning thirty-seven years. He was succeeded by Dionysius the Tyrant, who reigned twenty-five years, when, being driven out by Timoleon, he took refuge in Corinth, where he established a school. Agathocles brought the Sicilians under his yoke 317 years B. C., and reigned twenty-six years. From his death, Sicily became the theatre of continual war between the Carthaginians and the Romans; and neither the fortifications of Syracuse, nor the machines invented by Archimedes, were sufficient to prevent Marcellus's conquest of it in 208, B. C.

Sicily flourished under the Romans; but in the decline, or rather towards the fall of that empire, it came under the Vandals, and afterwards, the Kings of Italy. The Saracens were continual in their attacks upon it; and in A. D. 823, the Emperors of the East ceded it to Lewis le Debonnaire, Emperor of the West; after which time the Saracens occupied a part of it, until driven out by the Normans in 1004. The revolutions which have taken place in it, from that time until the present, have been endless, and present a tedious succession of possessors.

The interest of the voyager, as he passes along the shores of Sicily, is sure to be more strongly excited by every league that he advances up its coasts; for, independently of its having been the theatre of early and authentic history, it is also one of the principal regions of classic fable and poetry. The stupendous Etna was the residence of Vulcan, and the forge of the Cyclops, from whence Jupiter was supplied with the thunder-bolts of destruction. They are represented as having only one eye in the middle of their foreheads. Jupiter having hurled his thunder at Esculapius, because by the power of medicine he restored the dead to life, Apollo, the father of the god of physic, destroyed all the Cyclops with his arrows, to revenge the death of his son.

Notwithstanding the origin of most fables is lost in antiquity, the most prominent of them are likely to have had their foundation in truth. The learned Mr. Bryant, in his 'Analysis,' has, indeed, already attempted to divest tradition of fable, and to reduce the truth to its original purity, illustrating the truth of Gibbon's remark, that on a narrow basis of acknowledged truth an immense but rude superstructure of fable has been erected. It will not be uninteresting, perhaps, to trace, in the instance of the Sicilian fables, the affinity between truth and fiction: we shall, at least, own it to be ingenious.

The Cyclops were, in reality, a maritime nation, of the same family as the Phenicians and Cadmians, who came from Egypt, that African mother of many European colonies. They settled principally in Sicily, but memorials of them remained in many parts of Greece, where their skill [illegible] various branches of science was known and encouraged. The noble

and stupendous efforts of the Cyclops in architecture are visible in history by the term Pelorian, applied to any thing magnificent or great,—an epithet originally given to edifices sacred to the Cyclopian deity, Pelorus, or the sun. The Idæ Dactyli, who are generally said to have been the first that forged metals and brought them into general use, were Cyclopians, and their forges near Mount Etna, which afforded such a scope to the imagination of ancient poets, and enabled them to render metal subservient to the purposes of naval architecture and domestic use.

The Cyclops are also mentioned as being employed to form the maritime cities of ancient Mycene and Tiryns. Euripides says that they built the walls of the first after the Phenician rule; and Strabo observes, "Prætus seems to have been the first who used Tiryns as a harbour, which place he walled round by the assistance of the Cyclopians. They were seven in number, styled Gastrocheers, and lived by their labour." These seven Cyclops, Bryant supposes to have been seven Cyclopian towers, built by the people of that name, encompassing the harbour, to afford light to vessels approaching it in the night.

The description which the ancient poets gave of the Cyclopians was founded in truth: the dreadful eye that glared in their forehead was, in reality, the circular casement that was placed at the top of their light-houses, as a direction to mariners; and what confirmed the mistake into which the Grecians were led respecting this circumstance, proceeded from an eye which the Cyclopian artists represented over the entrance of their sacred temples.

The manner in which these light-houses were constructed is described at large by Bryant. They were all sacred to the sun, their tutelar deity, as before remarked, and from that circumstance often called Col-On. There were, indeed, few headlands without their temple or altar, (which were both occasionally used as fire-towers); and as the Colonæ were sacred to the Apollo of Greece, he, in consequence, was often called the tutelar god of the coast. Hence the name of Colonna, the celebrated promontory of Greece, on which stands to this day the splendid ruins of a temple dedicated to Minerva, of which Homer speaks as cotemporary with Troy; for, in the third book of the Odyssey, Nestor, after relating the seduction of Clytemnestra, passing to the return of the Greeks, says:

> But when to Sunium's sacred point we came,
> Crown'd with the temple of the Athenian dame,
> Atrides' pilot, Pheontes, there expired, &c.

When these light-houses were situated upon eminences of considerable height, they were called Tor, which signified both a hill and a tower; when compounded, they were styled Tor-Is, or fire-towers. The epithet Tor is also applied to several of the most elevated eminences that have towers on them; for instance, that abrupt and frightful precipice in Derbyshire, called the Main Tor; besides Glastonbury Tor, in Somersetshire, Tor-Abbey, in Devonshire, several elevations on Dartmoor in the same county, as well as Tor-bay and Tor-point, on the sea-coast; from all of which, except the first, the sea is visible; so that they might formerly have answered the purpose of the Cyclopian ones;—not to mention the number of places on the coasts of the Mediterranean, with that epithet affixed to their names.

When the eminences on which those light-houses stood were very

round, they were called Tith. Tithonus, so much celebrated for his longevity, was in reality one of these structures of long standing. A Pharos, dedicated to the sun Thetis, the ancient goddess of the sea, was only a fire-tower near the ocean, called Tith-Is; and the dreadful slaughter of the Cyclops by the arrows of Apollo merely relates to the manner in which the beacons on the Cyclopian turrets in Sicily, facing due east, were extinguished by the rays of the rising sun. Chiron, a compound of Chir-On, (the tower of the sun,) was a sacred college, inhabited by priests styled Centauri, from their deity Cahen-Taur, and who, from their wanton cruelties, were aptly figured as an animal partaking both of the human and brute form. In these colleges young persons were instructed in the sciences; and both Achilles and Jason are said to have received a Chironian education: indeed, they were the only places where the navigators of that day could be instructed. Castor, the tutelar deity of sailors, was also a Chironian edifice, which served both as a temple and a pharos, or light-house. Charon, the celebrated ferryman of the Styx, was a name of the like import and etymology with Chiron: the most remarkable temple with the former appellation stood opposite to Memphis, on the western side of the Nile. Near this spot persons of consequence were buried; and as the temple stood adjoining the catacombs, the region of which was called the Acheronian Plain, an offering was made at the Charon, or tower, when the body was landed; the whole of which is perfectly consistent with the mythological history of this personage.

Minos, so greatly celebrated, was in reality a Pagan deity, the Menes and Menon of Egypt, and the Manes of Lydia. The lunar god Neuas, the same as Noas or Noah, was styled in Crete, Minos, Min-noas, whose city was Min-Noa. Diodorus Siculus mentions him as the first lawgiver, a man of a most exalted soul, and one that was a great promoter of civil society. A tower, called Men-Tor, the tower of Men or Menes, was dedicated to this deity in the island of Crete, who, being worshipped under a particular hieroglyphic, they styled Minotaurus; and this tower, like the other light-houses or naval colleges, was the scene of cruelty and injustice. Some of the principal youth of Athens were annually sacrificed in this building, as the Carthaginians sent their children to be sacrificed at Tyre. The cruelties of Pagan rites were thus secretly performed by the treachery of those who were stationed in places of difficulty to warn mariners of their danger; and those professed guardians of mankind were its worst, because its most secret, enemies. The fabled Furies or Furiæ, and the Harpies, were originally these priests of fire, whose cruelties became so enormous that they themselves were enrolled with demons. One mode of sacrificing strangers, and the most plausible, was to oblige them to wrestle, in the area before the light-house or temple, with an athletic priest trained to the exercise, and skilled in the work of death. According to Purchas, when the Spaniards got access to the western world, there were to be observed many rites and many terms, similar to those which were so common among the sons of Ham. Among others, was this particular custom of making the person who was designed for a victim engage in fight with a priest of the temple. We perceive, therefore, there was much propriety in that savage and terrible character which history assigned to those Cyclopians who possessed the Sicilian province of Leontina, called Xuthia, and of whom Polyphemus is imagined to

have been chief. It was their custom to sacrifice all strangers who were driven on their coast; and perhaps the Greek poet, Euripides, is correct when he makes Silenus declare that the flesh of the unfortunate sufferers was looked on as a delicious repast.

In the Sirens, when their real history is considered, we shall perceive still some affinity betwixt truth and fable. Like the cruel Lamii, these Sirens were Cathite or Canaanitish priests and priestesses, who lived chiefly in their temples on the coast of Campania, and particularly near three small islands that were called after them. The fame of these temples was notorious, on account of the women who officiated, whose cruelty and profligacy was beyond description. The shores on which they resided are described by Virgil as bring covered with the bones of mariners, seduced thither by the plaintive harmony of the Canaanites, which was exquisitely expressed in the artful warblings of these Sirens. Their sacred hymns, accompanied by this ancient music, were too often fatal to the passing crew. Circe therefore advised Ulysses to avoid them:—

> Next, where the Sirens dwell, you plough the seas;
> Their song is death, and makes destruction please.
> Unblest the man whom music makes to stray
> Near the curst coast, and listen to their lay.
> Fly, fly the dangerous coast. HOMER'S ODYSSEY.

Similar rites prevailed at Cyprus; and as it was customary, in the perilous voyages of the ancients, for mariners to hasten to the altar of the chief deity of the country on which their ship had been wrecked, they who experienced this calamity on the western coast of Cyprus were only saved from a watery grave to endure a more dreadful death. The natives of Curium esteemed it a religious rite to seize on such defenceless strangers as had thus fled to their altar of Apollo, and, without compunction, assembled to see them hurled from the precipice on which his temple was placed. This reign of satanic cruelty is noted by Herodotus, as prevailing in the Tauric Chersonesus: "The people of this place," says he in his Melpomene, "worship the virgin goddess Artemis, at whose shrine they sacrifice all persons who have the misfortune to be shipwrecked upon their coast, and all the Grecians that they can lay hold of, when they are at any time thither driven. All these they, without any ceremony, brain with a club; though others say, that they shove them off headlong from a high precipice; for their temple is founded on a cliff." The Lycaonian priests of fire, in their maritime towers dedicated to Jupiter Lycæus, or Apollo, first introduced human sacrifices, and gave a preference to those of infants.

The Faro of Messina, to the north of this island, forming the straits which separate it from the continent of Italy, derived its name from the Pharos or light-houses that were built there to warn sailors from the dangers of Scylla and Charybdis. Aristotle has a long prose chapter describing its terrors, and both Homer and Virgil have celebrated it in song:—

> Dire Scylla there a scene of horror forms,
> And here Charybdis fills the deep with storms:
> When the tide rushes from her rumbling caves,
> The rough rock roars; tumultuous boil the waves;
> They toss, they foam, a wild confusion raise,
> Like waters bubbling o'er the fiery blaze;

> Eternal mists obscure the aerial plain,
> And high above the rock she spouts the main.—
> When in her gulphs the rushing sea subsides,
> She drains the ocean with her refluent tides;
> The rock rebellows with a thundering sound;
> Deep, wondrous deep, below appears the ground. POPE'S HOMER.

The description of Virgil, though more recent in point of date, is equally minute and circumstantial, and even still more terrific:—

> That realm of old, a ruin huge was rent,
> In length of ages from the continent—
> With force convulsive burst the isle away;
> Through the dread opening broke the thundering sea.
> At once the thundering sea Sicilia tore,
> And sunder'd from the fair Hesperian shore;
> And still the neighbouring coasts and towns divides
> With scanty channels and contracted tides;
> Fierce to the right tremendous Scylla roars;
> Charybdis, on the left, the flood devours:
> Thrice swallow'd in her womb, subsides the sea,
> Deep, deep as hell; and thrice she spouts away,
> From her black bellowing gulphs disgorged on high,
> Waves after waves, that dash against the sky. PITT'S VIRGIL.

Lucretius, Ovid, Sallust, Seneca, as well as many of the old Sicilian and Italian poets, describe it in equal terms of horror, though length of time, and the superior skill of modern navigators, has rendered their terrors less formidable.

On the side where Scylla stood, a Pharos was erected; and Charybdis, being subterranean caves which cause dangerous eddies and whirlpools, was called the cavern of the Cyclops. Fable describes Scylla as being surrounded with howling dogs, which probably alluded to those ferocious priests of the temple by whom human victims were sacrificed and afterwards feasted on. Ulysses, when entering the dangerous pass, is represented to have had six of his companions seized by Scylla, and lost the same number in the cavern of the Cyclops. Indeed, it was impossible to pass with safety, for if one danger was surmounted the other was sure to complete the destruction. Hence the proverb still applied to those who in attempting to avoid one evil fall into another—

> Incidit in Scyllam, qui vult vitare Charybdim.

oner has not omitted to take advantage of so fine an allusion as ords to the subject of his admirable poem; for after describing, in the nervous language of maritime phraseology, the horrors of their situation, in danger of foundering by laying-to, and rushing on to certain destruction by scudding, he beautifully observes—

> Far less dismay'd, Anchises' wandering son
> Was seen the straits of Sicily to shun,
> When Pelinurus from the helm descried
> The rocks of Scylla on his eastern side;
> While in the west, with hideous yawn disclosed,
> His onward path Charybdis' gulph opposed!
> The double danger as by turns he viewed,
> His wheeling bark her arduous track pursued;
> Thus, while to right and left destruction lies,
> Between th' extremes the daring vessel flies.—SHIPWRECK, Canto III.

We were detained in the channel between Sicily and Malta for several days, owing to the prevalence of calms and light variable winds. The climate, however, at this season of the year, (July,) was so delicious, that it was sufficient happiness to exist and breathe the pure and bland atmosphere by which we were surrounded.

We approached Malta from the west; and in passing the island of Gozo, we went within half a mile of the shore. This was the island on which Telemachus and Mentor were wrecked, and so sumptuously entertained by Calypso. We could see nothing that resembled the grotto of the goddess as we coasted along; nor could we observe those verdant banks eternally covered with flowers, nor those lofty trees for ever in blossom, that lost their heads in the clouds, and afforded a sacred shade to the baths of her and her companions.—All was metamorphosed, though we still continued to admire the beauty of the fiction.

The entrance to the harbour of Lavalette, in Malta, is imposing in the extreme; as the fortifications, close to which every ship has to pass, seem sufficient to annihilate the most powerful naval force that could be brought against it. We entered the harbour at sun-set, and passed the greater part of the night on deck, enjoying the novelty and beauty of the surrounding scene.

CANZONETTE.

'Tis sweet, when in the glowing west
  The sun's bright wheels their course are leaving,
Upon the azure Ocean's breast
  To watch the dark wave slowly heaving.

And oh! at glimpse of early morn,
  When holy monks their beads are telling,
'Tis sweet to hear the inspiring horn
  From glen to mountain wildly swelling!

And it is sweet at mid-day hour,
  Beneath the forest oak reclining,
To hear the driving tempests pour,
  Each sense to fairy dreams resigning.

'Tis sweet, where nodding rocks around
  The nightshade dark is wildly wreathing,
To listen to some solemn sound,
  From harp or lyre divinely breathing!

And sweeter yet the genuine glow
  Of youthful Friendship's high devotion,
Responsive to the voice of wo,
  When heaves the heart with strong emotion.

And youth is sweet with many a joy,
  That frolic by an artless measure;
And age is sweet with less alloy,
  In tranquil thought and silent pleasure.

For He who gave the life we share,
  With every charm his gift adorning,
Bade eve her pearly dew drops wear,
  And dress'd in smiles the blush of morning!

ERRORS OF DOCTRINE IN MR. M'CULLOCH'S DISCOURSE ON POLITICAL ECONOMY.

In our last Number, we noticed several defects and omissions of which Mr. M'Culloch was guilty in his historical sketch of the rise and progress of Political Economy. We now return to the subject of his 'Discourse,' for the purpose of offering a few comments on some of Mr. M'Culloch's errors in doctrine:—

I. At p. 9, he calls political economy a " a science founded on *fact and experiment*." A greater error there cannot be: political economy is a *science* properly so called; i. e. an *à priori* system of truth. Let us take one instance—the Ricardian theory of profits. According to this theory, profits vary inversely as wages. Now what is the evidence of this important theorem, and how came Mr. Ricardo to discover it? Mr. M'Culloch will not maintain any thing so monstrous as that any series of empirical inquiries or observations, such as the longest life could furnish, would warrant a conclusion of this nature. Proceeding in this empirical way, to whom should Mr. Ricardo have addressed his questions? With what hope of obtaining a civil answer? With what possibility of obtaining a true one? The induction would never approximate to a sufficient one. Supposing him, however, armed with the power of government, and putting out of view the intentional deceptions of those who had an interest in exaggerating, or in underrating their real profits, still there would be the utmost anarchy in the returns; for, with the present intricate intertexture of fixed and circulating capital, and the uncertain duration of the former, no man *could* make an accurate return of his profits. The case requires also a concurrent account of wages no less accurate; and not only so, but we must hear these collateral accounts of wages and profits for different periods, in order that it might appear through a long series of variations, that whatever wages had, at any time, lost, profits had gained; and *vice versa*. In Laputa such a thing might be feasible; not upon this earth of ours. And in *this* way, we may be assured, that Mr. Ricardo never reached his discovery. Or suppose (which has sometimes happened in mathematics) that in this way (i. e. by a few chance observations) he may have been led to suspect the law, still he must have sought for some higher proof; for in this way he could never have established it to the satisfaction of others, nor indeed to his own. How, then, *has* he established it? His proof has not been formally presented by him in the shape of a demonstration; but it is capable of being so, and it amounts to this: that profits *must* vary inversely as wages; because, suppose a case in which they did not, an absurdity will arise from which there is no escape. If this be so, his theorem is good in contempt of all experiment; since no case of opposing experience could be adduced which would not at the same time place the understanding in opposition to itself.

As the question is one of the greatest importance, and as Mr. M'Culloch is not singular in making it the praise of political economy that it rests upon a basis of experiment and induction, (a mode of compliment which is now used with the vagueness of a slang phrase,) it will be worth while to examine the particular illustration with which he has supported

his general proposition. It can hardly be necessary to tell the most unphilosophic reader, that any truth, be it in what department of knowledge it may, which needs the aid of experience for its establishment, cannot [illegible] that class which are denominated necessary truths; *i. e.* which, like [illegible]matical truths, cannot be imagined otherwise, without placing the intellect in self-contradiction; for truths, that are necessarily such, can need no attestation from experience, having a paramount evidence from the reason, *à priori* (*i. e.* antecedently to all experience). For instance: we should all laugh at being told that any truth of geometry or arithmetic had stood the test of ages, or had gained one jot of weight from the concurrent experience of many nations. Hence it follows, that if necessary truths transcend experience, any truth which does not transcend it cannot possibly involve necessity. On this account all experimental truths are open to exceptions. And, consequently, if the truths of political economy are really no more than experimental ones, Mr. M'Culloch is bound to suppose that they are not always valid. This, accordingly, he does. He candidly grants that they sometimes fail; but then much oftener, he says, they hold good. "Thus," says he, "it is an admitted principle in the science of morals, as well as of political economy, that by far the largest proportion of the human race have a much clearer view of what is conducive to their own interests than it is possible for any other man, or select number of men, to have; and, consequently, that it is sound policy to allow every individual to follow the bent of his inclination, and to engage in any branch of industry he thinks proper. This is the general theorem; and it is one which is established on the most comprehensive experience. It is not, however, like the laws which regulate the motions of the planetary system: it will hold good in nineteen out of twenty instances; but the twentieth may be an exception."——Be it so: but what has political economy to do with *that?* A political economist, not *quà* political economist, but as a man of general experience, may hold the maxim here alleged; that is, he will hold it not as any principle of his own science, but as an opinion derived from books or personal observation. For, in the first place, as matter of fact, he will see that the interference of government generally *has* done mischief; and, in the second place, his judgment will tell him that generally it is likely to do mischief; since, in most cases, mere abstinence from interfering (the "*laissez nous faire*" of the French merchants) is the only way by which a state can show its favour to one branch of industry without doing injustice to another. And, at this moment, when we are getting rid of the old machinery of bounties, drawbacks, &c. he observes that this machinery is not succeeded by any better, but absolutely by none at all. On these considerations, it is true, that he will be disposed to think unfavourably, *primâ facie*, of every act of interference on the part of the government; but when he comes to examine any particular case of interference, he must not urge the general presumption which lies against it in the maxim of Mr. M'Culloch, as if that were a sufficient objection; but must show what specific objections arise to it from the laws of political economy. If those are hostile to the measure, it is no more possible that one in twenty should be tolerable than the other nineteen: and, on the other hand, if they were *not* hostile to it, that would at once declare Mr. M'Culloch's maxim to be no part of political economy. From this dilemma, Mr. M'Culloch will find it impossible to escape.

II. A second error from which Mr. M'Culloch is not wholly free, viz. the confusion, in some degree, of political economy with politics,— is the radix of the preceding error. It may seem strange to charge this error upon an author who tells us in his advertisement that one e[illegible]s object of his treatise was, "the distinction of it" [viz. political eco[illegible]] "from politics," and who does really insist on this distinction from p. 72 to 75. But he treats the question in a vague and indefinite way; and the criterion he assigns for distinguishing between the two, is absolutely false. The political economist, he tells us, is not called upon to judge "of the constitution of government, [*that* being the business of the politician,] " but of its ACTS only." *Acts!* but what acts? Not all, surely? but a particular class of acts. Here, then, we are abroad again; and we are as much in want of a criterion for determining the particular class as we were at starting. This criterion can be drawn only from a just definition of political economy; which, at the present advanced stage of the science, might be given; but which, however, as yet, has *not* been given. Until that is done, politics will be confounded with political economy; and the conclusions of the latter, which *is* a science, supposed subject to the same uncertainty as those of the former, which is not.

III. Mr. M'Culloch has not exposed the true source of Adam Smith's errors. He insists justly on the bias[1] which that writer had to the system of the economists; on his error in regarding agriculture as the most productive application of industry; "the home trade as more productive than a direct foreign trade;[2] and the latter than the carrying trade." These, and other doctrines, he rightly represents as "fundamentally erroneous." But what was the original and parent error of Adam Smith's system, from which all these errors grew? Mr. M'Culloch says, that "the radical defect of the 'Wealth of Nations' consists in the erroneous doctrines advanced with respect to the invariableness of the value of corn, and the effect of fluctuations in the rate of wages on prices: these have prevented its author from acquiring any clear and accurate notions respecting the nature and causes of rent, and the laws which govern the rate of profit." Well: but these erroneous doctrines, whence were *they* derived? We affirm that the πρωτον ψευδος, the original vice of Adam Smith's speculations, from which all his other errors are deducible by the closest logic, was a false theory of value. The term "*labour*," not subjected to a previous examination and restriction, was the salient source of his errors and his self-perplexities. Labour, with Adam Smith, was the universal ground of value. Well; but put a couple of cases: in one, suppose the quantity of labour necessary for the production of an article to remain stationary, whilst the value of that labour (wages) alters. In the other, reverse this supposition: let the value of

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[1] Which bias, by the way, implies sufficiently a conscious perplexity in some part of his elementary principles. For, when he represented agricultural labour as the most productive, but not as the only productive, he must have been aware that this doctrine as much involved a contradiction of the economists as the true doctrine, which denies all sort of pre-eminence to agriculture. A "leaning" to the system of the economists is not possible to a very stern logician: he must be either wholly with them, or wholly against them.

[2] This error was first noticed by Mr. Ricardo; but though perfectly right, he as not, in this instance, particularly happy in his mode of showing the truth.

the labour remain stationary, but the quantity alter. Now, Mr. M'Culloch, as a Ricardian, is well aware of the different results which will arise as to price: in the first of these cases he knows that the product of the labour will not be at all affected in value; whilst in the second it will. And he cannot but know also what immense consequences flow out of this one partition or bisection of the possible cases. But to Adam Smith this bisection was hidden and merged in the word *labour*—common to both cases. "The products of labour will be to each other in price as the producing labour; and therefore any alteration in the labour will alter the price." Thus far a Smithian; but now steps in a Ricardian—"Aye, father Adam, an alteration of labour—but as to what? as to value, or as to quantity? For *that* makes all the difference. If the wages of shoemakers were to alter, shoes would not alter; but, if a machine were invented, which reduced the quantity of labour spent upon a pair of shoes, (from a day suppose to half a day,) shoes would instantly fall." Once directed upon this divarication (to use a learned word) of two cases, where one[3] only had been supposed possible, the eye of Adam Smith might possibly have seen all the rest: the clue once gained, might have been unravelled to the end, and no work left for Mr. Ricardo; though upon that point we demur. As the fact was, however, and being hampered with this one master error, we can only wonder that the 'Wealth of Nations' contains as large a body of truth as it really does; for we suppose that the history of the human understanding presents no instance of one single, and at first sight, small aberration from the truth drawing after it so large a body of other aberrations, and, where these become too gross to be submitted to, of contradiction and invincible embarrassment.

IV. Mr. M'Culloch is not accurate in his abstract of the Malthusian work on population, as he will probably himself acknowledge upon revising it. He represents it as one of the new results to be drawn from that work, "that it is by the *condition* of the people, by the extent of their command over the necessaries and enjoyments of human life, and not by their numbers, that their happiness is to be estimated." But if this were all, there would be no change effected in our views; the ante-Malthusian doctrine would be the same as the post-Malthusian; for it never was at any time supposed that the happiness of the people was to be estimated by their numbers, apart from their condition; *that* would, in any age, have been a contradiction in terms; as it would have amounted to saying that the condition of the people was to be estimated without reference to their condition. The error from which Mr. Malthus liberated this part of the subject, was the notion that the civil greatness of a state was to be estimated by the numbers of the people; that it was an absolute interest, and therefore a duty, of the state to promote population; and that a numerous population, without regard to its quality, was unconditionally a source of strength to the nation. Mr. M'Culloch's sentence, therefore, should have run thus: "that it is by the *condition*

[3] And not one, even, as the reader must not fail to remark, with any distinctness; since, if one even of the two cases above stated had been definitely stated, and so as to exclude the other, the other, as its correlate and antagonist, would immediately have rebounded as it were. But the single case of Adam Smith sinks all that is peculiar to the two cases by abstracting only what is common to both.

of the people, by the extent of their command over the necessaries and enjoyments of human life, and not by their numbers, that the prosperity of a state is to be estimated; that a scanty population may in the eyes of a political economist be a redundant one (as, until lately, in the Scotch Highlands); and a very dense population, as in England, a moderate one; and that the true test for determining the healthy proportion of the population is the rate of its increase compared with the rate of increase in the funds for employing labour." Something like this would have expressed Mr. M'Culloch's meaning; for we give it not as what he *should* have meant, but as what he *did* mean, and would have expressed if he had had some sharp monitor at his elbow to cry out "*Hoc age,*" and rouse him to the exercise of a more vigilant logic.

V. But of all errors, those which respect Mr. Ricardo are most reasonably the subject of complaint in the reader of the 'Ricardo Lecture.' We shall point out two:—

1. At p. 163, Mr. M'Culloch having occasion to say, that, before the accumulation of capital, and the appropriation of land, "the quantity of labour necessary to produce commodities" must have singly determined the relations of value between all exchangeable articles, adds, in a footnote: "There is no difference whatever of opinion respecting this position; it is equally assented to by Dr. Smith, Mr. Malthus, and Mr. Ricardo." Is it so? Then we should be glad to know what it is that they differ about. For that this ground of value will be liable to modifications *after* the accumulation of capital, is admitted[4] by Mr. Ricardo. If, therefore, all are agreed that *before* a certain case occurs, one single known principle furnishes the law, and *after* that case all are agreed that this principle needs modification, in what stage of the affair is it that their disagreement arises? But the fact is, they agree about no stage: and whosoever reflects on the confusion of Adam Smith about changes in the *value* of labour, (wages,) and in the *quantity* of labour, (which we have noticed before,) will see how impossible it is that he should agree either with Mr. Ricardo or with himself. As to Mr. Malthus, there is no one opinion on this subject, of all which the case will allow or language will express, that he has not earnestly protested to be his own opinion. This is not of much consequence; but it would be dangerous, indeed, for a student to acquiesce in this specious semblance of unity, where, in fact, all is discord. For if he does not trace all differences up to this one principle, he will never come to understand them, or to disentangle himself from the perplexity which is consequent upon *not* understanding them.

2. At p. 93, in a foot-note, without perceiving it, and certainly without at all designing to do what he does, Mr. M'Culloch stumbles upon the question of *wealth* in its relation to *value;* and completely vitiates the Ricardian notion of wealth. Upon this distinction much has been written, and very loosely written. We shall not here agitate the ques-

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[4] And not *admitted* merely, as though a concession which, in some degree, shook his general theory; but *insisted on* by Mr. Ricardo. Here stands the case: a certain principle, with certain determinate and assignable modifications, *a, b, c,* which it receives under the several cases or sets of circumstances A, B, C,—this principle, and these modifications, compose the whole theory of Mr. Ricardo; and yet such is the logic of the Quarterly Review, of Mr. Malthus, &c. that they call these *parts* of his theory *exceptions* to it.

tion at all; for "de Carthagine salius est silere quam parcius dicere." Two remarks only we shall throw out:—

1. The distinction is radically the same as that between *nominal* and *real* value, which has been the stumbling-block to all writers before Mr. Ricardo; and even by his followers it is not yet thoroughly mastered. Until it is, there can be no firmness in the theory of value, nor, consequently, in political economy.

2. Some writers (as *e. g.* the author of a late essay on value, which we take to be built on the old stock of a pamphlet published some years ago by the same publisher) have taxed Mr. Ricardo with a false opposition, as though he had opposed an attribute of a thing (value) to an attribute of a person (wealth). But this it is of no consequence to discuss. Let the terms be ill-chosen; grant it; the case will still remain thus: in the general use of the word value, two ideas, which are the antagonist poles to each other, are confounded; these, being so apt to collapse (as it were) into each other, it is of the last importance forcibly to keep apart; to give them different names (no matter what); and to sharpen the eye to the distinctions between them. Mr. Ricardo's complaint is, not that there is an *impropriety* in the customary use of the word value; for *that* would not matter so long as there was *unity* in it. His complaint is, that there is a *duplicity* in the use of the words *value* and *wealth*, by which they shift their basis interchangeably, and each alternately introduces a contradictory condition into the other. Without at all attending to the words, first of all trace and show the way in which two notions that exclude each other necessarily arise; then call them by any names you please.

FROM THE ROMANCE OF ANTAR.

Delightful dream! my Ibla's spirit came,
And thrice her lip beneath her veil I prest,
And then she left me; but not so the flame
She kindled on the altar of my breast;
Oh! that burns on, incapable of rest.
And were it not for this calm solitude,
And were it not for these my tears, (attest
It woods and rocks!) my heart would be subdued.

Then hear me, noble maiden, hear me vow,
For thy dear sake, in perils to be first—
Fearless to rush where steely lightnings glow
Through the red thunder-cloud of battle dust,
Through crash of scimitar and jav'lin thrust,
To conquer and deserve thy love; or throw
My breast upon the pikes, and sink at once below.

LAW AND CONSTITUTION OF INDIA.

No. II.

In continuing our remarks on this work,[1] we turn back to the Preface, in which the author has inserted conspicuously one of the most impudent falsehoods that ever were written or printed. He says, in reply to the author of the inestimable work on 'Colonial Policy, as applicable to the Government of India:'—

His next labour is bestowed in showing us very complacently how we are to abolish the East India Company, and to manage India after its abolition; to abolish that Company whose interests, he tells us, are so diametrically opposed to those of India—who, in spite of the revelations of Mr. Ricardo and the modern economists, have been guilty of the unpardonable obstinacy of adhering to the ancient transgression of consolidating *every species of taxation* into the dues levied from the land, and of the unparalleled oppression of wringing those from the *life blood* of the people to the unheard-of amount of no less than ONE THIRTY-SIXTH PART OF THE PRODUCE!

We must repeat again, this is the most audacious falsehood that ever was printed, even in defence of the East India Company, which, without appealing to any better authority, can be proved from this book itself. He pretends to ground his assertion on the authority of Mr. Colebrooke, and an estimate of the number of beegahs in cultivation, with the average produce of each beegah. Now, in the first place, the land was never measured, nor the produce throughout the country, with the expense of culture, exactly ascertained. Therefore, he may as well estimate the number of whales in the Northern Ocean, the quantity of oil contained in each, and thence calculate the value of our Greenland fisheries. But turning to the work on 'Colonial Policy' here impugned, we find the land-tax stated at 90 per cent. of the net produce, on the authority of this very Mr. Colebrooke; and it is well supported by the fact, that "the zumeendars were universally poor;" a fact attested by Mr. Shore, (Lord Teignmouth,) whose authority this author cannot dispute. But to judge him out of his own mouth: we find it stated at page 144, on the authority of Mr. Stewart, that—

In ten years, from 1796, lands were sold in the provinces of Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and Benares, on account of arrears of Government revenue; the total amount of assessment of which was 1,21,75,680 rupees, nearly one half of the whole assessment of the lower provinces. The amount of the price these lands brought at the sales was 1,08,55,537 rupees, showing a depreciation below the Government valuation of 13,20,143 rupees.

Does a falling off in the revenue to the amount of one hundred and thirty thousand pounds sterling, and the bankruptcy of one half of the landed proprietors in the Company's dominions, in the course of ten years, accord with the notion that they were too lightly assessed? If the price paid, as above specified, mean literally the purchase-money of the lands, what does it prove? Supposing, for instance, the lands bought at twenty year's purchase, their annual value will be only 5,42,776 rupees, or in the ratio of four per cent. to the proprietor, and 96 per

[1] The reader will find the former part of this Essay in our last volume, p. 443.

cent. to the Government! If it should mean (whether it be so or not we do not pretend to say) that the purchasers paid no price whatever, but merely promised so much revenue to Government, then they are mere farmers of taxes, and their property in the soil is annihilated.

The latter view of the case is supported by what the author says at page 148:—

It is the worthlessness of property in the soil that enables bold and penniless adventurers to become proprietors, as they call themselves, and we call them, of tracts of country equal to principalities. These are sold for nothing; bought for nothing. The purchaser promises to pay the revenue. If he succeed in collecting it, however great the oppression, he pays it, goes on in this way till he has pillaged the country, then it is again sold in whole or in part; and so on, till the country is ruined. The jumma, or Government rent, must then be reduced; and Government is the ultimate loser. This is a summary view of the case, and of the security we have in our zumeendars for the public revenue.

Here is a picture of a country too lightly taxed! What causes one half of the whole landed proprietors to become bankrupts in the space of ten years?—The pressure of the Government taxes! What causes their estates to be "sold for nothing, bought for nothing," although lying in "the finest provinces of the finest portion of the world"?—It is the enormous rate of taxation which renders the right of property in that highly prolific soil as worthless to the proprietor as if it were a barren rock! Yet this writer has the audacity to tell the world that the East India Company only takes *one thirty-sixth* part of the produce; and to condemn the great and good Cornwallis, because he did not leave the helpless natives of Bengal entirely at its mercy, that they might repose their "sacred rights," as it is hypocritically expressed, on "the honourable, the benevolent, and the humane *breasts* of the English Government"!

Col. Stewart calculates that the Company's land-tax amounts to ten-elevenths of the net produce; that is, Government takes 91 and leaves the proprietor only nine per cent.;—an income-tax (ninety-one per cent!) so low that the Company is advised to commit a gross breach of faith rather than that it should not be increased! Those who give such advice must form, indeed, a high estimate of the honour and humanity of their honourable masters.

One of this author's absurd calculations is, that because in certain provinces (the ceded and conquered territory) the revenue has for six years increased at the rate of three per cent. per annum, the Bengal provinces (which were reduced to ruin by our excessive exactions before the permanent settlement was granted) would, during the thirty and odd years that have elapsed, have increased steadily at the same rate; hence that their productiveness would have now been doubled. Indignant at the idea of the Company's treasury being defrauded, as he considered it, to this enormous extent, he demands—"Will the advocates for the extension of the permanent settlement of the Cornwallis school admit, that the zumeendars of Bengal do really now pocket two crores and a half of rupees annually by the solid improvement of the country consequent to the permanent settlement"?

Would it were really so; but we have it on much better authority, that of Mr. Colebrooke, that the sum left them when this settlement was formed was only about twenty-six and a half lacs among 60,000 pro-

prietors; (as they now are;) or, putting aside five or six of the great land-holders, leaving to the rest, at the average rate of 30 rupees each, a rental of 3*l.* sterling annually! a sum, he adds, "insufficient to maintain the family of the poorest labourer." Let us suppose this sum to be now doubled or tripled, (the highest estimate of improvement we ever heard made in Bengal,) or even increased ten times, as this author conjectures, so that each proprietor may have a rental of 30*l.* sterling annually, is it thought so monstrous a thing, by the partisans of the Company, that the natives of India should be allowed to reap so much of the fruits of their own country—the land of their forefathers—which has been so often dyed with their blood, ruthlessly shed? Are their Christian legislators, who absorb *all* the rest, not ashamed to confess that it is this small portion still left which tugs at their heart-strings?—not the impoverishment of the zumeendars, the oppression of the people, the universal ruin and misery that have overtaken all from the prince even to the peasant.

The author, of course, recommends the same faithless policy to be followed respecting the permanent settlement solemnly promised to the ceded and conquered provinces. His reason is simply this: that their revenue has considerably increased since the public pledge was given, and that as there is a prospect of its being yet still farther augmented, treachery to our subjects will be most profitable to the Company... Under the faith of that solemn pledge (given in 1802-3) being ultimately redeemed, the revenue paid by the inhabitants of these districts has increased in the large sum of 1,270,000*l.* sterling annually. But, says our author:—

The increase of land-revenue in the ceded and conquered provinces, from 1807 to 1813, six years, was fifty-five and a half lacs of rupees, and all this after the permanent settlement promise of the 14th of July 1802, 15th of September 1804, 10th of July 1805, and Regulation X. 1807, had been made, and *as often put off*. And it is remarkable, that, previous to 1807, the date of the last broken promise of a permanent settlement, the increase did not exceed ten lacs: ten lacs in five years! It may, therefore, with at least as much plausibility, be maintained that it was not till the people felt pretty well assured that there would be *no permanent settlement*, that they did heartily set about increasing the cultivation. We may, at all events, rest assured that the people of Hindoostan are not so credulous as to allow themselves to be guided by such promises.

He a little before asserts, "on his own knowledge," from a long residence among them, and from the opinion of others still better qualified to speak to the fact, that "notwithstanding the promises of Government, the people of the ceded and conquered provinces never really looked for a permanent settlement"! Is the character of the honourable Company, whose advocate this is, indeed at so low an ebb among its subjects? But admitting that it has so deeply impressed the natives of India with this opinion of British faith, (*Punica fides!*) will he tell us how, in the name of heaven, such a belief, so disgraceful to us as a nation, could promote the improvement of our Indian revenue? If he will fix upon us this load of national infamy, let him, at least, point out how its wages have been realized. But it is false to say that the inhabitants of the ceded and conquered provinces were ever assured that the pledge, so solemnly and repeatedly given, would never be redeemed. British character has indeed suffered much by the scandalous delay that has taken place; and those who are the a[illegible] it may be as unprincipled as this author believes

and wishes them to be. But it was not till 1813, on the expiration of the decennial leases of 1803, when the permanent settlement ought to have commenced, that symptoms of bad faith were clearly shown to the people. All the increase, therefore, in the interim, (55½ lacs annually,) is justly attributable to the reliance placed on the promise then falsified; and the improvement which has since taken place, may be fairly ascribed to the hope not yet entirely extinguished among our Indian subjects, that the British Government may have some regard to the principles of honour and justice. If the Company goes on still to belie these hopes, it may be worth inquiring whether Lord Wellesley will suffer his character to be compromised as the instrument of holding out a solemn pledge to the natives of India, which is thus shamefully violated?

In further illustration of this subject, and of the comparative merits of the permanent zumeendarry and the temporary ryotwarry settlements, with the latter of which this writer wishes, in spite of every principle of honour and justice, to supersede the former,—we shall introduce here an extract from the late work of Henry St. John Tucker, Esq.:

The ceded districts of Madras (says he) furnish, I believe, as good an example as could be taken to show the effects of the *ryotwar* system: they are pointed out by the Court of Directors as an instance to prove that "the difficulties attending the system may be surmounted:" they were placed under this system of management soon after the period of their cession; they have enjoyed the benefit of select agency; the Government itself has countenanced and encouraged the experiment; and the Officer with whom it originated was allowed to model and apply the system in the manner most likely to ensure its success: and yet, with all these special advantages, the land-revenue has continued nearly stationary during fourteen years, while our Bengal provinces, enjoying only the *promise* of a "permanent settlement," have yielded, within the same period, an increase of annual revenue to the amount of 1,270,000*l.*!

There is, then, no financial superiority even to recommend this system; nothing, in fact, to gain it any favour in the eyes of the rulers of India, except, indeed, it be its unparalleled cruelty to the people. It is well known to the Company that this accursed system has ground down the inhabitants of the Carnatic to the very dust. In 1805-6, the revenue of the province of Canara was 465,093 pagodas; and Lord William Bentinck declared, that this was then felt to be a light assessment. In 1816-17, it had sunk to 457,042 pagodas; instead of increasing, it had fallen off eight thousand pagodas, after the wretched peasantry had been ten years under the scourge of the ryotwar system. The precise causes of this decline and misery are described by the Madras Revenue Board in their Minute, dated January 1818:

To the practice of loading the lowly-assessed or industrious ryot with the tax of his less fortunate or improvident neighbour, (a practice condemned by the very Officer who adopted it, as both impolitic and unjust;) to the assumption of a maximum standard of assessment (the Beriz) much beyond the capability of the country, even at the period of its greatest prosperity; to the *gradual approximation* made to this high standard in the actual demand on more than half the actual landed property at Canara; and to the annual valuation, and consequent uncertainty in the amount, of the assessment on individual ryots, as much as to any temporary reduced value of produce, or to the imposition of new indirect taxes,—are to be ascribed the decline in agriculture, the poverty among the ryots, the increased private sale of landed property by the landlords, the difficulty of realizing the collections, and the necessity, before unknown, of disposing of defaulters' lands in satisfaction of revenue demands;

which, after fourteen years' residence in Canara, at length constrained the late Collector to record his conviction, that the present assessment is beyond the resources of the province!

Let the reader only reflect on this picture—the gradual approximation to an imaginary standard of supposed capability—the tightening up of the thumb-screw of the exchequer, until the physician, who has watched the process for fourteen years, at last declares that nature will bear no more! To this system of torture, the author before us would, in defiance of every principle respected among men, subject the millions in every province of our Indian dominions; a proposal only fit to be addressed to inquisitors or demons.

It is in vain for the Company, or the partisans of this system, to think to shelter themselves under the name of Sir Thomas Munro; that able officer having, no less than twenty years ago, recorded his conviction in favour of a permanent settlement,—an opinion which we have never heard that he has since changed. His Report of the 15th of August 1807, for settling the ceded districts on the coast, contained a project of a ryotwarry permanent settlement; but it was rejected by the Company, because it proposed a remission of revenue, generally of thirty-five, in some cases, to the extent of thirty-three per cent. He expressed himself as follows:

> If by fixing the Government rent at one-third of the gross produce of the land, the ryot were allowed to enjoy the remainder, and ALL *such* FUTURE INCREASE *as might arise from his industry*, he would never quit his farm. If *more* than ONE-THIRD is demanded as Government rent, *there can be no private property!* It is also found by experience, that one-third of the produce is the rate of assessment at which persons, who are not themselves cultivators, can rent (hire) land from Government without loss. The present assessment of these districts is about forty-five per cent. of the produce. To bring it to the proposed level would require a deduction of twenty-five per cent. of the [net] produce.[2]

Here it appears eleven per cent. beyond the average rental of the country was extorted as land-tax! Well might Sir Thomas say that with such a rate of assessment there could be no private landed property. But in other parts of the Madras territory the land-tax amounts to fifty-five, to sixty-five, and even to sixty-seven per cent.;[3] about double the rate usually levied by the *cruel* Mohammedan despots, even including the capitation and other exactions.[4] In Bengal, also, we have seen, that, to a great extent, all private property in the soil is in the same manner extinguished, so that estates are "sold for nothing, bought for nothing." Such is the land-tax paid by the natives of India; besides the grievous burden of the salt and opium monopolies, taxes on justice, and other imposts. Yet this shameless and unprincipled writer has the audacity to say that the East India Company has consolidated every species of taxation into dues upon the land, and that these amount to no more than one thirty-sixth part of the produce!

The calculations and statements by which he attempts to prop up these extravagant falsehoods, are too absurd to deserve notice. As an example, we may select that given at pages 158, 159, to show the loss that would have been sustained by acting honourably towards the ceded and

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[2] That is, one-fourth of the Government assessment, or 11¼ deducted from 45, would leave 33¾ per cent.

[3] Vide Law, Tucker, &c.

[4] P. 103.

conquered provinces, as respects the promised revenue settlement. In 1808, their revenue is stated to have been 2,25,00,000 rupees; and, in 1823, 3,00,00,000 rupees; an increase of seventy-five lacs. An ordinary person would have supposed that by fixing the revenue at the former period only, this increase would have been lost. But this writer, by fallacious assumptions, as charging the expenses of collection at 33 per cent. on one side of the account, and at 9 on the other, makes out the supposed loss to be 2,80,58,336 rupees, more than three times its real amount. The increase of revenue arose, as is well known, (and admitted by the author in the very preceding page,) from waste lands being brought into cultivation. Therefore, although these were estimated originally at one-fourth of the whole arable soil, they could not amount to so much after fifteen years progressive improvement. Yet he now throws them all into the scale, and sets them down as a sure source of revenue, equally valuable with the rest; although, if this were the case, why did the cultivator give other fields a preference? Nay, he does not estimate them at one-*fourth*, which he gives on the authority of Mr. Colebrooke as the real quantity in 1808, but as one-*third*, as if the waste land had been increasing, not diminishing, during the last fifteen years! For this, he quotes the authority of Lord Cornwallis, who, in 1789, indeed declared one-third of the Company's territories to be a jungle. But this could not apply to the provinces not then ceded or conquered; far less to the state of these territories in 1823, almost twenty years after that illustrious nobleman was in his grave! Is the resurrection of a witness to depose to a fact happening long after his death, one of the happy fictions of the Mohammedan law?

We need not bestow many words on another of the author's objections to the permanent settlement,—an apprehension of loss of revenue from the depreciation of the currency. He takes the trouble to reckon up a great number of circumstances that cause an extraordinary waste of the precious metals in India, and mentions that the evil is increased vastly from the balance of trade being now turned against that country, and evidently thinks, poor man! that a diminution in the quantity of bullion in the market depreciates its value. A little common sense (as he despises political economy) might have taught him that the tax-payers, instead of benefiting, will be the first to suffer from a diminution of the circulating medium, in which they have to pay their taxes; and this is indeed sufficient to render the permanent settlement a very feeble security to the landholders, while such men as Lord Amherst are scattering away their rupees with one hand, in attacks upon the Burman empire, and with the other, if any remain, shipping them off to England as a remittance of the "tribute" or "surplus revenue." Assuredly, while this system continues, impoverishment will proceed with accelerated pace, whatever mode be adopted of raising the taxes.

The author, as might be expected of one so full of ignorance and prejudices on every other subject, is an enemy to Colonization. He commences his objections to it with a very pleasant paradox: "India (says he) is already colonized! India, comparatively at least, is crowded with population; and to talk of colonizing a country already filled WITH INHABITANTS, is at best not very intelligible." To him few things are; but he admits that India requires moral improvement, which, to any considerable extent, we presume colonization only can carry thither. He

however denies this, alleging, that the standard of moral excellence is to be transplanted only through the medium of the *honourable* men (like himself) employed by the *honourable* Company, not by a vile "*promiscuous herd of colonists.*" We must quote his words, as they are so characteristic of the class to which he belongs:—

I would venture to hope that, under the present system, though the operation may be slow, [miserably slow and retrogressive!] yet a higher standard of moral excellence may be transplanted into India through the medium of the enlightened and honourable men now employed in that quarter of the world, (by the Company too,) than would follow the introduction of a *promiscuous herd of colonists*, who would, generally speaking, be inferior [why so?] to those they left behind them in England, and would *probably* not much surpass, either in *moral or intellectual endowments, those they would come among in India.*

Is the worst of them inferior to the author of this volume, either in talent or principle? But he proceeds—

Whoever has seen the class of migrating Europeans in India, and has compared them with the Indian even of the ordinary rank of society, will assuredly hope for little improvement to that country from colonization.

If such be the case under the present *non-colonizing* system, which has the strongest possible tendency to exclude respectable settlers from the country, is not this itself an argument for change? But it is essentially false even now; and we shall prove, from the author's own words, that he has uttered this base slander upon the character of his absent countrymen, contrary to his own internal conviction. At page 334, we have the following paragraph:—

I cannot omit expressing, under present circumstances, my humble opinion in this place, that great advantage might be derived, by investing with judicial, as well as magisterial power, European gentlemen, not in the Company's service, resident in the interior, who are known to have an intimate knowledge of the customs of the country, of the people around them, and by whom they are respected. Many most worthy, intelligent, and highly-respected gentlemen are to be found all over the country, to whom jurisdiction to a certain extent might be given in civil disputes, such as those of boundaries, of right to water, to fish, to pasture, to wood, disputed rents between the cultivators and landlords, difference between these about pergunnah rates of re t, and every matter having reference to husbandry. It often happens that men carry on disputes for want of a person to whom they can appeal, which at first are trifling, but in the end become very serious. The natural respect accorded to such a man as I have described would at once point him out as the fountain of justice between them, and they would submit to his decision.

So much for the respectability of British colonists in India, whom this unprincipled slanderer has insolently called a migrating *herd*, inferior to the ordinary Natives of the country. We shall now prove, from his own words too, that they are respected and beloved by the people, by whom their presence is felt to be a public blessing; while no Native, we are told, (p. 357,) "*dare* approach" the servants of the Company, who have no time (if they had inclination) to listen to their grievances, and are only regarded as instruments of "check, control and *exaction.*" But in answer to a supposed objection lest the British settlers should abuse the magisterial powers with which he proposes to invest them, he says (p. 359) "there is no such danger." For—

The respectable gentlemen whom I have in view, (and certainly none other

but the most respectable ought to be thought of,) are not in the habit of oppressing the Natives. It is their interest not to do so, but, on the contrary, to treat them with the utmost tenderness, which they almost universally observe towards them; and which highly praiseworthy conduct no advantage (for indeed there would be none) arising out of their new situation would ever compensate them for discontinuing. They accordingly make a point of conciliating the people; their very style and language to them is different from ours of the Company's service. Commercial dealings have a decided and direct tendency to humanize the intercourse of mankind.

He also bears testimony (p. 358) to the *mutual attachment* between them and the people, and "their influence over the middling classes of (Native) society;" and confesses (at p. 236) that it is by means of such men only that the country can be improved by the irrigation of the soil:

Because in India, among the Natives, there are neither the energy to undertake, nor the means to accomplish, improvements on a scale so extensive as that contemplated here. If Government should think fit to admit participation in attempting such undertakings, it is not to be doubted that the co-operation of individuals might be obtained among the wealthy and enterprising of European population.

When will a Government, holding *a ten year's lease* of a country, improve it for the benefit of posterity? The supposition is absurd; but it might soon be done by such men as Colonization would pour into the country,—the Owens, the Birkbecks,—who would then venture to carry thither their capital, their talents, their philanthropy, when no longer exposed to the danger of being transported like felons without any cause or offence, to the utter ruin of their families and fortunes, at the mere pleasure of a capricious and arbitrary despot.

It is worthy of remark here, that without the aid of these British settlers, thus trampled upon by the Company, and alternately praised and aspersed by its minions, as best suits their argument, it would be impossible for it to realise its surplus revenue: indigo, the cultivation of which these settlers alone could have raised to its present importance, being almost the only article now capable of affording a remittance to this country. But having become subjects of the Company, neither the colour of their skin, nor the sacred laws of their native country, can save them from the fate of all its subjects—to be degraded and trampled upon by the very men who fatten on the fruits of their industry.—We know, by the very latest accounts from India, that the Company's servants in the interior, (acting, no doubt, according to instructions,) are now silently driving the British planters from the country by threats of transportation held over their heads; and these helpless men are compelled to suffer in silence, in hopes of thereby mitigating the severity of those u[illegible] despots at home and abroad, who have the power of either restoring them to their friends and property, or completing their ruin. Unfortunately, the Company thinks it can now do without the aid of British subjects, as they have already taught the Natives how to make indigo sufficient to complete its investment.

In respect to the amount of surplus revenue drawn from India, we cannot descend to an examination of this author's statements or calculations, which we have found already so entirely unworthy of credit. He objects to the word "tribute" applied to it, as a term highly obnoxious, because it implies "*an exaction, imposed by rapacity, levied by force,*

yielded under the impulse of fear, and without any equivalent"! This is, indeed, as correct a description of the thing as he could possibly have given; and for that very reason the name has been in use for an age past, and is employed even by the author's oracle, Mr. Grant![5] He says, "the barbarians of old conquered and imposed a *tribute* on the vanquished, as a price of their safety from plunder, if not from extermination." In the very next page, he defends the Company's tribute, on the supposition that it is a just price for the protection of India from "lawless plunderers." He has, besides, the hardihood to insinuate that the Company has justly earned the tribute, by having "protected them in their persons and property, encouraged their commerce, increased their manufactures; so that the "country has flourished, happiness prevailed, and wealth abounded"! We have shown, over and over, from his own words too, that the right of property has been annihilated; as to protection of life, we have the testimony of the Members of the Bengal Government[6] that the country is overspread every night with rapine, murder, and every species of atrocity—such, says Mr. Dowdeswell, as "would make the BLOOD RUN COLD WITH HORROR!" Scenes of human suffering so dreadful, that men of the highest character are afraid to describe a thousandth part of what they know, because even that is too horrible to obtain belief. Yet we find the author of this book, a servant of the Company, knowing all this, so callous to every feeling of shame or humanity, as to talk of our Indian subjects as abounding in wealth and happiness!

How does he refute, "specifically and entirely," the statement of the author of 'Colonial Policy,' that the amount of public and private tribute drawn from India, from 1765 to 1820, averaged for these fifty-five years two millions per annum?—By quoting a statement of a *Chairman of the Court of Directors*, (Mr. N. Smith,) dated 1790,—thirty years before the close of the account he attempts to refute! Is this dishonesty or sheer stupidity? (Pref. p. 18.) We are at a loss to determine which; we have, in the same page, a single sentence which defies explanation on any principle, either of honour or of arithmetic. In the work on 'Colonial Policy,' the public and *private* tribute both together are stated to average two millions annually. In reply, this author asserts, (on the faith of calculations too puerile to be noticed, and also thirty years too far back,) that—

"This enormous tribute, abstracted *by the Company*, will not exceed 200,000*l.* instead of 2,000,000*l.* or *one-fifth* of what he states it to be.

The statement was not the amount drawn by the Company alone, but both public and *private* tribute: then, what are we to think of a financier who considers 200,000*l.* to be the *fifth* part of two millions?

We had intended to subjoin a list of the numerous gross misstatements and perversions of fact scattered throughout the volume, but find they would occupy by far too much space. But we must notice, however briefly, some of those contained in his episode on the Indian Press.—We feel great satisfaction in finding every writer of such a character as this ranking himself among the enemies of a free press in India. Their hatred

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5 Vide 'Colonial Policy,' p. 108.

6 Vide Colonel Stewart's Pamphlet, p. 79.

and aspersions are the greatest honours they can confer on the liberal part of Lord Hastings's administration, and those who advocated freedom of discussion in that country; which was not intended to gain the favour of, but rather to check, the unprincipled and profligate abusers of power. The author asserts, that the newspapers in the Native languages acted "in unison, if not combination," with the 'Calcutta Journal,' in controlling the Government; (an assertion totally destitute of truth;) that at the time Lord Hastings resigned the government of Bengal, early in 1823, the latter publication "had been the means of exciting much dissension in society, and had made *considerable progress in sapping the foundations of our power in India*"!

This last assertion, coming from such a quarter, is too absurd to deserve notice; but as to the dissension in society, whatever existed can be better accounted for by ascribing it to its true cause,—the masked slanderers, (of whom this writer might be one,) who deluged the country with libels, published through a paper ('John Bull') under the immediate protection of Government; libels so atrocious, that when brought before a court of justice, the Judge declared he could not think of them without horror! And these were not the production of the 'Calcutta Journal,' but libels directed against its editor; not by the advocates of a free press, but by its most bitter enemies, who dreaded lest their own conduct should be exposed to that salutary control of public scrutiny, which makes the freedom of the press to be as much detested by certain classes in Calcutta, as the Old Bailey is by certain classes in London,—because it "saps the foundation of their power"! If the latter were formed into an honourable Company, and had booksellers to publish their opinions, they would no doubt assign as many ingenious reasons for abolishing English courts of justice altogether in this country, or at least effectually tying up their hands, as the author proposes to do in India. It would be little to the credit of their talents if they could not find equally plausible arguments for banishing all magistrates, police-officers, thief-catchers, &c. and breaking up all gaols and houses of correction, with those employed for arbitrarily banishing British subjects from India, putting down the press, and every other means likely to expose the conduct of evil doers, and bring them to justice.

As an effectual shield from such *danger*, the author proposes that all those (Natives or otherwise) living within the jurisdiction of his Majesty's Supreme Court, should be rendered banishable at the mere arbitrary will of the local government, so as to be placed within the reach of the Company's Judges, the paid servants of that government, and dismissible at its pleasure. [illegible]
with than his [illegible]
Parliament [illegible]
all fit for the purposes of Indian rulers. We are glad the enemies of a free press have at last spoken out so plainly, that the real character of their system can no longer be mistaken by those who may have been hitherto cajoled by their professions. Now, it is openly avowed by this zealous but indiscreet partisan, that the object they are aiming at, is a pure and absolute despotism, free from the control of either law or justice in any shape whatever. If the cause of their implacable hatred to a free press could have been once mistaken, it cannot be so now, when coupled

with an aversion to English courts of justice, worthy of the inmates of [illegible].

We must conclude, although much yet remains in the volume before us, requiring comment and reprobation. We may truly say that it is altogether worthy of the cause it advocates. So much pedantry and presumption, united with real ignorance and folly, were never perhaps before collected together in the form of a book. Its callous disregard of truth and principle, its shameless effrontery in advocating measures not only cruel and unjust, but infamous, cannot be read without unmingled detestation.

Air—'The Exile of Erin.'

'Twas the last parting wish, breathed with heart-felt devotion,
By the friend who reluctantly bade us adieu,
That we oft, while he wander'd afar on the Ocean,
Would recal the past scenes which together we knew;
And sometimes amidst the gay circle of pleasure,
Would silently steal a fond moment of leisure,
While Mem'ry unlock'd the recess of her treasure,
To remember the Friend who is gone far away.

Then say shall the wish, which he sigh'd while expressing,
As if sad forbodings his fancy hung o'er,
Shall the wish that he breathed—all its ardour repressing—
Be doom'd to oblivion, and thought of no more?
Oh, no!—while the orb of creation is beaming,
While Nature, with light, life, and love, still is teeming,
While the heart's purple torrent with health shall be streaming,
We'll remember the Friend who is gone far away.

To her faithful arms from whom destiny tore him,
To the infant that smiled on their union of love,
To the friends of his bosom, in safety restore him,
Ye spirits that wait on the mandates of Jove;
Yet there, while their full cup of joy is o'erflowing,
And with mutual delight their fond bosoms are glowing,
Let him steal but a moment of Nature's endowing,
To remember the Friends whom he left far away.

Should Fate, o'er the footsteps of mortals presiding,
Direct him again to the beach of our shore,
The ardour of friendship—its warmth near subsiding—
Shall welcome him still to the porch of our door.
But, oh! should this wish of our hearts happen never,
Neither distance nor time our affections can sever,
Nor e'en Destiny break the firm pledge, that for ever,
We'll remember each other, while far, far away!

ON THE CHARACTER OF LOUIS XIV.[1]

It has been already observed, that the war of the succession constituted the grand political error of the reign of Louis XIV. In prosecuting the ambitious scheme of uniting the French and Spanish empires under the dynasty of the house of Bourbon, Louis lost the affections of his own subjects, and forfeited the popularity which he once enjoyed. The enormous expenses of the war rendered a heavy taxation indispensable; commercial enterprise was abandoned, and the internal trade of the country was reduced to a state of stagnation; private individuals were compelled to send their plate to the mint in order to increase the currency; and the population was so alarmingly diminished by famine and war, that an edict was issued to encourage early marriages, by exempting the parents of twelve children from any duties or impost. After the battle of Malplaquet, Louis became so sensible of his position, that he proposed to Marshal Villars to withdraw the army to the banks of the Somme, and leave Paris open to the Duke of Marlborough. The dismissal of the Whigs by Queen Anne, and the formation of a Tory administration, saved the capital from that degradation; and the victory of Denain, gained by Villars from Prince Eugene, enabled the French ministers to conclude a general peace.

In this article we invite the attention of the reader to a consideration of the private life of Louis XIV. during the last ten years of his reign, the deaths of his grandchildren, his famous testament, and the rivalry of the Dukes of Orleans and Maine. The Grand Dauphin died on the 14th of April 1711, leaving his son, the Duke of Burgundy, heir-apparent to the throne. This prince had been educated by the celebrated Fenelon, and the pupil was worthy of his preceptor. He was religious, without austerity; magnificent, without ostentation; dignified, without hauteur. He was an affectionate husband, a dutiful son, a fond parent, and a sincere friend. Had he lived in these days, he would have shocked by his liberalism the courtiers of the Thuilleries, and the bigots of the Escurial. St. Simon relates an anecdote of the Duke of Burgundy, which was generally pronounced by the aristocrats to be "le plus affreux blaspheme," but which the dauphin, even in those dark days of political superstition, announced to the court as a "grande et sainte vérité." The conversation turned upon the discontent of the people on account of the taxation, and it was remarked by Bontemps, that as the learned doctors of the Sorbonne had declared that every thing in France belonged of right to the king, his subjects were highly ungrateful, as they subsisted solely on his bounty. The duke immediately replied, "Les rois sont faits pour les peuples, et non pas les peuples pour les rois." This declaration of his political sentiments, announced in the presence of his grandfather, who was most jealously tenacious of his prerogative, created as much consternation among the grovelling reptiles of the court, as it spread joy and hope among the public. The present distress was patiently supported,

[1] Concluded from our last Number, Vol. VI. p. 536.

and the prospect of a virtuous monarch, ruling his people with mildness and justice, cheered up the drooping spirits of the nation. What might the French not have expected from the pupil of the author of Telemachus, and the personal administration of the amiable and enlightened Fenelon? But it pleased the Almighty to disappoint these expectations of public prosperity, and to terminate, in the prime of life, the promised career of the dauphin.

The circumstances of his death, which spread dismay and horror among the Parisians, require a somewhat circumstantial detail. On the 5th of February 1712, the dauphiness was suddenly seized with a cold shivering, which continued, with very little intermission or abatement, to the 7th. She was bled in the foot, which gave a momentary relief, but on the 12th she expired. The dauphin himself was affected in the same manner on the day after the decease of his wife; and after lingering in great agonies to the 18th, he also died. The infant Duke of Brittany, their eldest son, experienced the fate of his parents; and the most lively apprehensions were felt for the safety of their only surviving child, the Duke of Anjou, then two years of age, who afterwards became Louis XV. To prevent any interruption in the continuity of the narrative of events, it may here be observed, that the Duke of Berry, the remaining grandson of Louis XIV., died on the 4th of May 1714, at the age of twenty-eight; by which extinction of the direct line, the only individual between the crown and the Duke of Orleans was the infant Duke of Anjou, the son of the dauphin Duke of Burgundy.

As soon as the mournful intelligence was communicated to the public, one universal cry of lamentation pervaded the whole of France. The Parisians, who had better opportunities of appreciating the virtues of the deceased prince than the inhabitants of the provinces, openly and violently declared their suspicions of poison. It was insisted that the dead bodies should be examined; and Louis, alarmed by the frantic despair of his subjects, who called aloud for vengeance, consented to the operation. The investigation increased the suspicions of secret assassination, and the Duke of Orleans was accused of having sacrificed his cousins to his ambition. We are of opinion, after maturely weighing the testimony on both sides with some degree of attention, that the Duke was entirely guiltless of the charge; and as the question is interesting and important, we shall give our reasons for pronouncing a verdict of acquittal. The principal physician, Fagon, declared that the body of the dauphin exhibited marks of poison; but there are strong grounds to disbelieve his evidence. Fagon was the creature of Madame de Maintenon; and, from motives of gratitude for past services, as well as from the hope of future advantage, it may be fairly presumed that the physician would adopt the views of his patroness, identify his own interests with hers, and endeavour to alienate the friendship and confidence of the king from every person who counteracted her wishes.

In the last article on this subject, we observed that Madame de Maintenon had educated the children of Madame de Montespan, and that she was devotedly attached to the Duke of Maine, the favourite child of Louis. She had lived on very bad terms with the Duke of Orleans, and on many occasions had thwarted his applications to the king, more particularly when he solicited the command of the army in Spain. From this circumstance, and his libertine and irreligious habits, Madame and

the Duke were *à l'outrance*; and in the event of the king's death, she dreaded the severe retaliation of Orleans. It was quite obvious that Louis could not long survive, he having attained his seventy-fifth year; and as the Duke of Anjou was an infant, it was also certain that the Duke of Orleans, as eldest prince of the blood-royal, would be appointed regent during the minority, with a very rational prospect of arriving at the throne. Under these circumstances, it became the policy of Madame de Maintenon to prejudice Louis against his nephew, and induce him to nominate the Duke of Maine, his illegitimate son, regent of the empire, and guardian of the Duke of Anjou. If she succeeded in this project, she gained three advantages: first, she protected herself against the probable resentment of the Duke of Orleans; secondly, she gratified her affection towards her favoured protégé; and, thirdly, she disappointed the ambition, and triumphed over the vanity, of the Duchess of Orleans, the mother of her enemy, whose German principles of etiquette were shocked by the elevation of the widow of Scarron. Considering, then, that Fagon was the tool of De Maintenon, and entirely dependent on her support for the rank and emolument of his appointment, it may be presumed, *primâ facie*, that his testimony was suspicious, or, at any rate, that some other evidence ought to have corroborated his opinion on a case of such importance to the honour and humanity of the duke.

It is, therefore, the duty of an impartial historian to search for further proof, which may either confirm or invalidate the decision of Fagon. In the first place, then, we oppose the positive oath of Marechal, the head surgeon, to the evidence of Fagon, who opened the body with his own hand. And be it observed, that Marechal gained nothing by his honesty, but, on the contrary, risked his situation by opposing the medical report, which coincided with the wishes of the confessor, the Sorbonne, and the Jesuits, who united with Madame de Maintenon in blackening the character of the duke, because he was a friend and supporter of the Jansenists. Marechal declared that in his practice in the hospitals he had witnessed many cases precisely similar to that of the dauphin, his wife, and child; and that several patients, at that time in the Hotel Dieu, exhibited the same exterior marks of discolouration of skin, which arose entirely from a corrupt state of blood. He challenged Fagon to go to the hospitals, and examine the sick; but the physician declined. Let, then, the evidence of Fagon and Marechal be balanced against each other, granting to both an equal knowledge of their profession; and also take into the account the relative situation of the two witnesses, and the private motives which might have influenced their decision, and we apprehend that the accusation of poison will not appear to have been substantiated by any clear or unequivocal arguments. But, as we are desirous of exculpating the memory of the Duke of Orleans from any participation in the crime of murder, we subjoin the following extract from Voltaire, which sufficiently accounts for the sudden deaths in the royal family, without any recourse to marvellous or unnatural expedients: "Ce mal fit périr à Paris, en moins d'un mois, plus de cinq cents personnes. M. le duc de Bourbon, petit fils du prince de Condé, le duc de la Trémouille, Madame de la Vrillière, Madame de Listenai, en furent attaqués à la cour. Le Marquis de Gondrin, fils du duc d'Antin, en mourut en deux jours; sa femme, depuis comtesse de Toulouse, fut à l'agonie. Cette maladie parcourut toute la France: elle fit périr, en

Lorraine, les aînés de ce duc de Lorraine (François) destiné à être un jour empereur, et à relever la maison d'Autriche."[2]

If any additional proof of the complete innocence of the Duke of Orleans were required, we might urge the cogent and judicious observation of Duclos, the historian of the regency, who remarks, if the duke had poisoned the dauphin, the dauphiness, the Duke of Brittany, and the Duke of Berry, and thus removed four obstacles, is it reasonable to suppose that he would have spared the infant Duke of Anjou, the sole remaining claimant to the succession? But however satisfied we may be of the falsity of this accusation, a very different feeling operated on the enfeebled mind of the unfortunate Louis, whose feelings were agonized by the accumulated misfortunes of his family, and the misery and discontent of his subjects. When the Duke of Orleans visited him, he was received with horror and indignation. De Maintenon and the Jesuits had satisfied the king that the murderer of his children stood in his presence, and with such impressions this dreadful interview took place. The duke demanded a public trial; and on being refused, he requested to be imprisoned in the Bastile. To this Louis also objected; but he incarcerated a German chemist, named Homberg, who lived with the duke, and superintended his laboratory.

We now approach the period at which Louis executed his famous will, by which he excluded the duke from the throne, and, in the event of the death of the Duke of Anjou, nominated his illegitimate children kings of France. On this extraordinary transaction we shall dilate at some length, because it appears to us to have accelerated, more than any other event, the progress of political opinion throughout France, and formed the origin of that struggle between prerogative and privilege which terminated in the late revolution.

The attachment of Louis to the children of Madame de Montespan has been already noticed. From a laudable feeling of paternal affection, he was always devising some scheme for advancing their dignity, though at last he carried this disposition to a most culpable extreme. He commenced this project in 1676. The President, De Harlay, was the person he selected to promote his object. He exhibited considerable dexterity on this occasion, by simply establishing a *precedent* for legitimating natural children. The Duke of Longueville had a son by a married woman, and Louis advised him to apply to De Harlay, for the purpose of conferring on this child all the rights and privileges which would have descended to him had he been born in wedlock. The duke followed the recommendation of the king, taking special care in the petition not to mention the name of the mother. The Parliament, ruled by De Harlay, who had been promised the Chancellorship if he succeeded, sanctioned the application, and thus established the precedent which produced such fatal consequences.[3]

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[2] Siècle de Louis XIV.

[3] St Simon, in his Memoirs, abuses De Harlay, and certainly does him injustice, by the excess of his invectives. He was a man of decided abilities; and [illegible] gueville, his [illegible] ing anecdote [illegible] came before him, in which the Jesuits were the plaintiffs and the Oratorians the defendants. He induced them to desist from judicial proceedings, and concluded

In 1694, the Duke of Maine and his brother, the Count of Thoulouse, were raised to an intermediate rank between the princes of the blood-royal and the dukes and peers of France. In 1710, Louis elevated the children of the Duke of Maine and his brother to the same dignity as they themselves enjoyed; and by this second *innovation*, St. Simon and his friends appear to have been overwhelmed with mortification and resentment. In 1715, Father Daniel published his history of France by the secret advice of Madame de Maintenon; and the wily old Jesuit, "sous l'air naïf d'un homme qui écarte les préjugés avec discernement, et qui ne cherche que la vérité,"[4] insinuated that the greatest number of the kings of the first race, many of the second, and some of the third, were illegitimate. This opinion soon gained ground with the court circle. The Princess D'Harcourt thus writes to Madame de Maintenon: "Malgré mon ignorance, je ne laisse pas de savoir que sa majesté a suivi l'exemple du premier roi chrétien. Le fondateur de cette mornarchie, Clovis, ne le valoit pas; et pourtant en pareil cas il a encore plus fait." The Duchess of Maine appears to have been intoxicated with delight at reading this precious farrago of old Daniel. "Ah, Madame," says the Duchess in a letter to De Maintenon, "que le roi peut faire de grands miracles! Je connois toute l'étendue de la grace prodigieuse que ce grand prince daigne répandre sur ma famille. Mes petits enfants partageront ma reconnoissance. *Je pourrai desormais les produire hardiment, sans être embarrassée.*"[5]

In prosecuting this plan for the promotion of his natural offspring, Louis appears to have acted with considerable discretion, and though his advances were silent and slow, yet he at length arrived at the consummation of his impolitic design. But though the unhappy old man had resolved to execute his testament, he appears to have suffered a martyrdom of mental disquietude. He spoke to Villars on the subject of his family; and after a long conversation on public and private affairs, during which the venerable sufferer was bathed in tears, he finished the interview in these words, indicative of a broken spirit and a bleeding heart:— "Vous voyez mon état, Monsieur le Maréchal: il y a peu d'exemples de ce qui m'arrive, et que l'on perde dans la même semaine son petit-fils, sa petite belle-fille, et leur fils, tous de grande espérance et tres tendrement aimés. Dieu me punit: je l'ai bien mérité. J'en souffrirai moins dans l'autre monde; mais suspendons mes douleurs sur les malheurs domestiques, et voyons ce qui peut faire pour prévenir ceux du royaume."[6] The day at last arrived on which he affixed his signature to his will; after which ceremony it was locked up in a secret recess of the grand chamber of state, and secured by three keys, one of which was given to the President of the Council, another to the Procureur-General, and a third to the Registrar of the royal edicts. The substance of the will was as follows: in the event of the king's death, a council of regency was to be established, of which the Duke of Orleans was nominated President, to be assisted by the Duke of Bourbon when he had attained to his twenty-

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his peace-making harangue in these caustic terms: turning to the Jesuits, and making a profound reverence, he said, "Holy Fathers, there is infinite happiness in *living* with you;" and then looking at the Oratorians, he continued, "And there is indescribable felicity, Holy Fathers, in *dying* with you."

[4] St. Simon, Vol. VII. p. 334. [5] Lettres de Maintenon, Vol. VIII. p. 214.

[6] Vie de Villars, Vol. II. p. 197.

fourth year, the Duke of Maine, the Count of Thoulouse, the Chancellor Voisen, Marshals Villeroy, Villars, Tallard and D'Atarcourt, the four Secretaries of State, and the Comptroller-General. In this council, every thing was to be decided by a majority of voices. The President only gave a casting vote when the numbers were equal. The person of the king was placed under the protection of the regency, but the Duke of Maine was intrusted with his education, with an absolute and undivided control over the royal body-guard. In the event of the Duke of Maine's death, the Count of Thoulouse was appointed his successor.[7]

Such were the principal features in the famous testament of Louis XIV. by which he altered the established laws of the empire, deprived the Duke of Orleans of his birth-right, and placed the whole efficient powers of the Government in the hands of his illegitimate children. But he appears to have doubted the disposition of his subjects to respect and obey his commands after his death; and from his address to the First President, on delivering the will into his care, it may be presumed that Madame de Maintenon and the Duke of Maine had terrified him into a reluctant acquiescence. "Voici mon testament," said Louis to the President: "l'exemple des rois mes prédécesseurs, et celui du roi mon père, ne me laissent point ignorer ce qui celui-ci pourra devenir; mais on l'a voulu, on m'a tourmenté, on ne m'a donné ni paix ni patience qu'il ne fût fait. J'ai donc acheté mon repos. Prenez-le. Emportez-le. Il deviendra ce qu'il pourra; mais au moins je serai tranquille, et je n'en entendrai pas plus parler."[8] He survived the execution of this testament but a short period. After a reign of seventy-two years, he expired at Versailles on the 1st of September 1715. The decision of the Parliament of Paris on the legality of his will, and the consequences of their deliberations, belong to the history of the regency. We shall devote the remainder of this article to a brief and compressed summary of such events as occurred during the reign, which convey an idea of the spirit of the times.

The name of Louis XIV. has been transmitted to posterity decorated with the title of Louis Le Grand. The historical panegyrists who conferred this noble appellation on their monarch, appear to us not to have adduced sufficient evidence to justify their encomium. That Louis deserved the attribute of greatness in his individual capacity, the facts of his private life detailed in our last article abundantly disprove. He was there exhibited as a heartless sensualist, destitute of the principles of honour, devoid of common humanity, grossly ignorant, a bigot in religion, selfish, proud, unfeeling and tyrannical. If a man, disfigured with these vices, is to receive the title of "The Great," merely because the accident of birth gave him a crown, by what language shall we express our opinion of Trajan or Antoninus? It is a libel on virtue to insult the Roman Emperors with an epithet common to them and Louis XIV. But it has been urged, that in his public character as a king, Louis merits the title of Le Grand. The famous Abbé Maury has concentrated all the declamation of the French writers on this favourite topic. We give it entire, in order to exhibit a specimen of French historical argument. "Ce monarque eut à la tête de ses armées, Turenne, Condé, Luxembourg, Catinat, Créqui, Boufflers,

[7] Avrigny, Vol. V. p. 320. [8] St. Simon, Vol. II. p. 319.

Montesquieu, Vendôme, et Villars. Duquesne, Tourville, du Guay-Trouin, commandoient ses escadres. Colbert, Louvois, Torcy, étoient appelés à ses conseils. Bossuet, Bourdaloue, Massillon, lui annonçoient ses devoirs. Son premier sénat avoit Molé et Lamoignon pour chefs, Talon et D'Aguesseau pour organes. Vauban fortifioit ses citadelles, Riquet creusa ses canaux; Penault et Mansard construisoient ses palais; Pujet, Girardon, Le Poussin, Le Sueur et Le Brun, les embellissoient; Le Nôtre dessinoit ses jardins; Corneille, Racine, Molière, Quinnault, La Fontaine, La Bruyère, Boileau, éclairoient sa raison et amusoient ses loisirs; Montausier, Bossuet, Beauvilliers, Fénélon, Huet, Fléchier, L'Abbé de Fleury, elevoient ses enfans. C'est avec cette auguste cortège de génies immortels que Louis XIV. appuyé sur tous ces grands hommes, qu'il sut mettre et conserver à leur place, se présente aux regards de la postérité." *

When the Abbé Maury composed this oratorical declamation, his principal object was to dazzle the senses of his auditors, excite their national vanity, and introduce himself into the Academy with the reputation of being a staunch Frenchman and a splendid rhetorician. But this eulogium of the age of Louis XIV. has now become an historical record, and has an obvious tendency to fascinate and mislead the judgment of a young and enthusiastic student. We must endeavour to expose the sophistry, and brush off the gilding of this tinsel verbiage. Maury commences his list of worthies with a dozen military names. What did these mighty men of war achieve? Turenne devastated the Palatinate, and destroyed thousands of innocent children and unprotected women, and Luxembourg, invading the Dutch territories with an army ten times more numerous than his opponents possessed, subdued many of their towns. But what became of the military demi-gods of this boasted age, when Marlborough and Eugene with equal forces encountered them? Let Blenheim, and Ramilies, and Oudenarde, and Malplaquet answer. As to the sailors of France, with Tourville at their head, let Cape La Hogue bear witness to their inferiority, and the name of Russell silence the eulogies of Maury. But he proceeds to say, that Bossuet and his colleagues taught Louis to be religious, and Lamoignon presided over his senate. Bossuet must have neglected his duty, we conceive, or his pupil could not have dragooned his subjects into a parliamentary formulary of worship; and we apprehend that Lamoignon had a very comfortable sinecure, and suffered very little uneasiness from the debates of the French senate. As a patron of genius, Louis is entitled to very qualified praise: Racine died in disgrace; Moliere struggled without any aid from the court; Fenelon was intentionally banished to Cambray, that his influence might not be felt in the royal palaces; and Fleury with great difficulty obtained the poor and remote bishopric of Frejus, but never enjoyed the confidence or benefited by the bounty of the king.

In point of fact, the whole of this panegyric of Maury's is founded in an artful sophistry: he mentions the names of several celebrated men who happened to live during the reign of Louis XIV., and assumes, as a necessary conclusion, that their talents were elicited by the king himself,

* Discours de L'Abbé Maury, pour sa reception de l'Académie Française, 27 Janvier 1785.

and that if he had not discerned and encouraged their merits, they would have lived and died in obscurity. There is nothing to justify this assumption; for the institutions of the French were in no respect calculated to promote the wishes or advance the fortunes of an industrious or talented plebeian. The character of the Government, from the highest to the lowest departments, was partial, exclusive, and aristocratic. Every office of trust or honour was marketable. The command of a regiment, the superintendency of the finances, even a seat on the judicial bench, were openly bought and sold. Yes, this is the age of idolatry among the well-dressed mob of patrician politicans, who regard county meetings as farces; estimate the life of a partridge as more valuable than that of a human being; and denounce education as the parent of vice, discontent, and revolution. But by whom is the doctrine of utility anathematized? By what section of the community are exploded follies represented as the matured maxims of experience and wisdom, and republicanism scouted at as the dream of enthusiasts or the artifice of knaves?—By the selfish, the ignorant, the avaricious, and the crafty; by parasites and slaves, who barter away the noble independence of virtue for the gilded baubles of a court. These sycophants of aristocracy deny the existence of public virtue, merely because the corrupted depravity of their own hearts has expelled from *their* nature every sentiment of magnanimity, and every feeling of disinterestedness. The politician, who abandons the cause of public liberty, and ranges himself under the banners of privilege, is as competent a judge of public virtue as a prostitute is of chastity, a swindler of honour, or a murderer of humanity.

The death-bed of Louis and his funeral announce an important lesson to the future despots of the world. When the medical attendants had pronounced the speedy approach of his dissolution, the palace of the Duke of Orleans was thronged by the servile courtiers, who hurried with eager haste to offer their homage to the future monopolist of favour. The area of the Palais Royal was crowded with the carriages of the men and women, who, during the life of Louis, had represented his nephew as the cool and malignant assassin of his children; and now these models of the age of chivalry vied with each other in praising the object of their former detestation. During the crowd of one of these levées, a report was brought to the Palais Royal that a quack doctor had given the king a medicine which had produced most favourable results, and would probably restore his life. On the instant this intelligence was received, the duke was left in solitude, and he observed facetiously to his friends, "Si le roi dort une seconde fois, nous n'aurons plus personne."

These facts, with the hollow attachment of his courtiers, and the behaviour of the Parisian populace at his funeral, abundantly prove how cordially he was detested. During the whole passage from Paris to St. Denis, the air resounded with shouts indicative of joy, and many vociferated their thanks to Providence for releasing the nation from the yoke of despotism. "On se repandait dans les guinguettes établies sur le chemin de St. Denis; on buvait, on chantait, on se livrait à des transports indécens, tels qu'on les eût à peine permis dans un temps destiné à l'allegresse. Des vaudevilles licencieux volaient de bouche en bouche; le nom de Louis XIV. et celui de Madame de Maintenon y étaient souillés d'opprobre. Partout ou s'avançait le char funèbre, ou

entendait redoubler les cris et les chants de cette grossière ivresse."[10] Such was the end of the triumphs, the glories, the pomp, and splendour of Louis le Grand. We have condemned his reign because the system of government did not promote the greatest happiness of the greatest number. It was an age of privilege, not of utility. Birth and wealth were the primary considerations; virtue and merit were despised and neglected.

But let us be just in our censures. Many allowances must be made for the private vices of Louis. His education had been neglected, and early prosperity had inflated sin with pride. The language of truth never reached his ears. He lived amidst a crowd of wretches, who prevented him from exercising the benevolence of his heart: Louvois, Le Tellier, Madame de Montespan—a cruel minister—a crafty priest—an insidious mistress. We must separate the individual from the monarch. Many acts of his private life, particularly his treatment of La Valliere, cannot be palliated. But his fond and steady attachment to his natural children exhibits an amiable and generous heart. He possessed materials from nature, which, had they been properly worked, would have made him worthy of the title of greatness. But, unfortunately, he was born in the age of chivalry; which misfortune, whatever the pupils of Burke may affirm to the contrary, sufficiently accounts for, and, in some measure, extenuates his conduct. Had his destiny been cast in the days of Roman freedom, he might have transmitted to posterity the name of a patriot.

[10] Lacretelle, Hist. du 18th Siecle.

THE POET'S DWELLING.

I.

LET other pencils paint Italian skies,
Or Alpine snows,
O'er whose high peaks its robe of thousand dyes
The morning throws,
E'er sleep has fled
The hunter's bed
In any vale beneath,
Or left half-woven in lovely dream
The shepherd's wreath,
Or broke the vow by haunted stream
He seemed to breathe.

II.

My fancy revels in the joys of home:
The cottage low,
The hawthorn hedge, the orchard's rosy bloom,
The airs that blow,
At evening still
Along the hill,
Or from the murmuring sea;
What time, like troops of dreams, the clouds
Glide silently
In heaven, as vessels' snowy shrouds
O'er ocean's lea.

III.

To sit beneath the tufted elm, how sweet,
In musing mood,
While endless billows murmur at our feet
Along the flood;
And far away,
Amid the spray,
Is heard the sea-mew's cry;
Or seen the fisher's dusky boat
Shoot swiftly by,
While on the wave eve's shadows float,
And amber sky.

IV.

There let me linger, when the wizard night,
And silence old,
In heaven the page of astrologic light
Have bright unrolled;
When routed gods
Their old abodes
To seek by stealth appear,
And weep cold tears, that trickle down
The lucid sphere,
Which dropping on the earth, are known
As dew-drops here.

V.

Those denizens of ancient faith's domain
I love to view
Thus stealing on men's worship once again,
In brilliant hue,
Just as, perhaps,
The rapid lapse
Of light hath robbed my eyes
Of that old Chian page, where all
Their godheads rise,
In splendour shall outlast this changing ball,
And yon bright skies.

VI.

And oh, how sweet at still belated hour,
Beside the hearth,
To list the pattering hail, or driving shower,
Or storm's wild mirth,
While fancy sips
With rosy lips
The poet's nectared song,
And seems Troy's falling towers to hear;
Or, borne along
Cool Ladon's banks, to share the cheer
Of shepherd throng.

BION.

ON THE RESTORATION OF LEARNING IN THE EAST.[1]

In the year 1804, the sum of two hundred and ten pounds was given by the Reverend Claudius Buchanan to the University of Cambridge, to be divided into four prizes, in the following manner:—1. One hundred pounds for an English prose dissertation 'On the best Means of civilizing the Subjects of the British Empire in India, and of diffusing the Light of the Christian Religion throughout the Eastern World.' 2. Sixty pounds for an English poem 'On the Restoration of Learning in the East.' 3. Twenty-five pounds for a Latin poem on the following subject: 'Collegium Bengalense.' And, 4. Twenty-five pounds for a Greek ode on the words, "Γενεσθω φως," (Let there be light). Of the dissertation, Latin poem, and Greek ode, we know nothing; but the English poem, written by Mr. Charles Grant, which gained Buchanan's prize, and another on the same subject, by the Rev. Mr. Wrangham, which was thought worthy of being printed by those who could not award it the prize, have fallen into our hands. The gentlemen appointed to judge between these two poets, decided very justly, for Mr. Grant's muse is entirely superior to his rival's, though the latter is not altogether destitute of merit. Little productions of this kind may not, perhaps, be thought to deserve the notice of regular criticism, or to authorize very severe animadversion when found to be of inferior materials. Neither shall we play the Aristarchus over them; our object is of a very different nature: but if the authors shall be found to have fallen into any egregious errors, in the moral view of their subject, it will not surely be imputed to any angry motives if we censure them freely.

It may, in the first place, be observed, that the subject, with the selection of which the poets had nothing to do, was unfit to awaken the poetic fire, or, at least, to fan it into any thing like a lasting blaze. It was the choice of a mind incapable of fixing on a spot for fancy to revel on; the choice of a plodding, unimaginative scholar, who considered the laurel of Phœbus, gilded with sixty sovereigns, to be altogether as fair an object as the same laurel dripping with the dews of Aganippe. What high ideas must the reverend gentleman have had of the power of Mammon! He thought, most evidently, that the Muses were a joint-stock company, that might be led into the most thorny track by the chink of gold. However, as many people prefer "solid pudding before empty praise," Mr. Buchanan's source of inspiration had a fertilizing effect, and produced the two poems before us.

It should be observed, that the Rev. Mr. Wrangham, now an archdeacon, is the editor of Langhorne's Plutarch, and author of several Sonnets not at all read. He is, moreover, a great hater of the French, and, of course, a very loyal person; but, as all this has nothing to do with poetry, he is a very common-place poet. On the present occasion he was determined his muse should not be killed through confinement, for he gave her the whole range of time, from the creation downwards, to expatiate over. Invading, too, the property of the writer of Mr.

[1] Two Prize Poems, published at Cambridge in 1805.

Buchanan's Greek ode, he transfers the "Γενεσθω φως" into his own first line, where, however, it makes but a very sorry figure amongst his "streams of splendour," &c. His fancy now lifts up the veil of years, and gives us a glimpse of India as she appeared in her *antediluvian* garments, while the "giant sun" threw his golden beam upon the Ganges,

> And hung entranced o'er Agra's spicy glade!

But as even the Muse herself knows very little of what took place in India before the deluge, Mr. Wrangham descends at once to that great event; but, to do him justice, does not dwell upon it. He then takes Hindoostan, dripping from the waters of the flood, and represents her rich in the charms of nature, and rushing to "the sun's invigorating arms"! After this bold figure, he proceeds to celebrate her productions in intellect and vegetation; and, speaking of mind and mangoes, and evidently thinking of the fruit while making mention of the intellect, he says, that "the growth of mind attained its loftiest size" on the banks of the Ganges,—an assertion much easier to make than to believe.

In the midst of pious, scriptural allusions, where the reader would of all places least expect to find any thing like infidelity, we discover a dogma delivered as a "first great truth," which would subject any body but a reverend divine to the suspicion of Spinozism: the dogma is *pantheistical.* "GOD," says Mr. Wrangham, "IS ALL AND ONE"! which is English for the ἓν τὸ πᾶν of the Greek atheists; the avowed doctrine of the *Vedanti* sages of Hindoostan. Mr. Grant, not content, like Mr. Wrangham, with a simple allusion to this monstrous system, and by no means disposed to dignify it with the name of truth, has given, in very few lines, the completest possible abridgment of this philosophy. We shall copy the passage:

> 'Tis all delusion: Heaven and earth and skies,
> But air-wove images of lifeless dyes.
> HE only lives—Sole Being—none beside—
> The Self-existing, Self-beatified:
> All else but wakes at Maya's[2] fairy call;
> For All that is, is not; or God is All.
> Stupendous Essence! obvious, yet unknown;
> For ever multiplied, for ever One.
> I feel thee not, yet touch on every side;
> See not, yet follow where thy footsteps guide;
> Hear not thy voice, yet own its mystic power
> In breathing silence of the midnight hour.
> Oh, what art thou? since all this bursting scene,
> Unnumber'd isles, and countless waves between;
> This fabric huge, on floating pillars rais'd,
> With suns and fiery elements emblaz'd;
> And thy own pedma,[3] roseate flower of light,
> Emblem and cradle of Creative Might;

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[2] *Maya*, or Delusion; supposed to be a goddess sprung from Brahma.

[3] *Pedma*, the sacred name of the *lotos;* an object of supreme veneration in all the mythological systems of the East, especially in that of the Hindoos. Brahma is said to have been born in a lotos, when he created the world. It was regarded also as an emblem of the creative power: "This plant (says Mr. Knight) being productive of itself, and vegetating from its own matrice, without being fostered in the earth, was naturally adopted as the symbol of the productive power of

Live only on thy sleepless eye reclin'd,
Embosom'd deep in the abyss of Mind.
Close but th' all-seeing Mind, no splendour burns;
Unfold, and all the Universe returns.
Oh, what art thou? and what this darkling ray,
Whose sadden'd lustre mourns in shrines of clay?
Sprung from thyself, though quench'd in human frame,
Faint emanation of th' Eternal Flame.
Oh, fade these scenes, where phantom beauty glows,
And bid th' uncumber'd soul on Thee repose;
Expanse how dread, immeasurable height,
Depth fathomless, and prospect infinite.

Such is the doctrine which the reverend Archdeacon honours with the name of truth; but we assure him it is not orthodox, and, what is worse, was the doctrine of Spinoza and the ancient Stoics, as we learn from a passage in Lucan:

Is not the seat of Jove, earth, sea, and air,
And heaven, and virtue? Where would we further seek
The God? Where'er we move, whate'er we see,
Is Jove!

But we dare say all this never entered into the reverend bard's head in his "moment of enthusiasm," while he was training the Muses to fly at Mr. Buchanan's sixty sovereigns. *Sed jam satis.*

We shall now rapidly glance over the manner in which he has treated the subject, and enumerate the topics upon which he dwells; first, however, extracting a very appropriate simile:

So born and fed 'mid Turan's mountain-snows,
Pure as his source, awhile young Ganges flows;
Through flowery meads his loitering way pursues,
And quaffs with gentle lip the nectar'd dews;
Till, swoln by many a tributary tide,
His waters wash some tall pagoda's side:
Then broad and rough, 'mid rocks unknown to day,
Through tangled woods where tigers howl for prey,
He foams along; and, rushing to the main,
Drinks deep pollution from each tainted plain.

In speaking of the learning and civilization of the ancient Indians, he begins with medical botany, diamond-mining, astronomy, (in which he supposes them acquainted with the Copernican system of the universe,) the invention of the signs of the Zodiac, the naming of the constellations, the perfection of ethics; and, passing into the province of Fancy, alludes to their hymns, odes, and epic and dramatic compositions, the Mahabharat, and Sacontalà.

Mr. Grant touches on the same ground, but with more fervour and enthusiasm, and far greater knowledge of his subject. He alludes first to the authors, chiefly poets, who, under the Moslem tyranny,

————waked the tributary strain;

and

With thoughts divine, and fancy's glowing ray,
Consoled the rigours of a foreign sway.

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waters, upon which the active spirit of the Creator operated, in giving life and vegetation to matter."—Mr. Knight cited by Mr. Maurice; *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. III.

This is a melancholy tribute to the power of literature, frequently the only consolation of a civilized people reduced to servitude. The author does not, however, dwell upon these later writers, but reverting to the Indian intellectual golden age, (the reign of Vicramaditya,) enumerates succinctly the arts and sciences in which the Hindoos of that day excelled. Commencing with logic, invented, it is supposed, by the Brahmin Guatami, he goes on to speak of philosophy, laws, astronomy, tragedy, history, (which has never flourished in India,) and epic poetry. After embodying in verse, in a brief but clear manner, the philosophical system of Vyasa, which teaches that God is all, he speaks of the other great poets of Hindoostan, Jayadeva, and Calidasa, the former a mystical, sensual lyric poet, the latter eminent as a writer of tragedies. Calidasa is mentioned with rapture, and his poetry spoken of as full of pathos and tenderness. The era in which these poets flourished, suggests the ingenious idea of turning to the west to observe what answering lyres were strung in that quarter; and Lucretius and Virgil awaken the writer's enthusiasm. There is something very fine in this passage, as the reader, we think, will allow:

Hail, happy years! when every lyre was strung,
And every clime with mirth and music rung.
While Asia's voice her Calidasa blest,
Hark! kindred spirits answer'd from the West.
There all his lofty tones Lucretius gave,
And epic transports burst on Mincio's wave,
While roved the Matin bee o'er sweetest flowers,
And all Hymettus bloom'd in Tibur's bowers.
Oh, could some God have rent the veil away,
And join'd in one the masters of the lay!
Illustrious names! though breathed the mutual tone
In distant climes, unknowing and unknown,
Yet haply, by a viewless touch impell'd,
Your choral symphonies responsive swell'd,
And some sphered seraph, with the song beguiled,
Lean'd from his rolling orb to hear, and smiled.

From this pleasing part of his theme, the poet passes to the causes of the decay of learning in the East,—war, and the vices engendered by superstition. Then follows the picture of the restoration of learning, with the panegyrics of Sir William Jones, (which we copied in a preceding volume,) of Mr. Chambers, and of the Marquis Wellesley. The poet then apostrophizes his country in the following lines:

Britain! thy voice can bid the dawn ascend;
On thee alone the eyes of Asia bend.
High Arbitress! to thee her hopes are given,
Sole pledge of bliss and delegate of Heaven;
In thy dread mantle all her fates repose,
Or bright with blessings, or o'ercast with woes;
And future ages shall thy mandate keep,
Smile at thy touch, or at thy bidding weep.
Oh! to thy godlike destiny arise!
Awake and meet the purpose of the skies!
Wide as thy sceptre waves, *let India learn*
What virtues round the shrine of empire burn;
Some nobler flight let thy bold genius tower,
Nor stoop to vulgar lures of fame or power;

Such power as gluts the tyrant's purple pride,
Such fame as reeks around the homicide;
With peaceful trophies deck thy throne, nor bare
Thy conquering sword, *till Justice ask the war:*
Justice alone can consecrate renown,
Her's are the brightest rays in Glory's crown;
All else nor eloquence nor song sublime
Can screen from curse, or sanctify from crime.
Let gentler arts awake at thy behest,
And science sooth the Hindoo's mournful breast.
In vain has Nature shed her gifts around,
For eye or ear, soft bloom or tuneful sound;
Fruits of all hues on every grove display'd,
And pour'd profuse the tamarind's gorgeous shade.
What joy to him can song or shade afford,
Outcast so abject, by himself abhor'd?
While chain'd to dust, half struggling, half resign'd,
Sinks to her fate the heaven-descended Mind,
Disrobed of all her lineaments sublime,
The daring hope whose glance outmeasured time,
Warm passions to the voice of Rapture strung,
And conscious thought, that told her whence she sprung.
At Brahma's stern decree, as ages roll,
New shapes of clay await th' immortal soul;
Darkling condemn'd in forms obscene[4] to prowl,
And swell the midnight melancholy howl.
Be thine the task, his drooping eye to cheer,
And elevate his hopes beyond this sphere,
To brighter heavens than proud Sumeeru[5] owns,
Though girt with Indra and his burning thrones.
Then shall he recognise the beams of day,
AND FLING AT ONCE THE FOUR-FOLD CHAIN[6] AWAY;
Through every limb a sudden life shall start,
And sudden pulses spring around his heart;
Then all the deaden'd energies shall rise,
And vindicate their title to the skies.
Be these thy trophies, Queen of many Isles!

Pursuing the train of ideas suggested by what the poet *hoped* that Great Britain would effect for India, by means of missionaries both of religion and science, he immediately after utters this prophetic exclamation:

Yes, it shall come! E'en now my eyes behold,
In distant view, the wish'd-for age unfold.
Lo, o'er the shadowy days that roll between,
A wandering gleam foretells th' ascending scene!
Oh, doom'd victorious from thy wounds to rise,
Dejected India, lift thy downcast eyes,
And mark the hour, whose faithful steps for thee
Through Time's press'd ranks bring on the jubilee!

Nearly a quarter of a century has elapsed since our prophetic bard gave vent to these hopes, and neither peace, nor religion, nor science, nor

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[4] The Hindoos of the lowest class firmly believe themselves to be of the same species as the jackals; and are taught, that through eternal transmigrations they shall never rise higher than those animals.

[5] *Sumeeru* is the mountain on which Indra's heaven is placed.

[6] In allusion to the four castes.

national happiness, has made any permanent advances among the degraded Hindoos: women still burn themselves alive, the car of Juggernaut is still wetted with human blood, and the sepoy is sabred or blown into the air for insisting on his rights. Alas, for the hopes of the poet! They were uttered with the enthusiasm natural to youthful and generous minds; but we regret to perceive that the very man who, in 1804, entertained such just views and nourished such noble sentiments, has long ceased to think and to feel in the same manner; and from wishing to see the "four-fold chain" fall from the neck of the Hindoo, has sunk to the jesuitical level of politicians, and rejoiced at the possession of those lucky fetters which the infernal genius of Menu forged for the people of India.

Mr. Grant, we see, is content to indulge hopes of Indian happiness in his poem; but his rival, more unacquainted with the history of his countrymen in the East, speaks of Hindoostan as almost supremely blest under British rule. Letting loose his fancy among scenes which *might be* created by good government, he actually imagines them to exist, and speaks with the most laughable simplicity of "blithe industry whistling at the plough," and "freedom," and "rustic echoes" prolonging "the glad notes" of the "ryot's song," under the horrid government of the East India Company! Nay, so entire and inexpressible is the ryot's love for Great Britain, that his gratitude for being kept in slavery by her is only to be guessed at from his eyes being turned in ecstacy to heaven! They who have seen the peasants of Bengal trembling at the approach of the Company's collectors, or heard the groans of the "bearers," bending beneath the weight of some unwieldy civil servant, may be able to appreciate the worth of Mr. Archdeacon Wrangham's panegyric on his country. To speak candidly, it is quite silly, and founded altogether on ignorance. His abuse of the French is equally vulgar and contemptible; in them it is, forsooth, a crime to traverse the globe as "merchant or preacher," "masked in traffic's or religion's robe"! The efforts of France to oppose our power in the East are called "low intrigue;" while the innocent English are said to pursue a "glorious course;" and, moreover, are exhorted by the Archdeacon to "crush the oppressor's head;" as if there were any oppressors of India but themselves!

We notice, by the way, two very singular lines in our reverend bard's production, not particularly connected with the restoration of learning, but highly illustrative of a particular kind of fancy, if we may flatter ourselves with having caught their meaning, of which we are not quite certain. Speaking of the texture of Indian muslins, he says:—

> The slender form vests more than Coan grace,
> *And half seduce the eye from beauty's face!*

A passage in one of Lady Montague's letters (the one in which she so minutely describes the naked ladies in the bath of Adrianople) will perfectly explain the Archdeacon's meaning. "I was here convinced," says she, "of the truth of a reflection I have often made, *that if it were the fashion to go naked, the face would be hardly observed.*" In his application of Horace's

> ———— Cois tibi penè videre est,
> Ut nudam,

he is particularly unhappy, or utterly confused. We cannot, we confess, discover exactly whether he means to attribute *Coan grace* to the *forms* of the Hindoo women, or to their *garments*: if to the former, he is altogether beside the mark; for the Roman poet is speaking of dresses through which a lady might be seen as if she were naked; if to the latter, we can by no means agree with him in thinking the most immodest dresses in the world deserving of the epithet graceful. But as the reverend gentleman's lines are quite enigmatical in this place, they may mean something very different from what we suspect; and then our criticism will have been altogether thrown away.

A BATTLE SCENE—FROM THE ROMANCE OF ANTAR.

Chief rush'd on Chief, and man on man;
Blood spouting forth in torrents ran;
Spears quiver'd,—flash'd the atagan;
And plunder'd of its soul, the man
 A worthless carcass lay.

Above his rays bright glory shed,
Around her flames destruction spread,
But earth beneath was soak'd and red,
And there was thrust, and tug, and tread;
 But neither side gave way.

Like some vast cauldron boil'd the fight,
Eddying and straining. Acts of might
Were ceaseless; and the screaming flight
 Of vultures heaved around.

Down sunk the weak with fearful moan,
The brave by numbers overthrown,
And dash'd to earth without a groan,
 Press'd their death-bed—the ground.

"Death" is the universal cry,
The press reels backward—Antar's nigh!
Off bounds the warrior's steel-clothed head,
And hands, like leaves, are scattered.—
"Antar!" they yell: that name of fear
Is echoed back from van to rear;
But none, not e'en the boldest, sought
The hurtling whirlwind where he fought.

A FEW CURSORY NOTES ON MR. TUCKER'S WORK ON THE FINANCES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

"We are again at war! Those golden assurances have not been realized which promised us a long continuance of peace and security. How many short months have passed since we were taught to believe that there remained no state in India which could oppose the British power; that the relations of amity had been established with all around us upon a firm and durable foundation; and that *we* were at length arrived at that happy epoch when we might expect to enjoy, under *our own* vines and figtrees, *the produce of all* OUR *toil*, the fruits of so many victories in the field and triumphs in the cabinet."

FINANCIAL SITUATION OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, p. 42.

A SECOND perusal of Mr. Tucker's work has suggested to us many reflections on the important topics it embraces, which we are desirous of placing on record before his book is forgotten. If he had duly weighed the fact stated in the sentence above quoted, he would have been less confident in his calculations, and have attached less importance to a net territorial income of half a million *in time of peace.* If this be the test and tenure of the East India Company's financial prosperity, it is a weak one indeed. Will ten years of this surplus defray the expenses incurred by the Burmese war? and when this is concluded (of which there is yet no prospect) will he guarantee the enjoyment of peace for ten years to come? Even then, in all human probability, the Company would not sit down more securely under its vine and figtree to enjoy the produce of the *toil of its subjects* (here called its own) than it can do now. It would be to throw away all the lessons of past experience to imagine that a Government so situated could ever be secure while it continued a despotism, appealing only to force, not supported by the affection of its subjects. The very measures described by Mr. Tucker which are resorted to for raising revenue, must render permanent tranquillity impossible; and while wide-spreading internal discontent prevails, foreign war is never very distant; the keen eye of the enemy descrying disaffection from afar as the eagle doth his prey.

The reasons assigned by Mr. Tucker for levying the land tax are sad stuff, and have nothing to do with the matter. The Natives of the East, Jews, Mohammedans, and particularly Hindoos, having long been kept in a semi-barbarous state of poverty and ignorance by the brutalizing power of theocratic government, never have emerged into freedom and wealth, or, comparatively speaking, civilization. The soil is and always has been the property of the sovereign, who allowed occupants (under greater or less customs of prescriptive right) to cultivate on condition of giving in return half the gross produce, equal to the entire net produce under a rude and wasteful system of agriculture. Poverty and despotism gave rise to this ruinous and oppressive distribution of the land and crop; and this system, in turn, perpetuates poverty and despotism—bars all improvement of condition, strikes at the root of any accumulation of capital. Nevertheless, this system we have deliberately adopted in India, and we justify it; yet hypocritically cant about improving our Native subjects! Lord Cornwallis's permanent settlement had the merit of at least setting limits to the ruinous system of exacting a proportion of *gross* produce; and, like a permanent commutation of tithes, (the

injuriousness of which mainly consists in their attacking *gross*, not *net* produce,) substituting a fixed sum for the varying exaction. His Lordship was historically wrong in respect to the zumeendars, who were only collectors in Mogul times; but his intention in raising them up was good. Almost any thing is better than the minute subdivision of land, and the perpetual prostration and abject poverty entailed by the system of ryotwarry or village settlement.

In justification of the salt monopoly, (for what enormity exists so monstrous that some one will not be found to justify it?) Mr. Tucker says, "If a people be constitutionally timid, or unable, from whatever cause, to defend their property, and to resist oppression, then it would seem to be a happy discovery, if, *instead of subjecting them by direct taxation* to the screw of the Exchequer, the Government should succeed in drawing from them the periodical contribution required, by a process scarcely perceptible, in sums so minute as scarcely to be felt, and by means totally divested of the odious character of force."!

Good God! are the people of India not "subject to the direct taxation" of the land-revenue, sweeping into the Exchequer nearly the whole net produce of the earth? The history of our Bengal salt monopoly may not be known by Mr. Tucker, but should never be forgotten. [See Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, 1772—Burgoyne's.] The Company's servants laid on this horrible impost, not for the sake of the process "scarcely perceptible," or with any such view, but as a private bonus to be shared among themselves. They drove the then sovereign of Bengal (Cossim Ally) into a war with the Company, avowedly because he would not favour the continuance of the unheard-of monopoly of an article of primary necessity; and the honest Company, after inveighing against their servants and this monopoly for years, finally took it from their refractory servants, and—appropriated it to themselves! converting a comparatively feeble private monopoly into a state one, supported by the power of Government, and stimulated by its rapacity.

From Mr. Tucker's own statements, it appears that this revenue, raised by this detestable monopoly, is realized at the cost of about thirty per cent. deduction from the gross sales; an immense destruction of public wealth, in addition to the misery and suffering, the vices and losses, moral and physical, caused by smuggling on the most desperate scale. The ratio of charges to produce is also evidently on the increase, having, in the space of ten years, risen from little more than twenty to almost thirty per cent.; as was to be expected of a tax which seems to war against human nature. It is confessed that the poorer classes are thereby compelled to dispense with the ingredient of salt for the seasoning of their miserable diet, or to use it in the most sparing quantities. Yet Mr. Tucker, with this confession on his lips, professes in the same breath that the tax is "scarcely felt," and "almost imperceptible," and again [illegible]s of salt being so plentiful as to be "supplied also in some instances to [illegible]le"! If we believe this glaring absurdity, we must then admit that in India the brute creation is much better off than the human race, and wallows in luxuries from which the latter is cut off. "It is unquestionable," says Mr. Tucker, "that the people *do not consume as much salt as they desire to use*; and we certainly have it in our power to place the article more within their reach, and to afford them a more

liberal measure of indulgence—*without any sacrifice of the present revenue*"! Oh! admirable philanthropists, who would peradventure consent to grant your subjects the favour of a little more salt, provided it can be done without any sacrifice to yourselves!

Mr. Tucker having satisfied *himself* that the *salt* revenue, as he calls it, is one of the branches of our Indian resources on which we can with most confidence rely, concludes with a general defence of it in these words: "I consider it less objectionable, and less injurious in its effects, than some other taxes which we have imposed; and while the present revenue is required, the mere circumstance of its bearing an unpopular designation, ought not to prejudice us against it, or to induce us to give it up for the purpose of substituting a system of taxation more consistent with *European theory*, but at the same time much more likely to expose our Asiatic subjects to exactions and to personal oppression."

This he says, as if this grinding impost, abhorrent even to the feelings of an Asiatic despot, had not been forced upon India by an European Company's European servants; as if any tax in any nation on the face of the whole earth did or could expose the people to greater exactions than this cruel impost, levied in such a shape by anticipation upon a poor abject starving population, through the instrumentality of myriads of harpies and plunderers wearing the badge of authority. The vice and misery and crime engendered in the salt districts, by the system of universal smuggling which inevitably follows such a scheme and such a rate of taxation on an article of primary necessity, is hardly to be credited. It is impossible to describe the scenes of atrocity and guilt, the perjury and fraud, the affrays and homicides, that are the inevitable consequence. But if one bullock-load out of six or seven escape, the smuggler is a clear gainer; or, if escape be less probable, he informs on his own smuggled cargo, to profit by the informer's share of the seizure! This is the infamous system which Mr. Tucker lauds as "a happy discovery," which conjures the subject's money out of his pocket "almost imperceptibly," as it were by magic, by "a sort of voluntary process," and is "totally divested of the odious character of force."

In regard to the opium monopoly, again, he asks, "Wherein would be the difference if the Government (of India) disposed of the opium at prime cost, or allowed others to manufacture it, and afterwards imposed a duty of one hundred or one thousand per cent. on the exportation of the article?" All the difference between a monopoly of cultivation like tobacco in France or Spain, and an excise or custom duty as on tobacco in England. Can Mr. Tucker not distinguish between the vexations and rapacity of these two methods? He is right, however, in his remark, that the duty on the pilgrims visiting the Indian temples "does not harmonize with the character of a great and liberal Government." But we should like to know what act of the East India Company entitles it to be thought either one or the other of these. It is a farce to pretend that the object of this, as regards Juggernaut at least, was not revenue, and only a desire "to prevent fraud and imposition, and guard pilgrims against violence and extortion." Are these objects to be secured in any [illegible]ree by turning into the Company's exchequer a stream of about [illegible],000 rupees of net revenue annually, the sum which the Juggernaut [illegible]e calculated to yield on an average? In fact, the misery, the [illegible], the oppression, ruin and beggary, and moral debasement

attending this system of pilgrimages, are beyond belief; and of all this, no inconsiderable portion is fairly ascribable to our mode of treatment. When the Natives see the whole of the money wrung from the devotees, many of them travellers from the distant region of the Himalah, collected solely by Government, which guards and [illegible] decorates and decks out the whole establishment of gods and goddesses, priests and prostitutes, vehicles and trumpery! When the pilgrims see the British collectors and judges in attendance to superintend the whole ceremonies, yet not admitted to approach the gates, or intrude within the adyta of the holy structures—how profound must they think British veneration for the Hindoo pagod—or rather, how mean and mercenary and despicable must they consider those to be who thus humiliate themselves for the sake of filthy lucre? Such are the lengths to which we go in support of this absurd and detestable superstition, that the whole city of Pooree (Juggernauth) is surrounded by walls and ditches, bridges and gates, guarded by our regular sepoys; and no man is allowed to settle in or even to enter this holy city, in pursuit of his avocations or his bread, but on paying five or six rupees at the least; and this for leave to remain only four or five days, in charge of a priest, who takes care to turn him out of the gates at the end of that time, *unless he be rich, and can bribe high.*

Mr. Tucker's chapter on the 'Land Revenue of India' is more valuable than all the rest of his book. His criticisms on the ryotwarry system are honest, independent and just: it cannot be too much execrated. But if, under the zumeendarry system, Government absorb all the net produce of the soil, excepting one-tenth to the zumeendar, the ryot is nearly in as hopeless a condition as under the other mode of collection, even if the zumeendarry system be permanent. There is nothing left to the ryot for accumulation, and little or nothing to the zumeendar, unless in rare cases of estates which happened to have very large tracts of waste land at the time the settlement of Lord Cornwallis was formed, which were consequently unassessed, and have since been brought into cultivation. In this way there was some room for the accumulation of capital for application to public improvements. Mr. Colebrooke says somewhere, (in his 'Husbandry of Bengal,') that a hired labourer is better off than a ryot cultivating on half produce. We who applaud the good Lord Cornwallis for what he did, must beware of letting our admiration carry us too far: his revenue settlement, after all, left the great body of the people in a situation little better than if the zumeendars had been merely made farmers of the revenue; for the moment one of those nominal landholders falls in arrears with his taxes, does not the Indian Government put up his estate to auction? It is then bought by the person who chooses to give most on the speculation of profiting by the produce that may remain after paying the fixed rent to Government, with which the purchase is saddled. At the same time, whenever this defalcation of the zumeendar takes place, all the leases held of him by the ryots are cancelled, so as to render them liable to a new measure of exaction from their new master. How much better is this system for the poor cultivator than a farming system of long periods? Surely only a very *little* better.

An objection is usually started to the permanency of a land-revenue settlement, that it is absurd for a government to tie up its hands in per-

petuity from increasing its income, when necessary to meet increased public charges of the state. Doubtless it is so in the theory that the Government is acting (as it should do) with the consent of all for the common good of all, as their faithful trustee, who will neither waste, embezzle, nor neglect. But if the Government be, on the other hand, a despotism, —self-constituted, self-accountable,—the revenues it draws, tributes levied and wrung from the people, not contributions granted by them; and their amount not having any natural or acknowledged limit in the actual charges of the state, the great object of the rulers being to raise a *surplus* revenue,—then a self-denying ordinance, like that of Lord Cornwallis, limiting future exactions of tribute, is quite intelligible, and may be politic, as well as merciful and right. Is it not desirable to calm the apprehensions of the subject people, who know that their property is entirely at our mercy, by giving them a pledge (an honest pledge faithfully fulfilled) to this effect: "Hitherto shall our exactions upon you come, but no farther"?

By far too much importance has been attached to the discussion, as to who were the real proprietors of the soil,—the sovereign, the zumeendar, or the ryot. On a little consideration, this will be found to be a mere verbal dispute, which leads to nothing. If a ryot, for instance, possessed the right to retain in perpetuity, and sell, pledge, or bequeath his piece of land, what does it matter whether you acknowledge him to be its proprietor or not? For these rights, such as they are, ought to be held equally sacred, by whatever name, taken collectively, they may be called, as if they were baptized with the title of "proprietor." Again, granting any of the parties, ryot or zumeendar, to have the most undoubted right of property; yet if that right was so frittered away, and cut down as to be of little or no value to the owner; and if the existence of such worthless rights was found to be pernicious to the community generally, and a bar to public improvement,—who can object to their being abolished, or converted into other rights of a more salutary nature? Such were the views of Lord Cornwallis in making the permanent settlement: he knew that the only object of right at all was to promote the general happiness; and when he found that those existing had not this tendency, he said, "Go to; let us make new rights for the benefit of mankind."

The ryotwarry and village system mongers lose sight entirely of this grand object of all rights; for when they have reduced the '*value* of [illegible]

[illegible] is a right to a loss, which they confer upon the people, and claim prodigious merit for securing it to them. This state of things is most effectually produced by the execrable ryotwar system; but equally by any other system of land-impost which varies with the productiveness of the soil from year to year, or within short periods: so in Cuttack and the western provinces of Bengal, which have *not* obtained the plighted permanent settlement, property may be considered as of little or no value, through the increasing demands of Government, almost the same as under the ryotwar system. The difference is only in degree, and in the execrable machinery of the ryotwar grinding-mill. It is not its least detestable quality, that, if carried into complete effect, it must reduce the country to a state which will shut out, at any future time, the benefits of colonization by European, or Indo-British agriculturists, possessed of capital,

and endowed with the science, industry, and enterprise of the mother country. For what respectable man could submit to be continually harassed by the capricious and vexatiously-minute interference of irresponsible power, measuring his fields, estimating his crops, and subjecting him to a perpetual recurrence of the instruments of exaction? When this intolerable engine of oppression is so great a favourite with Sir T. Munro, Sir J. Malcolm, and others, no wonder they detest so much any thing like colonization, or the influx of free labour or free cultivation: their system being quite incompatible with the existence of a community enjoying any tolerable degree of wealth, comfort, and respectability, to which such a grinding mode of taxation would be altogether intolerable.

In exposing its odious character, Mr. Tucker regrets that his "materials are not more complete;" and adds, "As the Court of Directors could not, consistently with their rules and practice, (the propriety of which I am not prepared to dispute,) allow me access to their records and books of account, I have not been able to ascertain, with certainty, the exact degree in which the occasional features in the land-revenue of Madras are to be ascribed to the ryotwar system of administration." This concealment is the baneful mischief which aggravates every other evil. If the Court were compelled to allow general access to their records and books of accounts, (at least to Proprietors,) these and other enormities would speedily be detected and destroyed by public opinion. But it is the closeness of the system that keeps up vicious ordinances, and shelters absurd and tyrannical regulations so long before they are discovered. If the press had been free in India, Sir T. Munro and his party would never have been able to face the arguments of those who understand the nature of the detestable ryotwar system. Then they never would have succeeded in persuading the Court to sanction this tissue of abominations. But in India, however many challenges were given through the press to the advocates of the system to lay its character in detail before the public, they never ventured to submit it to this test: they maintained a profound silence. About the period of the great measure of the permanent settlement, an animated discussion took place on the subject in the Calcutta newspapers, which doubtless did much good. The humane and upright intention of Lord Cornwallis candidly appealed to public opinion, because where only good is intended, the severest scrutiny into the best mode of effecting it is desired rather than feared. The opponents of his system hate publicity; the strongest characteristic of their policy is a dread or abhorrence of the press. "They love darkness rather than the light"; the infallible test with which Scripture has furnished us for detecting those who are conscious that "their deeds are evil."

How comes it that Mr. Tucker does not say one syllable of Cuttack and its eventful history? It was a conquered province in 1803; but whether the promised and plighted permanent settlement extended to this as well as to the western provinces, to which Mr. Tucker does refer, we are not certain. However, the system here has been to make brief settlements for three or five years, so as to keep the screw of the exchequer constantly worming on in eternal motion. At length, in 1817, after most of the old zumeendars had been ousted, their estates confiscated and sold for arrears of revenue, and bought by the inferior Government (Native) officers, the whole province rose as one man in desperate rebellion, which lasted for years! Let those who know and reflect o

tame and submissive character of the people of the lower provinces, where passive obedience seems part of the human constitution, consider what that system of taxation must be which drove a whole country to an act of daring, which in them could only proceed from the miserable phrenzy of despair. This is one result to be expected from impermanent settlements, which Mr. Tucker is of opinion now threatens the ceded and conquered provinces.

Mr. Tucker's defence of the monopoly of the tea-trade is written with abundance of the *esprit de corps*, and an equal lack of sound argument. In order to reconcile us to the exorbitant price of tea, or at least to apologise for it, he begins with the tax raised from this commodity by Government. But he knows that this stands upon quite different grounds, and has nothing to do with the extravagant price, or tax, extorted by the Company, whose right to tax us surely does not stand on the same footing with that of the House of Commons. Admitting that the tax on tea is "*less* objectionable than the tax on coals," (which may also be said of fifty other intolerable species of impost,) is it, therefore, to be endured to any amount? Because the present Ministers insist on a contribution of four millions per annum from this source, raised in the present mode, are we really "*bound* to presume that this sum cannot be better obtained by any other expedient"? Then we were bound to suppose also, in 1785, that the 100 per cent. (from which Mr. Pitt reduced it to twelve) was the best of all possible taxes! And next year, should Mr. Robinson, with a new Parliament, revert to the old regime, we are bound to suppose the same again!

The next ground of defence is the very large capital embarked in this trade by the Company, occasioned by the expensiveness of their ships, their charges for demurrage, and the large stock always kept on hand. What excuse does this afford to us, the free traders, who could carry on the trade advantageously with a smaller capital, who could sail our ships more economically, and whose own interests would lead us to keep up always an adequate supply for the market, and no more? What benefit does the public reap from the surplus millions of pounds stored up in the East India warehouses, which, while the Company holds them under lock and key, are no more in the market than if still growing in China? Without this stock in their hands, we see no more danger from failure of supply, or from fluctuation in prices, than in the case of sugar, coffee, or any other article of foreign growth, the supply of which will soon adjust itself to the demand. If scanty crops were liable to happen frequently, self-interest would teach the merchant to be always sufficiently provided against them; but this not being the case, the care and cost are superfluous. Were it even probable that in some *rare* year there should be neither bud nor blossom, nor green leaf, on any shrub within the Chinese empire, still we should say, it is better for the British public to consume, at a dear rate, the small stock on hand, or even to want tea altogether for *one* year, than to pay for it most exorbitantly for fifty.

His defence of high prices, on account of the Company's expensive mode of trading, is altogether a most ingenious piece of reasoning; for it amounts to this: that if the Company choose to bring home their tea in mahogany ships, with golden fastenings and silken cables, at 100*l.* per ton freight, it is quite just and reasonable that the public should pay them "interest on capital" so "employed"! The real test of utility is, what

do similar teas to those which they furnish, cost at New York, Hamburgh, or Amsterdam, exclusive of duties, on import at those places? One *half* of the cost of the Company's teas in England, king's duties excluded! Is not the other half a tax imposed by the Company upon the British public? To comfort us under this exaction, Mr. Tucker says, in defence of the expensive apparatus which produces it: it is "unquestionably true" that the private merchant could procure tonnage on cheaper terms; (hence furnish tea cheaper;) "but a preference has been given to the ships at present employed, *on the ground that they are peculiarly well adapted to the trade.*" They are peculiarly well adapted to fill the pockets of private individuals whom the Company delighteth to honour and enrich. Is Mr. Tucker then really ignorant of the merits of the shipping interest question, or does he want to keep the flagrant jobbing out of sight? "It is to be presumed that these ships would not command a preference, if *those in whom the decision of the question has been vested* were not *satisfied* that there are circumstances in their favour sufficient to outweigh the objections originating in a higher rate of freight." No doubt; every sort of jobbing has "circumstances in its favour" sufficient to satisfy the jobbers.

Lastly, Mr. Tucker charges the *whole* freight of the voyage against the tea, or homeward cargo alone; saying, that the exports, or return to China, only produce a "saving remittance." This is a specimen of the Company's mode of merchandising: they talk of saving remittances which do not pay their own freight. To such enlightened merchants England gives a monopoly of her commerce, more extensive than ever was heard of in the history of the world.

In summing up the result of all his speculations, Mr. Tucker tells us, that the Company's tea-trade yields an average profit of 565,000*l.* per annum. Now we know that this monopoly of tea has been proved to cost the nation about two millions sterling,—nearly four times the amount of clear profit which goes into the Company's exchequer; proving, according to his own showing, that their mode of trading causes the public a loss of at least one million four hundred thousand pounds sterling every year! But it is a mere waste of the reader's patience to adduce any thing to show that the Company's trade is a most ruinous concern; proofs of which stare us in the face at every turning.

In congratulating the Proprietors of India stock on the large amount of surplus assets, which he thinks belong to them of right, as their own property, to be shared out among them at the final division of the spoil,—Mr. Tucker readily takes for granted that the debt called territorial is actually so. To remove so gross a misconception, it will be sufficient to quote the following paragraph from a work with which Mr. Tucker is no doubt well acquainted:

In 1793, the surplus revenue (after payment of 520,000*l.* as interest on a debt of 8,000,000*l.*) was 1,612,226*l.* From 1793 to 1809, the amount of surplus revenue (without payment of interest) was 17,833,187*l.*, and the increase of debt was 20,905,194*l.*; so that at the end of the above period, the surplus, after payment of fifteen years' interest on the debt of 1793, would amount to 10,033,187*l.* With these data, let the reader determine whether the above sum of nearly twenty-one millions was borrowed for the purchase of investments, or for making good deficient revenues.[1]

[1] Colonial Policy, p. 108.

Mr. Tucker tells his credulous readers (p. 206), that "the surplus *commercial profits* of the Company have been appropriated to the discharge of a *portion* of the territorial debt"! He ought to have been ashamed to put his name to a book containing such a paragraph. He must well know that the Company's trade, taking every thing into account from first to last, has not paid one farthing of the expenses of the territory, but has loaded it with a debt of many millions; besides having been a perpetual drain on the wealth and finances of India for more than half a century past. If the profits of the tea monopoly are, as he says, according to his *utmost* calculation, 565,000*l.* per annum; and this, he tells us, is the only branch of the trade which can bear the commercial charges, the others being, in fact, carried on at a loss, after paying the dividends of East India stock, (about 800,000*l.*,) and other expenses belonging to this branch,—how much remains for application to territorial disbursements? Nothing! On the contrary, there is a net commercial charge of at least half a million paid out of the territorial fund. In this way only can the rapid increase of territorial debt by any possibility be accounted for, while there is, at the same time, a surplus revenue!

ON RECEIVING, IN AMERICA, A VIRGINIAN NIGHTINGALE, INTENDED FOR A FRIEND IN ENGLAND.

OH! CEASE, sweet bird, that flutt'ring fear,
Nor dread the hand of danger near;
While I have thee in charge,
Thy plumage shall be free from harm,
Thy food as pure, thy nest as warm,
As when thou roam'dst at large.

Fond captive, could thy simple mind
But know for whom thou wert design'd,
Thou 'd'st long to be her slave;
Nor e'er in plaintive notes deplore,
To leave Columbia's native shore,
And cross the Atlantic wave.

When once *her* kindness thou shalt prove,
Thy little heart will bound with love,
And grateful kiss the chain
That makes thee, in captivity,
More happy far than ranging free
Among the feather'd train.

Her fostering hand thy wants shall feed,
And every comfort thou canst need
Will be her morning care;
And when at eve thy song shall close,
Fly to her bosom for repose,
And fondly nestle there.

FRAZER'S TRAVELS IN KHORASAN.[1]

These travels into Khorasan are well written and full of interest, although a great portion of the volume relates to those parts of Persia which are most known. We shall not follow the author in his voyage from Bombay to Muscat, Ormuz, &c., nor in his route from Bushire to Tehran; but pass at once to that point where the journey into Khorasan commences. When the author first contemplated this 'Journey,' he traced out for himself a very extensive scene, including, as well as the whole of the north of Persia, the territories of Bokhara and Samarcand, or even the countries still further eastward. Having, however, reached Mushed, the capital of Khorasan, he found it would be extremely hazardous to proceed further towards the east; turning round, therefore, in a westerly direction, he passed through Kourdistan, Googaun, Astrabad, and Mazunderan, (supposed to be the ancient Parthia and Hyrcania,) and coasted the Caspian Sea, as far as Resht, the chief town of Gheelan, where he was detained a prisoner for a considerable time, under circumstances of a singular nature. Upon his release he continued his journey along the soa-coast, occasionally striking into the interior; and ascending the lofty mountains which separate the province of Gheelan and Azerbijan, occupied by the wild tribes of Talish, he passed through Ardebeel, and finally rejoined his countrymen at Tabreez.

The present volume leaves the author at Astrabad; the remainder of the journey being to be described in a future work, which the readers of the 'Travels in Khorasan' will expect with peculiar anxiety.

The author prefaces his journey into Khorasan with an account of the manners and customs of the Turcoman tribes, which is marked with the features of great exactness and fidelity. These rude wanderers, uniting the character of the shepherd with that of the robber, are fierce, thievish, and blood-thirsty. Carrying their incursions for five or six hundred miles into the heart of the cultivated country, they have been known to approach the neighbourhood of Ispahan itself. Wherever their ravages extend they leave behind them the utmost terror and alarm, as they not only plunder in the most unsparing manner, but also perpetrate cruel murders, and carry off as many as they can take prisoners into slavery. Having always been borderers between two hostile empires, those of Iran and Turan, and occasionally engaged in their wars, they have been accustomed from time immemorial to a plundering lawless life, which has so entirely divested them of the feelings of humanity, that they now scruple not to steal men belonging to their own race to sell in the slave-markets of Khyvah and Bokhara. Being Soonies, they detest the Persians, who are Sheahs, from religious motives; but selfishness alone would be quite sufficient to account for their atrocities. Though addicted, upon the whole, to a wandering life, there are a few favourable spots in their deserts in which they raise a little corn; and they have also a small number of villages. Their conduct towards each other is marked by the greatest

[1] Narrative of a Journey into Khorasan in the years 1821 and 1822, &c. By J. B. Frazer. 4to. London, 1825.

inhumanity; men killing their servants, nay, even their wives and children, for a word or look. Much has been said of their hospitality, but, in fact, they are never to be trusted. The women are sometimes left alone with travellers in their tents, in order to allure them into the commission of some breach of hospitality, that their husbands or friends may appear to be justified in robbing and murdering them.

Mr. Frazer's account of these tribes, their plundering expeditions, their mode of carrying off prisoners, their treatment and sale of their captives, &c., is minute and interesting; but as we can afford no space for such extracts as would be any way satisfactory, we must refer our readers to the work itself, where they will find abundant instructive details.

In the course of his journey from Tehran to Mushed, the author has frequent opportunities to display his powers of description; among others, that which is afforded by his passing through the dismal defile where Darius, in his flight towards Bactria, after the battle of Arbela, was murdered by Bessus. Much of this part of Persia is highly picturesque, being mountainous and full of singular ruins: having numerous torrents rushing from the hills; villages defended by lofty keeps, or built upon high mounds; on one hand, snowy peaks, broken rocks, dark defiles; on the other, immense deserts covered with a white saline efflorescence and salt marshes, with mists and clouds driving over the pools and rushes.

From the incidents of this journey, the reader may acquire pretty correct notions of the Persian character in most ranks of life; and anecdotes are occasionally told, which illustrate the disposition and manners of the sovereigns of Iran. The following, of Shah Abbas, is quite characteristic:—"On one of the journies, made by Shah Abbas the Great into Khorasan, he was delayed at this ravine (near Lasgird) by the want of a bridge; and while waiting upon its brink until some means of crossing it could be provided, the king, struck with the narrowness of the chasm, desired an active fellow among his *shatirs* (running footmen) to leap across it. The man obeyed, and succeeded, to the admiration of the monarch, who desired him to leap back again: this also he successfully performed; upon which the king observed, "That fellow must be rich; I am sure he must have gold about him, he leaps so well;" (alluding to a saying in the country, that a full purse acquired in service renders its possessor more active and willing than he who has saved nothing). "Let us," added he, "see what he has got." The man was stripped upon the spot, and a considerable sum in gold and jewels, presents he had received from the king, were found in his girdle, and carried to his majesty, who told him, "Now try the leap again;" the poor fellow attempted it, but failing, tumbled down the chasm (a hundred feet deep) and was killed. The king ordered a bridge to be built over the place with the shatir's money," &c.

Throughout the whole route evidences of the wickedness and feebleness of the government were seen; but particularly at Semnoon, where the governor, Zulfecar Khan, perpetrated the most horrible acts of oppression with impunity. Traces also of great former populousness, now diminished by tyranny, were visible in many places; while all around was fast falling to decay. Every body lived in a state of perpetual alarm, fearing to sow lest they should not reap; and to build, lest their enemy should seize upon their dwellings. No village felt secure without its for-

tified keep: gardens were enclosed with fortifications; and the husbandman turned up the earth, on the skirts of the village, with his weapon by his side, and his loaded matchlock near him on the ground. In all quarters the traveller was assaulted with wild stories and superstitious legends, which strongly characterized the rude manners of the natives. The perpetual dread of Turcoman incursions in which they live, magnifies every cruel accident, and keeps alive a never-ceasing train of rumours in the country. Like most men under the pressure of any grievous calamity, they delight in magnifying their dangers and sufferings, and appear to derive their principal amusement from the recital of their own perils, past or anticipated. Ignorant they all appear to be in the extreme. They are also greedy, knavish, and false, looking upon a stranger as their legitimate prey. Their lives are considerably diversified by incident and adventure; they are active and lively; and their fierce and bad passions, not, perhaps, more unruly and destructive than those of other rude, ill-governed people, are fairly derivable from the nature of their government; and, notwithstanding that tyranny and insecurity repress the spirit of industry, there is a good deal of bustle and animation in some of the towns or villages, produced by the constant passage of caravans, pilgrims, travellers, royal couriers, merchants, and ransomed or runaway captives.

As the prosperity of the villages which lie on this route depends very much upon the stay of the caravans, their inhabitants have recourse to all manner of artifices to delay the departure of travellers; forming schemes with the muleteers, and spreading alarming reports of the dangers of the roads, which generally have their full effect on the timid Asiatics. Mr. Frazer was very considerably annoyed on one occasion by the Macchiavellian policy of these villagers, joined to the indolence and apprehension of his fellow-travellers. The efforts he and his party made to hasten the setting out of the caravan, which was to depart in the evening; the drowsy backwardness of the merchants and muleteers; the running rumours, whispers, cabals, stratagems, by which the indolent and interested endeavoured to delay their departure; the scene of confusion produced at every attempt to be gone: some of the travellers loading their mules and camels, others attempting to dissuade them; others leading in a breathless messenger pretending to bring intelligence of the approach of the Turcomans; others running about propagating false reports; the neighing of horses, roaring of camels, the shouts and curses of the muleteers;—all this formed a scene ludicrous and amusing in the extreme. They were at length stopped effectually by a kind of divination, very much resembling the "Sortes Virgilianæ." But when the caravan was at last put in motion, at the close of day, it presented a very picturesque spectacle:

The Yezdees gave the first impulse, by loading and moving out of the caravanserai; and, thus strengthened, we also persisted; but so dilatory were our camel-men, that we did not move out before ten o'clock. The moon had now risen in great splendour, and lighted up the brown plain, which was now dotted by the strings of camels, mules, and horses, as the different parties filed out in long succession towards the place of rendezvous.

The departure and march of a considerable cafila, under circumstances like ours, and when under tolerable guidance, is a picturesque and interesting, if not a gay and splendid object; the various parties file out under the order of the cafilah-bashee, and take their places in the procession with perfect order

and regularity, the whole halt a few miles from the town or village, to give the stragglers time to come up; the Toffenchees on foot are generally mustered in front; the camels are gathered into as compact a body as the nature of the ground or the road will admit of; the unarmed foot-passengers move in the centre, where they are protected; the armed horsemen are placed on the flanks, rear, or a-head; and several are detached to look out at some distance on all sides, and to bring intelligence of what they may see, or give alarm in case of approaching danger.

As we approached Khyrabad, a considerable village long since destroyed by the Turcomans, and through the ruins of which the road led, the cafilah-bashee requested Mahomed Allee and myself, who were in front, and well mounted, to ride on a-head, and survey with care the ruins which afforded excellent lurking-places for an ambuscade; and we did so with our arms prepared. They were ghastly enough, the long high tenantless walls, wholly roofless, and cleft by time into rude columns, which threw their dark shadows across the ground fleckered with snow; and the stillness of death reigned among them, the more dismal because it might veil the most fierce and ruthless life, or be wakened in a moment by the wild yell of attack and destruction. All was safe, however; the cafilah passed on unmolested, and halted once more upon the other side to collect stragglers.

The reader will perhaps recollect the alarm felt by Robinson Crusoe at seeing the print of a man's foot in the sand on his desert island: something very similar was experienced by the Persian caravan with which Mr. Frazer travelled, on finding in the desert a Turcoman pipe that had been lately used, as it indicated that the tremendous robbers, to one of whom it must have belonged, were in the neighbourhood. Their fears were again excited by observing, from a small height, a few unloaded camels grazing in the waste, and near them streaks of ascending smoke. Drawing near the spot with trembling and apprehension, they found "three men, Heratees, who had been in company with the caravan that had reached Meyomeid; but two of their camels having fallen ill, the chief of the party had staid behind with them, that they might have time to recover and proceed. 'Were you not afraid,' asked we, 'to halt in so dangerous a place upon any account whatever?' 'Why should I fear?' he replied; 'I trust in God. You have 150 men, with arms and horses, yet you fear; we are but three, but in that trust we fear not.'"

The history Mr. Frazer gives of the foundation and fortunes of the village of Abbassabad in the desert, is strikingly illustrative of the operation of Persian despotism. Between Tehran and Mushed there existed a great space, barren and desert by nature, where travellers were always in danger from the incursions of the fierce Turcomans of the north. Frequently the road was rendered impassable by them. To remedy this inconvenience, Shah Abbas the First transported a hundred Georgian families "from their rich native soil, to wither on the barren salt marches of Khorasan." These poor people were at first provided for by the government, but at length experienced that neglect which, sooner or later, overtakes every thing in Persia. The Turcomans made their incursions; they were too weak to resist them,—were taken prisoners one after another,—the road became almost as unsafe as ever. But we will copy the account which one of these poor wretches gave of their condition to Mr. Frazer:—"Set down as we are," said he, "in the midst of a wilderness, with a boundless salt desert on one side, on the other, hills of brown rock or grey earth perfectly unprolific, the change of seasons passes almost unknown

to us. I know not winter from spring or summer, but by the complaints of my children, and the cold it brings; the wretched patch of corn you see beneath the wall seldom comes to maturity; if enemies do not destroy it, friends do. We have a single fig-tree near yonder hill, which in kindly seasons yields much fruit, but the Turcomans gather it oftener than we do, and there is not another tree of any sort near us. We have attempted to rear shoots in that garden, but to no end; they have always been violently destroyed. We dare not keep any sheep; each of us may possess one or two goats, and perhaps an ass; horses and camels no one dreams of; it would only be rearing them for the Turcomans. We are always on the alert against these cruel enemies, yet are we constantly suffering in our families, having fathers, wives, sons, or daughters carried off, and never heard of more. As for me, I have been three times in their power: twice I escaped, and was ransomed the third time at a ruinous price. Most of my kindred have gone the same way; but what are we to do? We cannot run away, for, should we be caught, our punishment would be dreadful; and if we escape, our fault is visited upon our families, and fear of the consequences to them makes us submit to every thing."

Upon quitting the salt desert, they entered a cultivated country, the soil of which was a rich red mould, interspersed in patches among extensive tracts of gravelly wastes, covered in great part by camel-thorn, thistles, and a sort of aromatic rue. Near Nishapore are the Turquoise mines, and the two curious villages of Madan, which depend upon them. There is a good deal of interesting information in Mr. Frazer's account of these mines; but yet we think this portion of his work might have been rendered much more picturesque, had the author, instead of giving a dry catalogue of what he saw, more freely sketched the mountains and the miners in a general way, which he might have done in perfect consistency with the practice of other travellers, and with his own on some occasions. In returning from these mines he met several wild sheep, which abound, it appears, in the mountains of Nishapore.

After quitting Nishapore, he found the country assume a fairer aspect in drawing towards Mushed; and at Derrood, a village situated at nearly an equal distance from the two cities, a scene of extreme beauty occurred. "Next morning, being the first of February, we quitted Derrood, and ascended along the bed of the stream by a very indifferent but interesting road, the glen being finely wooded with walnut, mulberry, poplar, and willow trees, and fruit-tree gardens rising, one above the other, upon the mountain side, watered by little rills that had been led from the stream far above, and which, after they had done their duty, found their way back to their parent rivulet in little silver threads, enlivening all the landscape with their sparkling cascades. These gardens extended for several miles up the glen; beyond them the banks of the stream continued to be fringed with white sycamore, willow, ash, mulberry, poplar, and woods that love a moist situation, nearly all the way to its source. Our path followed its windings in this manner for many miles, in a direction considerably to the north of east, till at length the stream disappeared among the snow that lay in the hollows, and upon all the dark exposures of the hills."

After crossing the difficult mountain, up which the above-described glen led, the author descends towards the plain of Mushed, and describes,

in two or three very poetical passages, his approach to that city. "We continued," says he, "descending the glen, among a variety of wood, which in summer must be beautiful, and through plentiful vineyards, that mantled the side of the mountain to a great height. We were struck particularly with the changeful picturesqueness of the situations in which the houses were placed, and delighted with a succession of landscape which was marked by a beauty and interest very rare in Persia."—"Before we reached the plain, the weather, which had lowered heavily since the morning, became so dark, that we could see but little around us, except now and then a glimpse of some wild and dark mountain, bursting for a moment through his shroud of storm."—"A driving sleet blew in our faces as we reached the low country, accompanied by a piercing wind; and we could see but little as we passed along, except that there was no trifling amount of cultivation, and plenty of cannauts. *At nine o'clock, in spite of the darkness, we saw the lofty gilded dome of the shrine at Mushed, glimmering dimly through the storm*, but it was half-past twelve ere we reached the city-gate."

The traveller found the capital of Khorasan in a state of almost total desolation: not a soul was to be seen as they entered the city, the site of which, in many places within the walls, was only marked by heaps of ruins, and pools of stagnant water and melting snow. We cannot spare room to copy the description of this city, which is highly interesting, but of considerable length; and shall only observe, that the tomb, or mausoleum, of Imaum Reza, which it contains, is almost the only structure in Khorasan remarkable for riches or beauty. In this building the ashes of the Caliph Haroun al Rashid are deposited. We may observe, on this occasion, the remarkable influence of superstition on the Persians: they are in the utmost stage of poverty and wretchedness; their government is very often almost bankrupt for want of money; yet this shrine is heaped with riches and splendour, which daily increase in the midst of public ruin.

It has already been observed that the author was disappointed in his hopes of being able to proceed from Mushed to Bokhara; from thence, therefore, he directed his march towards the Caspian Sea, over the plain to the west of Mushed:

The day was mild, the air balmy, spring was beginning to put forth its earliest buds; the grass was sprouting beneath the dry brown weeds; wild flowers of the crocus, and other early sorts, peered out from amongst the gravel, tinging its grey surface with their soft and lovely hues; there was a general exhilarating and opening feeling, that forcibly brought the "Solvitur acris Hiems" to my recollection. After we had got rid of our city plagues, the ride was delightful: thousands of birds were sporting in the air, and numbers of a sort of weasel were running about the fields from one hole to another; the wandering tribes were all in motion, changing their abodes; we met crowds of men, women, and children, on foot or on camels, with their few and portable goods loaded upon them, and their flocks and herds on either side, emigrating from one spot to another, and winding picturesquely among the little hollows of the plain.

The author takes occasion, in this latter portion of his journey, to give a description of *Sooffeeism*, a kind of Mohammedan Methodism; and he may certainly be said to have communicated a very clear conception of it in comparatively few words. The passage is curious, and worthy of attention. The sketching of scenery, too, becomes more finished and

interesting as the author draws near the Caspian; [illegible] with many other reasons, induces us to believe that the pro[illegible] will be much more delightful than the present one, though [illegible] respects an excellent book of travels. We shall conclude our notice with an extract:

We continued in this manner threading the intricacies of [illegible] glen for about five hours, when it gradually opened, leaving upon the wood[illegible] banks of the stream patches of fine meadow land, covered with rich pasture; as we descended from the more elevated tracts, the foliage became greener, the trees, which hitherto had been brown and bare, were now bursting into bud and blossom; and the scene, from being one of savage desertness, became beautiful and lovely. It was a striking change in a single night; it seemed as if we had reached another world, blessed with a happier climate. Spring here claimed and enjoyed her full sway; the wood, in many places lofty and magnificent, consisted of oak, beech, elm, alder; with thickets of wild cherry and thorns, which were covered with a sheet of white and maiden blush blossoms; large luxuriant vines climbed up almost every tree, hanging in wild festoons from one to another; flowers of various kinds, primroses, violets, lilies, hyacinths, and others no less lovely though unknown, covered the ground in the richest profusion, and mingled with the soft undergrowth of green herbage. The wind, which, though the sun shone bright, still roared above, could not penetrate the thicket below, so that the air was calm and delightful. Every step we advanced increased the charms of the landscape; all that was savage became confined to the summits of the mountains, which might still occasionally be seen overhanging us, rocky, bare, or thinly sprinkled with leafless trees: lower down their sides, wood increased in abundance, but was plentifully interspersed with stripes of green, where the old grass had been burnt to hasten the young growth, so that the tints were beautifully varied. But it was only at their feet, and on the swelling ground and sloping banks, which now occupied the bottom of the glen, that the foliage shot forth in all the luxuriance of spring: tender and bright in general, it was here and there varied by the darker shade of a tree more advanced, or the soft but pure white of the wild cherry blossom; and the forests, groves, clumps, copses, and belts of lovely trees, intermingled with glades and natural meadows of the richest emerald, clothed and diversified the landscape in a manner which art would vainly seek to rival.

MORNING ON THE SEA-SHORE—A SONNET.

How cool along the wrinkled deep the breeze
Is wafted in his winged car to-day!
Yon hills that bound this heaving gulf, how gray!
How full of music are the vocal trees!
But see, the russet sky by slow degrees
Fretted with gold and purple-fringed clouds;
And far on Ocean's bosom mark the shrouds
Of some swift ship to other lands that flees:
How bright they glitter in the ruddy light,
Joying to haste away! no less I joy
To sit alone upon this sedgy brink,
Cleaving the wave with shells, like any boy,
And careless whether it be morn or night,
So I may haunt the breezy sea, and think.

[illegible] THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF PARIS.

Fourth Article.

We now [illegible] our attention to the country usually known by the name of Independent Tartary, and comprehending a singular mixture of tribes of various races. Of the four papers produced by the Society which relate to this country and its inhabitants, one is philological; one partly philological and partly geographical; a third offers a sketch of the relations between Russia and Khiwa; and the fourth contains an account of the route of the caravans from Astracan to that place. The first of these is a notice on the Bokharians, by M. Klaproth, in which that zealous Orientalist refutes the prevalent opinion, that this people is of Turkish origin; and clearly demonstrates, that the indigenous inhabitants both of Great and Little Bokharia, who are now to be met with only in the towns, were immediately derived from the Persians; while, on the contrary, (and it was, in all probability, this circumstance which gave rise to the mistake,) the Nomad tribes of Usbecs and Turkmans which inhabit the country, are really Turks, whose idiom has preserved much of its original purity. "Twenty-two years ago," says M. Klaproth, "in running over the 'Vocabularia Comparativa' of Pallas, (in which the Bokharians are placed between the Teleonts and the Usbecs of Khiwa,) I was much surprised to find that the greater number of the Bokharian words were Persian, not merely the nouns substantive, but even the other parts of speech gave rise to this observation. The infinitive ended in *tan*, or *dan*, as in Persian, and the imperative was formed, as in that language, by the elision of the last syllable of the infinitive. The pronouns were the same in both." M. K. exhibits a table of some of the most common words in the Bokharian dialect, and in that of the Turks of Khiwa, between which there is not the most distant analogy; and also gives a list of the numerals, which are entirely Persian, and totally distinct from the Turkish. Still he could not but suspect some mistake on the part of the illustrious Pallas, and that he had been led into error by some reputed Bokharian vocabularies, which were in reality Persian. When, however, in 1805, he accompanied Count G. Golowkin in his embassy to China, he saw, for the first time, on his arrival at Casan, some natives of Bokharia, and he was soon convinced, from their own mouths, that their maternal language was the Farsi, or Persian. All the Bokharians with whom he afterwards conversed at Tobolsk, Tara, Tomsk, Kiakhta, and other towns of Siberia, avowed that the Persian was the idiom of their ancestors; and added, that, having been for many generations settled in the midst of Turkish tribes, they had borrowed many forms of expression from the latter, and thus rendered their dialect less pure than that of Great and Little Bokharia. These Bokharian settlers in Siberia commonly speak Turkish, out of deference to their new compatriots; but M. K. shows, by a comparative table, that they have preserved a multitude of Persian terms even for the most common objects.

"Such," continues M. Klaproth, "were my notions with respect to the language of Bokharia on my arrival at Paris. Anxious to determine whether they were well founded, I consulted, in the Royal Library, a Bokharian Glossary, which forms part of the collection of MS. vocabula-

ries of foreign languages explained in [illegible], sent home by Father Ami[illegible] which were compiled, about four hundred years ago, by the Board of Translators (Thoung-oen-thang) at [illegible] independent of this Glossary of the language of the Hoei-hoe [illegible]harians, the collection contains seventeen supplications in the same dialect, accompanied with a Chinese translation. These supplications were addressed to the Emperors by the Bokharian Princes of Thourfan, [illegible], Samarcand, and other places, and, as well as the Glossary, are in the Persian language and character." Such decisive proofs of the Persian origin of this people must essentially alter the ethnographic system of the interior of Asia.

The Bokharians are, by the neighbouring Turkish tribes, denominated Sarty; and it has been said that this term signifies a merchant; but this signification is derived from the circumstance, that the Sarty, or Bokharians, are the only people of the country who engage in commerce. The name itself is of considerable antiquity; for we find that so early as the time of Jenghiz Khan, the Mongols designated the patrimony of Tchagatai, the son of that conqueror, which comprehended Great and Little Bokharia, by the term Sarthol. The inhabitants of the towns of both these countries call themselves Tadjik, which is the ancient name of Persia and of the Persians. It was known to the Chinese about the epoch of the birth of Christ, at which time they denominated Persia Tao-dji; and it was not till a much later period that this was changed for Po-szu, a corruption of Parsi. M. de Mouravier informs us, in his Journey to Khiwa, that "the Sarty, or Tata, are the original inhabitants of this country, and their number is very considerable: they inhabit the towns, and are principally engaged in trade." With respect to the term Thât, we are told by Castell, that it is the name given to the Persians by some tribes who inhabit the country between Hamadan and Kurdistan. But the researches of M. Klaproth have proved to his satisfaction, that Thât is the designation usually given to a conquered people when the conquerors establish themselves in their country. For this reason, Thât are met with in the Crimea, who speak the Turkish dialect of that peninsula; while other Thât inhabit Daghestan, whose language is Persian, corrupted by a multitude of foreign terms.

In a notice on the Babour-Nameh, or History of the Sultan Babour, M. Klaproth makes known a very curious piece of auto-biography, which is highly interesting both with reference to its contents and to the language in which it is written. This is the Djagataian Turkish, mixed with a great number of Arabic and Persian expressions. The author was the son of Omar-Cheikh, and succeeded his father in the kingdom of Ferghanah, in the year of the Hegira 899 (A.D. 1494). After reigning five years, he was expelled by Chaibek, Khan of the Usbecs, and retired to Gaznah, and from thence into India, where he laid the foundation of the Mogul Empire, and which he governed till his death, which happened in the year of the Hegira 937 (A.D. 1531). The MS. which M. Klaproth saw during his stay at St Petersburgh, is of great antiquity, and apparently contemporaneous with the author, as is also testified by the following note appended to it: "These Memoirs were presented to me by Mohammed, on Monday the second of Djoumadi-Alawal, of the year 957 (A.D. 1550), during the journey to the station called Hadjitach." Another note informs us, that it was brought from Bokhara by a

person attached to the embassy of Florio Beneveni, who was sent to the Khan of the city by Peter the Great, in the year 1718. In the Royal Library at Paris there is a Persian translation of the work. It commences with a letter from the author to his son Mirza Mohammed Kamran Behader, which M. Klaproth presents at the close of his paper in the original, together with a translation, in order to give an idea of the language in which it is written, and which differs considerably from that spoken at Constantinople. It is otherwise of little interest, consisting almost entirely of common-place counsel to his son for the regulation of his conduct. Then follows a geographical description of the kingdom of Ferghanah, which M. K. has extracted entire. This little territory was bounded on the east by Kashgar, on the west by Samarcand, on the south by Badakhchan, and on the north by a range of lofty mountains. Baber describes it as a fertile country, producing provisions and fruits in abundance, and every where enclosed by mountains, except towards the north. It is watered by the river Sihoun, on the banks of which were situated seven cities, five to the south, and two to the north. Andoudjan, the residence of the court, was on the south bank of the river, and was esteemed the largest city of the country beyond the Oxus, with the exception of Samarcand and Kach. The other towns described by the Sultan, are Marghinân, Asfârâ, Khodjend, Akhsia, or Akhsiket, and Kassan. This description of the province is followed, in the original, by the Historical Relation, which commences with the year of the Hegira 903 (A.D. 1497), but which M. Klaproth has passed over in silence. We are, therefore, unable to present our readers with any notice of its contents, which are probably both curious and important. We learn, however, that it is in contemplation to publish by subscription the entire work, translated partly by the late Dr. Leyden, and partly by Mr. Erskine, together with copious historical and geographical illustrations, which, from the known acquirements of the highly-gifted gentlemen who have undertaken it, will, we may confidently predict, leave nothing to be desired on this head.

The Sketch of the Relations between Russia and Khiwa, translated from the Russian of M. Hermann, furnishes an additional insight, if such were now wanting, into the views by which the despots of the North have, for more than a century, been actuated in their policy with regard to the petty states of Central Asia. It was in the reign of Peter the Great that the Russian government first turned its attention towards the tribes inhabiting the various independent Khanships of the two Bokharias; and from this time its exertions have been more or less actively directed towards rendering these distant and turbulent people tributary to the empire. For this purpose, numerous fortresses have gradually, as circumstances permitted, been constructed beyond the Russian frontiers, each encroaching further than the last upon the territory of the Khans, and exercising, under the plausible pretext of suppressing robbery, as far as the wandering and unsettled habits of the natives would allow, a paramount influence over the neighbouring Princes, who have thus been induced, or rather compelled, one after the other, to acknowledge the Russian supremacy. The rapacity of the Czar Peter appears first to have been excited by a report which had reached his court, that the waters of the Amu-daria, or river Amu, washed down from the mountains vast quantities of gold; and that wily Prince determined to possess

himself of what was represented as an inexhaustible treasure. Two expeditions were successively despatched in 1716 and 1719; [illegible] however, compelled by the obstinate valour of the Zungars, [illegible] now apparently extinct, to relinquish the undertaking; and the Czar, who began to perceive the difficulties by which the conquest of such a country was necessarily obstructed, determined to carry his views into effect by policy and fair words; still, however, to be seconded, if necessary, by force of arms.

In pursuance of this scheme, he despatched Prince Békowitch, a Circassian by birth, in the quality of ambassador to the Khan of Khiwa, with the following intructions written by his own hand: First, to examine the question of the ancient course of the Amu, which formerly emptied itself into the Caspian, but had since been turned by the Usbecs, by means of canals and dykes, towards the Lake of Aral; secondly, to *induce the Khan of Khiwa to recognise the sovereignty of Russia*; thirdly, to construct forts on the road in the most eligible situations, and more particularly at the mouth of the Amu; fourthly, *after having established himself in the country, to enter into relations with the Khan of Bokhara, in order to induce him also to recognise the sovereignty of Russia*; and fifthly, to send forward Lieut. Kogine, disguised as a merchant, into Hindoostan, with the view of discovering and opening a commercial route; and to send another intelligent officer to Yerket, to make researches relative to the gold mines. "Such," enthusiastically exclaims the Russian author, "were the grand views of this great monarch in reference to these countries!" *Four thousand men* were appointed to accompany this peaceful *embassy*, and this number was afterwards increased. The early part of the expedition was highly auspicious; several fortresses were built on the banks of the Caspian; and Békowitch continued his march towards Khiwa with every prospect of ultimate success. At the distance of about one hundred and twenty wersts from the city of Khiwa, he was, however, suddenly attacked by the inhabitants, to the number, it is said, of 24,000, under the command of the Khan himself, who could entertain no doubt of the terms on which an ambassador so accompanied intended to treat. Thrice did they renew the attack, but thrice were they repulsed; and the victorious commander was rapidly approaching the city, when the Khan, perceiving that he could no longer cope with the Russians in the field, offered to negotiate; and having enticed Békowitch into the city, accompanied only with a few followers, made him and his little detachment prisoners, and compelled him to write an order to his troops to yield up their arms, and to take up their quarters among the inhabitants of the suburbs. This pusillanimous command was no sooner complied with, than the inhabitants rose upon the defenceless Russians, put many of them to death, and reduced the rest to a state of slavery. Békowitch himself perished in the most barbarous manner, and his head was carried in triumph to the Khan, who appears not to have openly sanctioned, although he held it politic to wink at, these treacherous proceedings, as he severely reproved the leaders for their barbarity and thirst of blood. Few of those who made part of this ill-fated expedition returned to their country to tell the melancholy tale of its disasters and final destruction; and the Czar was then too busy with his northern enemy to find time to attend to a matter of such comparatively trifling importance. The author is loud in his lamentations, that nothing has hitherto been done to punish the perfidy

of the Khiwans, and [illegible] aspirations of vengeance for which, he truly observes, "pretexts [illegible] have been wanting. The [illegible] of a century," he [illegible] never serve as an excuse in [illegible] case, more especially as [illegible] of Bekewitch, the trophies of [illegible] disgraceful [illegible], are still in the hands of the conquerors, insulting the national pride and military rights of the Russians, inasmuch as they were destined to defend the person of an ambassador, in his journey across deserts inhabited by vagabond tribes, not then subjugated to the Russian yoke."

In the meanwhile, the inhabitants of Khiwa have continued to carry on commercial transactions with the Russians, and their caravans arrive yearly at Astracan, at Orenburg, and at Ourguentch. Russian emissaries have also, at different times, been sent by the frontier governments to investigate the state of the country. These unaccredited agents have not always met with the best treatment, but they have nevertheless been enabled to obtain considerable information relative to the objects of their missions. Exclusive of the Russians, M. Hermann states, that no European, to his knowledge, has penetrated to Khiwa, with the exception of an Englishman, named Jenkinson, who made a voyage to the Caspian Sea in 1558. In the year 1793, the Khiwans sent two envoys to Russia, to request the assistance of an oculist to cure the Khan, who had lost his sight, engaging to escort him across the deserts, to treat him honourably, and to guarantee his safe return. This was too favourable an opportunity to be lost; and the Empress Catherine accordingly intrusted the mission to a Major Blankennagel, who had made himself famous as an oculist, and who soon after set out with the necessary instructions for obtaining the most ample information. He returned in the course of the following year; but the fruits of his researches were not made public until 1818, when they appeared in a Russian journal, called 'The Promoter of Instruction and Beneficence.' Since this time, several attempts have been made to establish settled relations with Khiwa, and full and accurate information has been obtained relative to the country and its inhabitants, much of which has been published. The Travels of M. de Mouravier comprehend the most recent details on this subject, and are full of curious and interesting matter.

The account of the commercial route from Astracan to Khiwa and Bokharia, across the Caspian Sea, was obtained from the information of an inhabitant of the former city, who had made the journey, and communicated to the Society by M. Stempkowski. The place of disembarkation on the opposite coast of the Caspian is called by the Turkmans, Manghichlak, and here the merchants of Astracan meet the caravans from the interior. The merchandise was formerly conveyed, on camels, from this place across the mountains to Ourganje, or Ourguentch, a town of Khiwa, which is the general rendezvous of the caravans by the Turkmans; but this tribe has no longer any encampment in the neighbourhood, and the carrying business is at present conducted by the Kirghis. The caravans take rather more than twenty days to cross the mountains; the road is very rough, and almost entirely destitute of wood, but wells have been dug at convenient distances. Near Manghichlak is a burning volcano called Abitché. About half way over the mountains is a lake of considerable depth, and very smooth: it has no fish; and the author of the relation assures us that its water, as well as that of several

wells in the neighbourhood, which was heretofore salt and bitter, has, within the last seventeen years, become quite fresh and potable. The mountains are generally covered with a dense mist, which the sun seldom penetrates for any length of time, and the rains are frequent. Descending into the plain, in a hollow surrounded by hills, is the lake of Oï-Bogour, which made its appearance about twenty years since. It is about 800 yards in circumference; the water is fresh, and the fish which inhabit it are of the same species with those of the Caspian and of the Sea of Aral, with the latter of which it communicates in the rainy season. The author supposes it to have been formed, by means of an earthquake, from one of those cavities with which the neighbouring mountains abound internally, and in one of which it is stated that a whole caravan was buried. From the foot of the mountains to Ourganjé, the road is very smooth, and passes through a well-wooded country. It is but five days' journey from the lake of Oï-Bogour to Ourganje, which is a place of considerable importance, as forming the point of union for the caravans from Bokharia and Khiwa, on the one hand, and from Russia, Persia, and Turkey, on the other. The distance from Ourganje to Khiwa is stated at seventy wersts. The Bokharian caravans continue their route to Eldjik, the first town in Bokharia, to which light goods are carried by land in three days, but the heavier bales are conveyed up the Amu in boats drawn by horses, which take seven or eight days to reach Eldjik. The author also gives a desultory account of some of the wandering tribes of Turkmans and Kirghis, but these details possess no particular interest.

A fifth paper, not noticed above, purports to contain a description of the route from Semipalatnoy to Cashmere, by a Persian or Bokharian merchant, who has travelled it several times; but this account is altogether so uninteresting and unintelligible, that we cannot pretend to offer any analysis of its contents. Its translator, M. Wolkoo, is said to be occupied on a description of Samarcand and Bokhara, from the writings of Musulman authors, from whom we must hope that he will be enabled to derive a better account of those places than he has given of the present route on the authority of the traveller whose narration he has published; otherwise we fear that his readers will be but little enlightened by his labours.

The only article with which the immense territory possessed by Russia in Asia furnishes us, is a paper on the Antiquities found in Siberia, by M. Klaproth; unless we should notice under this head, and we confess that we are at a loss where else to place it, a 'Memoir on the Khazars,' by the same author. The antiquities referred to, of some of which representations are given in a plate annexed to the memoir, were found in the most southern part of Siberia, between the rivers Ob and Yenisei, where similar monuments are far from being uncommon. They consist of figures and inscriptions, some on bronze and others on stone. The characters of the inscriptions are all of the same description, but they are of unknown form, with the exception of a few, which are evidently corrupted from some of the letters of the Greek, and more especially of the Sclavonic alphabet. Some of the monuments on which they are inscribed, consist of sepulchral stones, whilst others have evidently served as objects of religious worship. The original inhabitants of the country, in which these singular relics of antiquity are met with, were the Oriental Kirghis, who, subsequent to the Russian conquest,

quitted their ancient habitations and took refuge in Chinese Turkistan, under the [illegible] of Bourou[illegible]. These must not be confounded with the Western Kirghis, who lead a wandering life in the steppes situated to the north-east of the Caspian Sea. M. Klaproth enters into a variety of details, from the Chinese and other Asiatic historians, in order to prove that these Kirghis were the same people who, under various denominations, occupied the territory between the Ob and Yeniseï, from a period antecedent to the birth of Christ to the commencement of the last century, and that they were of Turkish origin. He then proceeds to trace the commercial intercourse which subsisted, in the middle ages, between this people and the nations of Western Asia and North-eastern Europe, from whom he contends that their literal system must have been derived. The trade in furs, of which their country produced some of the finest sorts, was, he says, carried on with great vigour on the shores of the Caspian, principally through the intervention of the Khazars, from whom they probably borrowed their writing. This latter people ruled for several centuries on the banks of the Wolga and of the Don, and such was the good understanding which subsisted between them and the court of Constantinople, that, in the year 858, they entreated of the Emperor Michael the assistance of a missionary, capable of instructing them in the doctrines of the Christian faith. The Emperor granted their request, and sent them Constantine, of Thessalonica, who was afterwards canonized by the name of Cyril, and who converted the whole of the Khazars to Christianity. Now, as this pious father, when he converted the Bulgarians and Moravians, invented for their use the Sclavonic alphabet, M. Klaproth thinks it by no means improbable that he should have rendered a similar service to the Khazars; and supposing this to have been the fact, it is hardly to be doubted that the latter alphabet would have been a modification of the former. Were this fact established, we might readily account for the conformity of the letters of the Kirghis alphabet with those of Europe, and especially the Sclavonic. With respect to the discontinuance of this ancient alphabet, it may, with great probability, be assigned to some period subsequent to the establishment of the Mongul rule in Asia, when the Kirghis, in common with other indigenous tribes, having embraced the Musulman faith, of course adopted with it the Arab system of writing.

In order to complete what we have to say in regard to Northern, as well as to Central and Eastern Asia, it now only remains to notice the Memoir on the Khazars, a people alluded to in the preceding article, whose dominion, in the middle ages, extended over a great part of Russia, the whole of the Crimea, and the north of Daghestan, but whose origin is involved in the deepest obscurity, and of whose very name scarcely any traces remain. Various arguments have been adduced (none of them, it must be allowed, very convincing,) to prove that the Khazars were a people of Turkish race; but M. Klaproth disputes the validity of this opinion, and shows, that of the arguments adduced in its favour, some are too trifling to be deserving of serious consideration, while the most plausible are founded on a mistaken reading of a passage in one of the old Persian geographers. Of their language two words only are preserved, which are to be found in one of the Byzantine authors, Constantine Porphyrogenetes; but the Turkish equivalents to the interpretation there given are entirely dissimilar, insomuch that

Lehrberg has proposed to adopt an Arabic word, employed in some of the Turkish dialects, and to give a different interpretation of the other word, in order to reconcile the discrepancy. M. Klaproth, however, is of opinion, that the Khazars formed part of the Wogul tribes of Western Siberia, in whose various dialects the words quoted possess exactly the signification attributed to them by the Byzantine author, and who were of the same race with the Eastern Finns, from whom the modern Hungarians are descended.

HONNEUR AUX BRAVES.

The Emperor and his splendid suite were riding slowly towards Esling, when they encountered a numerous body of captive Austrians, most of whom were wounded—many severely: Napoleon and his Staff immediately turned out of the road, and as the prisoners filed past, the Emperor, uncovering himself with respectful solemnity, repeated in noble and touching accents, "Honour to the brave! Honour to the brave who bleed for their country!"—*Manuscript Memoirs of a French Officer.*

Honour unto the Brave,
Honour to those who fall
Where Freedom's banners wave,
Where glory's trumpets call;
The laurel that alone
Should shade a hero's grave,
Will bloom when we are gone—
Then "Honour to the Brave!"

Honour unto the Brave,
Honour to those who bleed
Their native land to save,—
Oh! theirs is fame indeed.
Who that could perish so
Would live to be a slave?
Can brave men crouch so low?
No!—"Honour to the Brave!"

Honour unto the Brave,
Who bore their banner high,
Above the stormy wave,
Beneath the stormy sky;
They sleep the hero's sleep
In many an ocean cave,
But their fame is on the deep—
Then "Honour to the Brave!"

Honour unto the Brave,
Where'er they draw the sword;
Honour to those who crave
But fame as their reward:
In camp, in regal hall,
On mountain, or in cave,
At beauty's festival,
Still "Honour to the Brave!"

BERNARD WYCLIFFE.

LETTER OF THE HON. LEICESTER STANHOPE TO THE EDITOR OF BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE.

SIR, London, September 1825.

YOUR Magazine of August last contains an article on a work entitled 'The last Days of Lord Byron.' In it my conduct in Greece is sharply animadverted upon. I shall briefly recapitulate the principal pieces of slander therein adduced against me, and offer a few remarks on each. The public may then judge whether I am operated on by "a *cunning* FIEND," as you express it. You say, "Here was this Colonel Stanhope, protected, cherished and approved in all his views by the parent Committee of London—allowed to do whatever he pleased; and making continual use of this precious privilege, by doing whatever a cunning fiend might have been expected to suggest for the purpose of ruining the cause he had undertaken to serve."

In answer to this charge, it is only necessary to mention that the Greek Committee consisted of many of the most eminent and virtuous men in England: such as Bentham, Mackintosh, Erskine, Mill, Hume, the Lords Russell, Milton, and above one hundred of the most liberal and enlightened Members of Parliament.

"At last," you continue, "Stanhope succeeded in publishing his Paper, and, in one of the very first numbers of it, he put forth a flaming address to the Hungarians, calling upon them to imitate the example of Greece, and to rise against the Government of Austria."

Yes, in spite of all obstacles, I proudly confess myself guilty of having first established in Greece a free press. The other assertion is in all its bearings false. For I was at Athens when "the flaming address of the Hungarians was put forth," and I censured the Editor for his wanton and dangerous attack on the Austrian Government.

"In Stanhope's letters to the Greek Committee," you say "he every where writes as a hater of monarchy in the abstract. The very notion of a king in Greece was wormwood to him." True, I am, as every true Briton ought to be, "a hater of monarchy in the abstract," for that means a *Government of only one;* but my best reply to this passage will be by the following quotation from p. 123 of my work on Greece:—"The people here have still more of the Asiatic character than those of Western Greece. They are for a limited monarchy. I tell them, that the country that gave them a king would, in fact, be their ruler; that limited monarchy would soon degenerate into absolute rule; that the people should be their own sovereigns; and that the only nations that are contented with their Governments are Switzerland and America.[1] I tell them, that as I was born under the best mixed Government, I would endeavour to maintain that order of things, but that it would be madness in the Greeks to accept any, but especially a foreign, king."

"He (Stanhope) even insultingly rebuked Mr. Parry," you say, "for giving Mavrocordato the title of Prince." I had sufficient reason for this: because Mavrocordato was not and never had been a prince; and Parry, not being a king, who might bestow honours and titles, but

[1] Under Mr. Canning's administration, I would add England to the list of contented nations.—L. S.

a caulker by trade, stepped out of his province in, thus assuming the power to make men what they were not, either by birth or subsequent elevation.

"This British officer," you continue, "wearing our King's coat, and pocketing his pay, appears, even before he arrived in Greece, and this from the evidence of his own letters, to have engaged himself, and at least endeavoured to engage Mr. Bowring, in *skulking* intrigues against the British Government of the Ionian Isles." SKULKING intrigues, which are only known from the evidence of my own letters, which I myself voluntarily PUBLISH to the world!

In one passage you say, "Mavrocordato was and is universally admitted to be the most accomplished of the Greek statesmen." In another, you confess that "Lord Byron had to contend with the unutterable slowness, indecision, and greediness[2] of Mavrocordato;" and Parry, whom you eulogize for his virtues in p. 161, records a conversation with Lord Byron, in which he says, "With eight gun-boats the Turks might batter Missolonghi and Anatotico to the ground, and there sits the *old gentlewoman*, Prince Mavrocordato and his troops, as if they were perfectly safe." Was it becoming, think you, in this caulker to talk thus of "the most accomplished statesman in Greece"?

"Nobody suspects Colonel Stanhope," you say, "of being any thing more than a fool in this or in any other matter." There can be no doubt that it is easy for any one, devoid of sense and good breeding, to call another fool; I shall nevertheless show that I had sense enough at least to predict, with tolerable accuracy, what has actually taken place in Greece. The following are my words:[3] "Should the present party triumph, they will still have a formidable opposition; they will have the Colocotronis, the Ipsilantes, Petrombeys, Deleyanis, and most of the military chiefs to contend with. These, in the event of any reverse of fortune, would upset the Government. For this reason, I shall do all in my power to get the Government to pursue a course that will disarm this phalanx. In the first place, by enlisting Ipsilanti, Niketas, young Mivromichali, Pano, and some of the best of their coherents; and secondly, by pursuing a just course of government, and doing nothing to offend the soldiery. The army have an idea that Mavrocordato and his party are hostile to them. This notion should be removed, not by timid concessions, but by a due regard to their claims and their families."

The opposite course was pursued: the factions increased: the Egyptians have overrun the Morea; and Colocotroni has been released from his confinement to worry the enemy, and to domineer over his country.

On my return to England, I implored the commissioners of the Greek loan to assume a rigid control over the money, or no benefit would accrue from it—Greece would be ruined, and the *dividends would* NEVER, NEVER *be paid*. They were advised to enforce a coalesced Government, the establishment of a small disciplined force with artillery for the capture of the Turkish fortresses, as also of some steam-vessels. Had that counsel been followed, the Morea would not have been overrun by Egyptians, and Negropont and Patras must have fallen. The Greek agents and commissioners, informed by experience, are now about, with dimi-

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[2] A more generous man than Mavrocordato does not exist.

[3] P. 161.

nished means, partly to pursue this course; and Lord Cochrane, so well known for his love of liberty, has magnanimously offered his services to the glorious cause.

You complain also that another agent was permitted by the Greek Committee to assume over the money, arms, and men, sent out from England, a control equal to that exercised by Lord Byron himself. "This agent," you say, "was Colonel S., a crack-brained enthusiast of the regular Bentham breed; an officer who considered, and at all times declared, it to be the proudest recollection of his life, that he had had a hand in setting up the *free press* at Calcutta." I am still as proud of this reproach (if such it is intended to be) as ever; as it is my unaltered conviction that no measure ever promised such grand results in Asia.

Free discussion would have proved as fatal to superstition and to despotism in that oppressed quarter of the globe, as it did to this, both during and after the reformation in Europe, where it has produced such beneficial revolutions. The East India Company, who have monopolized the produce of the land, the trade, and even the productions of the human mind, stifled the press, as had before been attempted by those monsters, who, according to their slang, reigned "by right divine" in the Holy Inquisition. The East India monopolists prohibit all who would instruct, improve, enrich, and advance the happiness of the Hindoos, from settling in their dominions. Men of honesty and talent who dare to speak the truth they banish; for truth makes them shudder. The monopolists put their brand also upon the Missionaries, as well as upon the converts from gross idolatry to pure religion, and upon the enlightened Indo-Britons; by which means they hope to prevent the millions of their subjects from ever rising to any situation of honour or profit. The permanent settlement of the land-revenue, that fine monument raised by Lord Cornwallis, they with profane hands endeavour to undermine and to demolish. The East India Company have monopolized, not only the land, but the salt, the earth, nay, even the very weeds—the poppies, and the poison that springs from them. Should Mr. Canning, as is rumoured, be endeavouring to introduce the jury system throughout British India, and instead of the present matchless chaos of law,[4] the worst part of bad government, establish there a rational code with reasons attached to its decrees, and these sanctioned at every step by precepts from their sacred books, the monopolists will no doubt endeavour to thwart his noble purpose also.

As for Mr. Bentham, to be associated, even censured with him, is to be eulogized; for he has devoted a long life to the advancement of the happiness of mankind. No one perhaps ever penetrated so deeply into the philosophy of legislation—the most useful of all sciences. With the names of Bacon, Newton, and Locke, that of Bentham will be associated in our annals as that of the man who first demonstrated "que le droit naturel, le pacte originaire, le sens moral, la notion du juste et de l'injuste, dont on se servoit pour tout expliquer, n'ètoit au fond que les idées innées, dont Locke avoit démontré la fausseté. Il vit qu'on tournoit dans un cercle vicieux. Familiarisè avec le méthode de Bacon et de Newton, il resolut de la transporter dans la legislation;" and on this

[4] I defy the twenty-four Directors to point out, in the whole history of mankind, a code so diffuse and so absurd as their hodge-podge of Koran, Shastres, English laws, and Company's regulations.—L. S.

basis he has succeeded in raising a monument to his own immortal honour, and producing works which will be rich mines of truth for the benefit of after ages, when *the hatred* now borne him by his enemies shall be laid with their frail bodies in the dust.

LEICESTER STANHOPE.[5]

[5] The Editor of Blackwood's Magazine states, that to *him* Stanhope's book proved "a FOURTH disappointment." Perhaps the second edition of that book, now going through the press, will prove a "FIFTH," as it details many facts connected with Lord Byron which are at variance with those of the Editor's literary friend, the Caulker.—L. S.

LINES, ON VIEWING THE BOLD AND BEAUTIFUL CLIFF TERMINATED BY THE NEEDLES.

Alum Bay, at Sunset.

CLIFF of the pearly hue,[1]
How oft from sea,
Sad men have turn'd their view
Sadder on thee;
Leaving the dear land
Where dearer eyes weep.
Oh! these are heavy thoughts
On the lone deep.

Cliff of the pearly hue,
How oft the brave,
When war's red penon flew
O'er thine own wave,
Saw in thy broad breast
A banner of light
Unfurl'd by their country
To cheer them in fight.

Cliff of the pearly hue,
How oft again
Glad eyes have gazed at you,
O'er the bright main,
When the worn exile's way
Turn'd to the strand
Of his dear native England,
His own "Father Land."

Thus 'tis, majestic cliff,
Things show through life:
Dimly and drear in grief,
Boldly in strife;
But when the soul's content,
Light heart and brow,
Glorious all nature shines,
As thou dost now.

Alum Bay House, Isle of Wight, Aug. 31, 1824.

[1] "The pearly hue of the chalk is beyond description by words; probably out of the power even of the pencil."—*See H. Englefield's Picturesque Account of the Island.*

ON THE ARABIAN NIGHTS' ENTERTAINMENTS.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—The extraordinary erudition of M. Von Hammer, and his high rank among Oriental scholars, are well calculated to create a diffidence of his own judgment, in any one who views a literary question, of however trifling a nature, in a different light from that in which it has presented itself to an author so highly endowed as the learned Austrian.

I have availed myself of the pages of *The Oriental Herald* to give, in English, one of the prefaces of M. Von Hammer to the German translation of the new series of the Thousand and One Nights; and I have intimated my difference of opinion with him on one or two points contained in it. These points may not be altogether unworthy the attention of the admirers of Oriental romance; and to them I beg leave to suggest some doubts on what appear to me to be rather hasty decisions of M. Von Hammer:

I. That gentleman decides, that the work of M. Galland is a faithful translation of a MS. of the Thousand and One Nights, so far only as the tales contained in it have been found by him (M. Von H.) in other MSS.; among which, he gives a high place to his own, and three others agreeing with it; and that the remaining stories were extracted by M. Galland from various Arabian, Persian, and Turkish MSS. in the Royal Library at Paris. To this decision he will permit me to offer a few reasons for hesitating to assent.

In the first place, admitting all the force of the only strong argument in favour of this opinion, which, as it seems to me, can be adduced,—namely, that these remaining tales have not hitherto been found in any MS. whatever of the Thousand and One Nights,—I yet think this negative proof of inferior force to the internal evidence, not of their genuine Oriental origin, for that is not disputed, but of their having made a part of an edition (if I may use that term) of this identical collection; which edition, whatever may have been its subsequent fate, was used by M. Galland. M. Von Hammer indeed brings, as another argument against Galland having had a complete MS., the fact of the termination of the whole series being somewhat different in his own MS. from that given by Galland.[1] But while such various readings appear in the tales common to both, a difference like this may very well occur; or M. Galland may have deemed his own mode the best; and, for the credit of Sultan Shahriar, it will certainly be thought so.

My own reasons for supposing the stories in question to belong to an authentic MS. of the Thousand and One Nights are, that, to my knowledge at least, they have never been found elsewhere; and if, indeed, they never have been, this seems as powerful a negative on my side, as their not having been found in that collection is for M. Von H. It will be recollected, that all allow them to be genuine Oriental tales.

In the next place, M. Von Hammer admits, more than once, that great differences do exist in the arrangement of the stories, in the number, and in the subject of them; all varying, according to the taste or caprice of the compiler. This is so true, and, at the same time, of so

[1] In the MS. of M. Von Hammer, Sheherzade is not pardoned for the entertainment her tales have afforded the Sultan, who, on the contrary, orders her to be put to death for fatiguing him with so great a number of them, but pardons her at last for the sake of the three children she has borne him.

much weight, that it all but decides the question; for, if this be so, why should it be doubted that, 150 years ago, a very different edition was used in the East, to that modern Egyptian one which M. Von Hammer possesses? The taste and judgment of the Asiatics would appear also to have deteriorated, rather than improved, in that time; and, in exact conformity with this opinion, the public will, I doubt not, think the new tales given by M. Von Hammer (whatever real merit some of them certainly possess) to be yet beneath the standard of those very stories which he would reject from the collection.

In the immense number, too, of these tales circulating in the East, the same leading idea will sometimes re-occur; and thus, in the story of Juder, which M. Von Hammer gives us, we can trace the footsteps of our old friend Aladdin. The tale of Juder is superior to many of its companions; but how inferior is it to that of the Wonderful Lamp! This fact tends somewhat, perhaps, to prove the original relationship of the story of Aladdin to the Thousand and One Nights. I am indeed inclined to think that the MS. used by Galland contained a choicer selection than any we are now acquainted with; and that the whole of its contents had passed through the hands of one, and that a far abler author, than the compiler of the modern copies.

What positive proof there may be of M. Galland having used the particular MS. described as the first, in M. Von Hammer's list, I know not; but the reader will observe, first, that the Voyages of Sindbad do belong to the collection, and are in general found in it; and, secondly, that they are not in this first MS., and that Galland is therefore presumed to have inserted them, and to have disturbed the whole order of the Nights by so doing. This would be a somewhat curious coincidence; and I am at a loss to explain why he should have taken all this trouble, when he might have gone on with his MS., and put the Voyages of Sindbad among the tales in question; which tales, it is also supposed, he took from other MSS.

To point out, in short, all the variations I have observed, would be an endless task. I have not the Oriental collections of Sir William Ousely at hand, nor Jonathan Scott's edition of the Arabian Nights; but as far as my memory serves me, the list of stories in the MS. belonging to that gentleman is very different from that which M. Von Hammer gives us, or that of Dr. Clarke, which is to be found full, however, of the grossest blunders, in the second quarto volume of his Travels.

There can be no necessity to continue these remarks: M. Von Hammer, I must repeat, allows too much that tells against his own position. If the number and nature of the tales vary as much as he asserts, he is hardly justified in supposing M. Galland to have been guilty of wilful falsehood, in putting forth these stories as part of the Thousand and One Nights.

II. I am equally unwilling to allow that 'The Continuation of the Arabian Nights' is almost wholly the fabrication of M. Cazotte; and on this point, as well as on the preceding, M. Von Hammer himself appears to entertain no very clear or decided ideas; for he allows, in another place, that the groundwork of them may possibly be found in Dr. Russel's MS., or that they may have been written down from the narration of some story-teller of Aleppo. Now this is all that I should contend for; it is, in fact, allowing them to be genuine Eastern stories, as genuine as any in any MS. of the Thousand and One Nights; and is quite sufficient to

condemn the notion of their French manufacture. I shall even venture farther, and say, that in these tales I see no marks of that European hand of which M. Von Hammer speaks; and that some of them, at least, are equal to any thing of the kind ever read. I should particularly notice the story of Maugrabi, which M. Von Hammer calls an ornamented imitation of a tale in Galland's translation: what tale this of M. Galland can be, I cannot guess; I am aware of none to which that most beautiful and romantic story, from which Mr. Southey, I believe, took his first idea of Thalaba, bears the slightest resemblance.

The story of Il Bondocani, or the Caliph Robber, is another which I suspect the reader of it will be inclined to place, not only among the genuine, but among the most ingenious works of Arabian fancy.

The very mutilation of the Oriental names,—Habed il Rouman, for Abderrahman; Kokopilesobe, for Kawkab-us-subh (star of the morning, Lucifer,)—might have sufficed to show their real and Eastern birth. But indeed the learned translator passes such sweeping sentences of condemnation for forgery, that it would seem that, with the exception of the edition of the Thousand and One Nights he uses, we really possess nothing genuine; for, in his longer preface, he classes 'The Persian Tales' of M. Petit de la Croix with 'The Tales of the Genii,' and other avowed imitations. I have never read the French Preface of M. de la Croix; but I will venture to assert, that few Orientalists can read the Persian Tales without remaining perfectly satisfied that they spring from a very different source from that which produced 'The Delightful Lessons of Horam, the Son of Asmar.' The work of Mr. Ridley, delightful as it certainly is, recalls to our mind 'The Oriental Eclogues,' which Collins himself had tact enough to call his Irish Eclogues, and which no one, not of an Irish genius, can fail to pronounce most awkward imitations.

While on this subject, let me take the opportunity of expressing my regret and surprise that no one of the many eminent Eastern scholars that France may boast of possessing has yet published 'The Great Journal' of M. de la Croix, who was, perhaps, the most accomplished Orientalist that Europe ever produced. A meagre outline of it was published some years since by M. Langlés, and only serves to increase our desire of perusing the original itself, in which, no doubt, an abundant store of most curious information, gathered during his long sojourn in Turkey and in Persia, would be found.

I shall prolong this article no further than to mention a curious passage in Pausanias, who, in speaking of the sepulchre of Helena, Queen of Adiabene, says, that the gate of it could never be opened at any other time but one day in the year, on the return of which it always opened of itself, and, after remaining open for a short time, in like manner closed itself again. Is there not here the origin of a romantic incident, in the story of Avicenna, in the Persian Tales? The philosopher visits, and draws most of his amazing knowledge from a library, whose gates have this magic property; flying open on a certain day in the year, and again closing in a short time. An observation which I have made in reading the Genii Tales, and which I have never yet met with in any notice of that work, will perhaps be excused also: it is, that in the tale of Mirglip, the amiable and ingenious author seems to have preserved the names of two of his private friends,—Mirglip, Pilgrim; Phesoj Ecneps, Joseph Spence. It is to be hoped he had no individual in his eye for Falric, or Lemack.

D. S.

BOLIVAR.

WEAVE, weave the Patriot's crown,
  Weave the wreath!
Blow the trumpet of renown,
  Give it breath!
Thou hast earn'd them in the fight—
  Thou sword of Freedom's war,
Thou combatant for right,
    Bolivar!

There 's a glory all thine own,—
  Can the light
That glitters round a throne
  Shine so bright?
Can the crown or regal name,
  The sceptre or the star,
Gain hearts, like thy pure fame,
    Bolivar?

Has ambition led thee on?
  'Tis a sway
That mighty hearts have known
  In their day.
For the victor's laurell'd meed
  Didst thou dare the battle scar?
Or for riches didst thou bleed,
    Bolivar?

No, no!—a holier cause
  Claim'd thy sword—
'Twas Freedom, Country, Laws,
  Gave the word.
And when thy sabre's gleam,
  Call'd freemen from afar,
It was honour's purest beam,
    Bolivar!

If Orinoco's waves
  Wash no land
Of Helots and of slaves,
  'Twas thy hand
That rent the leaden chain,
  Which dragged them at the car
Of fierce and sullen Spain,
    Bolivar!

The Andes speak thy fame,
  And the shore
Of the Ocean tells thy name,
    Librador!
While all hearts are turn'd to thee,
  Their glorious guiding star,
In the world thou hast made free,—
    Bolivar!

NOTE.—These lines first appeared in the 'Morning Chronicle' of the past month. Our Indian readers will recognise, not merely from the initials, but in the style, one of the most favoured and highly-gifted of the poetic contributors to the 'Calcutta Journal,' and the 'Oriental Herald;' to the pages of which we have therefore most cheerfully transplanted it.

CONSIDERATIONS ON THE PRESENT STATE OF THE NATIVE ARMY OF INDIA. BY AN INDIAN OFFICER.

No. II.

HAVING dwelt at some length on the Native part of the army,[1] it is now time to advert to their European officers, the nerve and soul, through whom and from whom all good and all evil must proceed,

The British officer of the Honourable Company's service is most peculiarly situated. Banished almost from his native country, in the employ of a body of merchants, to a climate ever in active operation against his health, constitution, and even the energies of his mind; subsisting upon allowances barely adequate to his individual support, even if prudent, from the period of his arrival; subject to constant alarm of their reduction; without stimulus to exertion; with little interest for the Government he serves; liable to much mortification of various kinds, from the nature of the regulations he is subject to:—what can be expected from such a poor subdued being as this?

The first cause of unfavourable operation to be adverted to, is that which has been before stated; viz. diminution of authority and influence over their men. How this affects officers, and through them the service at large, has been already detailed, and therefore does not require to be more particularly dwelt on here.

Secondly, What excitement exists for an honourable, elevated, heroic discharge of duty? Some young men may, indeed, appear in the staff situations of the army; but as the ardour of youth subsides, and cooler judgment succeeds,—the very period of life when a man begins to weigh what the service holds out—the very time he becomes qualified to serve the state with mind as well as body, is that at which he sinks into mortification and despair. In vain may he search for motives to cheer, invigorate, and support him through his disheartening career. Promotion being by slow gradation, sets him securely to sleep; his utmost exertions can neither hasten nor retard it an hour.

The higher staff situations, as Adjutant-General, &c. are few in number, and their duties, however honourable, are of a nature so harassing and laborious, as to preclude their operating materially as a stimulant to the main body of the army.

What, it may be asked, has an old Captain and Field-Officer to look to in the nature of reward, either honorary or pecuniary? And in considering this question, let it be remembered that it bears upon men who have been at least forty years in the world, and from twenty upwards in the Indian service,—when they feel sensibly the debilitating effects of climate,—and that more than half their lives have been passed to little or no personal advantage. What awaits such a man in prospect that he would not attain with equal certainty by sleeping through the same interval of time?

It may be thought that the early command of a corps, or of a frontier, is calculated to keep him awake. True: but really nothing more; the hope

[1] See The Oriental Herald for July, vol. VI. p. 59.

of such may indeed prevent some from slumbering; but this is far short of what is required. Even those advantages are so surrounded with difficulties and restrictions, that merit cannot attain them without a combination of interest and good fortune.

Some of the minor honours of the Crown have recently been thrown open to the Indian army, and they will doubtless have some slight effect. They have not, however, been conferred with much discrimination, nor at the moment deserved, but long after; nor do they by any means effect the desired end.

First, They confer so little distinction, that they are not felt as a due acknowledgment of merit by officers of long standing.

Secondly, Trifling as they are, they are withheld from a rank which, being more easily influenced, would probably be much benefited by such honorary notice,—that of Captain. Let an officer of this rank perform what he may, no honour can reach him; and it may be proper to observe, that a Captain in the Indian service is on a par with a Field-Officer in his Majesty's, as to age, standing, and trust. Yet, however important his services, he must patiently wait for the rank of Field-Officer before he can attain even the lowest grade of royal favour,—a "C. B.,"—a mark of distinction little calculated to elevate real merit, although it may gratify some by giving them a stamp which they are not conscious of deserving. Thus the main object of reward is lost to the whole army, not only perhaps at an important crisis, but virtually altogether; as few think of tracing back such events to their causes, because trifling in themselves, and because of frequent occurrence. Indeed, if such distinctions be not conferred with due discrimination, it is obvious they must fall into total disrepute; and though they may continue to denote the partial favour of Government, yet they will cease to be acceptable to the really meritorious officer, who sees he has got only what many received whose reputation he envies not, and would be sorry to partake of in common with the same degrees of honour.

Thus it appears, from the very nature of the service, that though other hopes and resolutions may intermediately or eventually be formed, pecuniary independence and consequent return to Europe, are the primary, and it may almost be said the sole, objects of attraction for Europeans proceeding to India. Professional distinction can have little influence, where little is to be got by it, beyond the means it affords of acquiring wealth. Allowing, however, that some ardent minds do pant for honours, where and how are they to be obtained? Their career is confined to India,—a stage (however brilliant the performance) of too little apparent importance, and of too easily acquired success in the estimation of Europe, to gain even a twentieth grade of national consideration. Let this be briefly contrasted with what Europe holds out to rouse every energy of the aspiring soul.—There, ever ready to enroll in the lists of fame, he may be promoted immediately on the performance of a brilliant action. He acts, as it were, upon the grand stage of the world, where kings and princes are looking on, ready to applaud and reward his services. How exhilarating the contrast for his Majesty's army! How depressing and humiliating for that of India!

Many instances might be brought forward in verification of these sentiments, but surely their justness must be too obvious to require any: one or two, however, may be adverted to. First, The conduct of Captain Fitzgerald, of the 6th regiment of Native cavalry, at Nagpore, could not

be surpassed, either as to the importance of the immediate result or as to its remote consequences. Secondly, Captain Staunton's, of the Bombay army, was little less so at Corygaum.

Lord Hastings, ever ready to recognize and reward merit, did all in his power for both, by promptly appointing them Aides-de-Camp, and eventually conferring on them staff situations; yet Captain Fitzgerald is now doing duty with his corps, holding no mark of distinction,—not even a "C. B." Would this be the recognition of such services in his Majesty's army or navy? In reply, I shall merely advert to the capture, by the Shannon, of the American frigate Chesapeake, of about equal force. Was this a great triumph for a British frigate? And yet the Captain was knighted, and the officers, I believe, were all promoted. Need more be said to mark the inferiority of the honourable Company's army, and sink its members into the lethargy of despair?

Many are affected by these circumstances without being aware of it, for they are not examined, and the human mind in time becomes reconciled to any state, even to a prison; but are beings reconciled by the extinction of honourable ambition suitably qualified for the maintenance of so great an empire? It is not uncommon to hear and read unqualified praises of the honourable Company's service as superior to all others,—and this very superiority attributed to what?—"Promotion by gradation," a perfect soporific, when undeviatingly adhered to. It has doubtless many advantages, and the general principle should be observed; but why should this prevent a distinguished officer being promoted by a kind of Brevet? Where is the objection to a Lieutenant becoming a Captain at the moment of desert, a Captain a Major, and so on? To prevent this from operating injuriously upon less fortunate brethren in the corps, it might be extra to the fixed compliment, till the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel be attained, and then merged into the general line. Thus every such instance would tend to the numerical efficiency of a regiment; and though there would be supersession of rank, there would be none of proper right. B might be promoted before A, but A would succeed to the first regular vacancy, and therefore lose nothing. He might, indeed, be a little jealous of B's good fortune, but this is an evil without which the desired end cannot be attained; for the object is excitement. And as to supersession being objectionable, the fact is, that it occurs frequently; for very few corps keep pace with each other. Some officers are Majors, and even Lieutenant-Colonels, when others of equal standing are only Captains. But promotion by merit, and possibly in some cases by interest, would be more keenly felt: doubtless it would; and this is what is required for the general good of the service. No one's *right* of regimental promotion need be interfered with, and, all circumstances considered, it should be held quite sacred: for we suffer enough without merit being rewarded at our particular expense; and any instances of this nature could not fail of leading to the most heartless despondency throughout the whole army.

Opening his Majesty's service to Indian officers, and even allowing their rank to hold good in Europe, to serve in it as volunteers with any troops, and participate in any national honours consequent thereto, would probably have a most beneficial influence in many respects. Indeed it could not well fail to do so, from the wide field of enterprize and honour at once exposed to view. It would be a noble and cheering scene, the meditation of which alone, however rarely realized, would excite and elevate the

mind to a considerable extent, and completely remedy another evil connected with mere Indian warfare.

From the irregular nature of the service, an impression too readily gains ground that science, study and acquirements are superfluous in Indian warfare, and that the gifts of nature alone are sufficient to sustain an officer under all circumstances of his eastern career. Though this may be partially true, the evil consequences are not confined to excluding much military knowledge. By taking away (what we most want) excitement to professional exertion, the mind becomes inactive and listless; light amusements are sought after; or if the attention of some be studiously directed, it is to objects not immediately within the sphere of their military employment.

Under such circumstances, when an officer falls into command, can he have that expansive vigorous grasp of mind so necessary to conduct, with happy effect, the important machinery confided to him? Or, on the contrary, is it not to be expected that, unaccustomed to suitable occupation and reflection, all will be strange, even petty details causing much anxiety, and that in the day of trial he will sink bewildered under the overwhelming responsibility which, through inattention and ignorance of its nature, he was before in the habit of despising? For it is too true that ignorance is most confident, and, till corrected by trial, is ever prone to feel equal to what it hears others have performed;—and how many are there who deem length of service not only proof of qualification, but the strongest ground for reward, without considering that a mere long routine of undistinguished service, if not actually reproachable, should afford as little cause for mental consolation to the individual, as for the public honours or substantial benefits of the state.

The evils which have been hitherto considered, may be said to be elementary ones; a few such yet remain; but the principal should probably have been primarily adverted to; viz. the cause,—a pernicious, demoralizing spirit of abstract economy, a personal interest at variance with that of the public; being always the same, the operation is constant, though varying sometimes in extent and method. That human beings are to be dealt with in such a manner as may affect them morally, is a truth which appears to be nearly lost sight of in India, whether with reference to their individual interests, or as a body upon whose spirit, energy, and intellect, the empire must be allowed chiefly to rest. Surely a more important consideration cannot occupy the attention of any Government; and it is indeed most strange that such evils should exist under a mild, kind, liberal, and enlightened sway, like that of British India.[2] But the laws of nature must change, ere it can be otherwise, while merchants govern, and are permitted to have a direct personal interest in the receipts and expenditure of the state.[3]

Generally as individuals, and collectively as a body, they are generous, kind, enlightened, and talented; but still they are merchants, managing and controlling their own concerns; and although these prove to be the affairs of one of the greatest empires in the world, is it surprising that

[2] If the sway be "mild, kind, liberal, and enlightened," what can be desired more? It is *not* so, or the Indian Officer would not have made us the channel of his just complaints.—Ed.

[3] This is another error.—They have *no* such personal interest; it would be better if they had; for then we should see them attend to their duty.—Ed.

even with the most enlarged and philanthropic views, self-interest (that deep-seated impulse of the human breast) should unawares influence their measures, though at variance with those of the community at large? We may freely and sincerely admit that it is not perceptible in them; yet it secretly operates injuriously upon the most important matters, and upon none more so than the army.[4]

The army being numerically large, even the most trifling expenses and savings bearing upon it generally become great in the gross. Hence a constant (it may be called) invincible instinct to curtailment, and a repugnance, bordering upon a miserly disposition, against measures creative of expenditure, however advantageous they may be in all other respects.

The charter being renewed periodically, and thus leaving those at the India House doubtful how long they may govern the army, is another inherent cause of indifference towards the important concerns of that body; for it is only reasonable to expect that limited and short-sighted policy (more especially when attended with heavy expense) should be directed towards what they are uncertain of retaining, or will most probably lose. Cadetships being chiefly filled up by only the distant relatives or friends of the governing authorities, the army possesses within itself little or nothing of what is understood by "interest"; no small disadvantage, it must be allowed, in the present state of the world. A Director, or Proprietor, will listen naturally, with a ready ear, to any proposal of improvement where a son or brother may be concerned, (as in the Civil Service,) but for such kindly disposition the military body contains no attractions.

It may not be superfluous to observe, that these reflections bear not upon the governing body as more defective than the rest of their species; but (with reference to the nature of man) respect the unavoidable influences to which the best and wisest must of necessity be subject under similar circumstances; to which, and not to the individuals, our attention is at present directed.

In consequence of these circumstances, there is a continued altercation between the Court of Directors and the local Government; the former enforcing retrenchment, and the latter not only warding it off, as inexpedient or impracticable, but suggesting arrangements attended with additional outlay, which appear indispensable to the safety of the empire.

The disposition thus evinced by the Court of Directors tends much to alienate the minds of officers, (for it is difficult to love those hostile to our welfare,) and keep them in a state of irritation, alarm, and distrust, by no means favourable to their content, public zeal, and individual happiness.

The baneful effects, however, do not stop here; the spirit of the main body extends itself to others, and, unfortunately, those servants, possessing the least talent and dignity of mind, are too ready to prove their merit, zeal, and extensive knowledge of the service, by their diligence in economical arrangements.

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[4] We are compelled to say that this is quite erroneous. Not a single Director gains a shilling by all the surplus revenue of India, nor loses a sixpence by all the surplus expenditure. And this is the root of all the evil. If, like other merchants, their gains were large in proportion to the good management of their concerns, and *vice versa*, we should see a better Government in India than any that can exist under the present absurd and iniquitous system.—Ed.

It is not improbable, that from individuals retiring occasionally upon large fortunes, the Government at home may still retain erroneous opinions, as to the extent of irregular emoluments throughout the Indian service; and under such impressions, may more readily listen to curtailing projects. It would be most fortunate if the whole could be laid open to them, as the most effectual method of removing these ideas which operate to the general disadvantage.

Through a combination of all these influences, a number of evils have gradually gained upon the service, tending to subjugate the high European spirit of officers. Instead of treating their servants with that honourable confidence, which at once conciliates and flatters into the preservation of integrity, security is not only required to a certain amount, but oaths are imposed upon individuals drawing salaries of 250 and 300 rupees a month, and expending lacs of the public money. To security there can be no objection, indeed it might even be increased; but the imposition of official oaths has the most demoralizing and humiliating tendency. Demoralizing, because for one person strictly bound, nine snap the tie. Nature is not more prone to resist, than conscience is ingenious and volatile in eluding undue, if not insulting, restrictions. Men must take an oath when directed by the governing authority, or relinquish their situation, a situation which probably holds out a prospect of enabling them to revisit their native country. Hard alternative! yet it must be submitted to, but with a good deal of that feeling which glows resentfully in the breast when obliged to suppress revenge for insulted honour. Doubtless there are many (as high political) situations, of the important duties of which, all must be sensible, the holders cannot be too sacredly bound to a faithful discharge. To such, oaths are prescribed, but no security required; both, however, are brought to bear upon the poor ill-paid soldier, as if he were made of a different material, and this too in cases where no possibility exists of defrauding Government. This comes home with double force; for, as it does not benefit the state, it wears the appearance of a grudging ill-nature to individuals, and has besides a strong tendency to bend European pride to suspicious watchfulness, lest the most trifling irregularity should subject them to any malevolent informer (and such are seldom wanting) amongst office establishments. It will scarcely be credited in Europe, that in India all officers are obliged to declare monthly upon honour, and may be put at any time upon oath, that their office establishments receive all that is fixed for them; so that allowing an officer, by close personal application and judicious management, to dispense with part of his Native establishment, and thus improve his own situation, he cannot do so; nor is it in his power to reward writers of assiduity and ability, by distributing the fixed salary of drones amongst them.

What rational objection can exist to benefits arising from such increased assiduity? Should it not rather be much encouraged as an excitement to exertion, and consequent better knowledge, and more zealous discharge of duty? Indolence is too characteristic of official men in Asia; and signing even their initials to documents is a labour many would gladly dispense with. Is it then judicious to adopt measures calculated to aid the climate in rendering inertness and lethargy more general? Provided the duties of office be done, of what consequence can

it be to Government how the amount fixed for establishments be disposed of?

In India there are no fees of office as in Europe, and notwithstanding this, oaths, security, and declarations upon honour are had recourse to, as if, through a feeling of mere ill-nature, to compel officers to expend their office allowances to the evident disadvantage of Government—to the loss, humiliation, degradation, and demoralization of its European servants.

In framing regulations for the army due attention is not paid to feeling, individual interests, or the general principles of human nature. Economy, narrow injudicious economy, and jealousy, appear to predominate over most other considerations. It appears to be thought that, because not driven to open resistance, no evil is done, as if in moral effect the injury may not be greater. In resistance there is life and energy, but torpor is produced by tame submission to oppressive regulations. Little is done evincing kindly feeling towards the army, and nothing can be more striking than the disadvantages under which married officers labour. It will readily be conceived that an Indian life admits of little influence or friendship being formed at home, and that consequently great difficulty is experienced by parents in providing for their children; yet no length of service is admitted to have the slightest claim to consideration even for a cadetship. It is well known that children are sent to Europe for education, and that it is attended with so heavy an expense as to involve parents deeply in debt, often irretrievably. Within the last two or three years more than a fifth has been lost by remittance alone, so that the difficulty has increased so much as nearly to exclude European education altogether, to the great distress of parents, and even prejudice of Government, according to its received policy. If children be educated in India it becomes their home, and COLONIZATION follows; they will be attached to and settle in the country, intermarry, and increase rapidly.

Thus it would not only be judicious, but just and politically kind, to allow officers with families to remit annually so much per child actually at home, at the former rate of remittance, viz. 2*s.* 6*d.* per rupee. "Just" is used, because the rupee is paid to officers as 2*s.* 6*d.*, but is valued as a remittance to England at only 1*s.* 10*d.*, 1*s.* 11*d.*, and sometimes 2*s.* Is it then wise, just, or kind, to pay them in a coin which, for some of their most essential wants, passes for more than one-fifth less, and at the same time deprive them of what is most dear to them, what they most prize, and force upon Government what it so much wishes to guard against?

Let it not be thought ridiculous to attend to such matters. Many there are who would spurn with disdain the whole of these observations. With such persons coercion is all in all. They can, however, have reflected little upon human nature, or the records of the world. It is the mind, the intellect, the spirit, the habitual feeling, not numerical or bodily strength, which sustain empires. History contains numerous examples of this; but why look to antiquity, or beyond our own happy islands in modern times, for proof not less instructive to the understanding than gratifying to our pride. There it will be found that no means are omitted to rouse and stimulate; and surely it must be admitted to be much more necessary to the Indian officer, placed as he is under such disadvantages. Incurring so heavy an expense as the Indian Govern-

ment does for troops, would not policy suggest that nothing should prevent the utmost attention being directed to those mental and moral energies, without which its numerical strength, however great, can avail little in severe trial? Nor let us be deceived by viewing with complacency the Indian officers as they actually are or have been. Their superiority, which is not disputed, is attributable to the institutions of the country of their birth; but they must be more than mortals not to suffer and fall off under circumstances so depressing towards themselves and encouraging to their enemies.

The troops of the line, attached to the Bengal Presidency alone, exceed 80,000 men, and if to these be added the Madras corps of the line 60,000, and those of Bombay 30,000, a regular army appears of 170,000 men, independent of local and irregular corps, of various descriptions, probably amounting to 50,000 more; giving a grand total of 220,000 men in the Hon. East India Company's service. When the numerical strength is considered, in connexion with the great empire it is destined to uphold, surely there are few interests of such gigantic importance to the British nation. Of what primary consequence must it then be for such a body to be influenced by a proper degree of energy and spirit throughout all ranks; and must we not tremble at the possibility of such a force coming in collision with an European foe? Under such reflections, who but must be roused with indignation at the idea of abstract economy, in so many disguises, debasing, disheartening, and rendering torpid, the very soul of so vast a body, instead of having recourse to every means to give it life, energy, elasticity, elevation, and all those high mental qualities which conduce to heroism, and without which the soldier could not support the efforts daily and hourly demanded of him in the camp and in the field.

THE MOUNTAIN STORM—A SONNET.

'Tis sweet to tread the tempest-shrouded hill
When thunders peal along the vales below,
And fierce winds whistle round our dripping brow,
And shake the groaning forests as they will;
For then the soul feels many a solemn thrill,
Longing to mount upon the howling blast;
As yearns Jove's fetter'd bird its chains to cast
When despot man has bid his wings be still:
The tempest strikes some hidden chords of thought
That make no music in life's calmer hour,
And wakes our sympathy with nature's might;
Just as the golden eve and closing flower,
And pleasing sounds by mellow twilight brought,
Melt the soft soul in dreams of calm delight.

BION.

GOVERNOR ELPHINSTONE — JUDGE CHAMBERS — AND THE BANISHED BOMBAY EDITOR, MR. FAIR.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—I must take the liberty of recalling the attention of your readers to the circumstances attending the summary banishment of Mr. Fair from Bombay. That gentleman is now, I believe, arrived in England, and will no doubt make the same ineffectual attempts to obtain justice that his fellow-sufferers have made. Discussion and publicity, however, those sappers and miners of despotism, will at least be gained, and one more item will be added to the debtor side of the account to be settled with the nation in 1833, by the sovereigns of Leadenhall-street.

I am by no means disposed to screen the Bombay Government from the obloquy which attaches itself to their share in this oppressive act; but in your August Number, both your correspondent "AN OLD INDIAN" and yourself, in a subjoined note, appear to me to visit the conduct of Judge Chambers with a lenity very much misplaced, and, let me add, very mischievous.

Now, if there is one thing more undignified, more unworthy, or more disgusting than another, it is to see a Judge soliciting the interference of an arbitrary power in his own behalf; he himself having been sent to India for the express purpose of controlling the exercise of that power for or against others. Yet this is called "upholding the dignity of the bench." Truly, the dignity of the bench must be in a tottering state, if such productions as those contained in the *Bombay Gazette* endanger its stability. But whilst such men as Mr. Elphinstone are all-powerful, we cannot wonder that ermined suitors are to be found.

We are told, as an apology for the Judge, that "Sir Charles Chambers never suggested any measures for the adoption of Government on that occasion."—What amiable and exemplary moderation! He contented himself with merely handing over the offending editor to the power of an aristocratic and arbitrary ruler, whose opinions, propensities, and caprices, were well known to be hostile to the exercise of any freedom, or to the toleration of any discussion which accorded not with his own narrow views. To the tender mercies of such a man did the mild Judge Chambers deliver the obnoxious editor; but mark! he suggested no measures for the adoption of Government. He should have added a hope that the culprit would be treated with humanity; and the whole transaction would have presented a finished picture of justice and benevolence. When Judge Chambers can show that he knew not that Mr. Elphinstone had canted or encouraged his tool to cant about the liberty of the press; that he had aped Lord Hastings in freeing it from restrictions and censorship; that he had taken merit to himself, or suffered himself to be praised for this act; that, when the tide of favour turned against free discussion, he, courtier-like, turned with it, renounced his opinions in its favour, and openly applauded the despotic act of his kinsman, Mr. Adam, in Calcutta, which crushed it; in short, that his whole conduct in this respect was marked with subserviency, hypocrisy, and illiberality;—when Judge Chambers, I say, can return an *ignoramus* on these points, then the apology offered may serve him *quantum valeat*. At present it is a mockery, and savours more of Jesuitism than is altogether consistent with the "*dignity of the bench.*"

It is a feature in this case, not to be lost sight of, that Judge Chambers (who, by the way, appears to be of a very soliciting temperament, more fitted for the Court of Requests than the Supreme Court) had particularly *requested* Mr. Fair to publish the full proceedings of the Supreme Court, and even furnished him with notes of his own charge to the Grand Jury; but it appears the "*full* report" must also be a *favourable* report, or Governor Elphinstone must be called in as moderator. Then follows the usual *verbiage* about the "dignity of the bench," the "forbearance of Government," &c.; the editor is required to make a "satisfactory apology;" in other words, to describe himself in his own Paper to his readers as a calumniator, a detractor, and gross misrepresentator. Some little demur naturally occurs on the part of the editor, when the matter is cut short by his receipt of a peremptory order to quit India *within two days*. The unfortunate editor is despatched to England *via* Calcutta; the *firmness* of Governor Elphinstone is every where lauded, and the "dignity of the bench" receives an additional prop.

Such is a sketch of this creditable affair; and I trust you will not now be disposed to view the conduct of the *soliciting* Judge in so favourable a light as your note imports. My sole object has been to give the Judge and the Governor each his just portion of the praise or blame which may attach to the act in question. As a specimen of the *tone* of the Government in its correspondence with Mr. Fair, I cannot forbear quoting the following:—

> The Governor in Council directs me to inform you, that he considers the statement of the Court as conclusive on the subject of its *own* proceedings, and cannot admit the production of *any* testimony on a point which he regards as *fully* established.

Arrogant, dictatorial, and un-British as is the above sentence, it is but a faint specimen of the mind of him who put it forth. It conveys no idea of the tergiversation, the treachery, and the caprice—it is therefore imperfect—but it is worthy of A COMPANY'S GOVERNOR. JUSTITIA.

P. S. As your Correspondent, "AN OLD INDIAN," seems to think that Judge Chambers acted mercifully in handing over Mr. Fair to the Government, and that he could not have recourse to the Supreme Court for redress, I may mention that Sir Francis Macnaghten, though sufficiently friendly to arbitrary power, scorned to avail himself of the interference of Government. When he conceived himself to be misrepresented by the newspaper reports, he expressed his dissatisfaction in strong terms, alluded to his undoubted power of summarily punishing the reporter for contempt, and hinted at his intention of applying to the *laws* for redress; but he had too much real regard for the "dignity of the bench" to think of appealing to Government for support. Once, indeed, a Chief Justice at Calcutta did apply to Government for arbitrary aid, but he met with a becoming rebuff.[1]

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

[1] Leaving the remarks of our sensible Correspondent to make their own impression on the reader, we cannot suffer his letter to pass without doing justice to the Marquis of Hastings, by stating that, under his Government, the Chief Justice East is said to have applied to his Lordship to use his prerogative for punishing an editor who commented somewhat too freely on matters in which the Judge was deeply interested. The reply of the Marquis is said to have been, that the individual who was sent to India expressly to protect the subjects of Great Britain from arbitrary power by the intervention of the law, ought to be the last man to ask that law to be violated on his own behalf.

SIR JOHN MALCOLM—THE WAR IN INDIA—THE BISHOP OF CALCUTTA—AND THE BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE.

Je connais le Gouvernement de los padres comme je connais les rues de Cadiz. C'est une chose admirable que ce Gouvernement. Le Royaume a déja plus de trois cents lieus de diametre. Il est divisé en trente provinces. Los padres y ont tout, et les peuples rien : c'est le chef-d'œuvre de la raison et de la justice.—VOLTAIRE, Ed. Ster. Vol. VIII.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR, Banks of the Ganges, March, 1825.

MY letter, dated in January last, has put you in possession of some few trifling circumstances, which might possibly miss their way in the mazes and intricacies which obstructs the passage to the apartments devoted to the Committee of Correspondence in Leadenhall-street. Indeed, such are the difficulties of these ways, some of which we cannot help thinking the poet had in view, when he talks of " passages that lead to nothing," that it is scarcely possible for any unhappy, unwelcome fact, to gain the broad sunshine of public attention without running such risks of being cast into utter darkness, that the experiment has at least a hundred to one against its success. I shall neither be weak nor unwise enough to try it : though yours will scarcely be called the " regular channels," they will do well enough for me.

And now one word in passing, as to these said "regular channels." Sir John Malcolm has been pleased to pour out the phials of his wrath, and apostrophize with more bitterness than courtesy, the anonymous veil with which your correspondents are compelled to shroud their communications with you; as if the gallant General were altogether ignorant, that he who delivers himself in any language, save that of admiration, as to the measures of our Indian Government, puts forth the bantling of his genius with the bow-string about its neck. We really have no patience with such " perilous stuff," as these strictures on the incognito to which circumstances have driven us. Be assured, Sir John, we shall keep it as long as it is unsafe to be known, and shall drop the mask only when assured that it will not be the signal for the destruction of every prospect of distinction and independence here, where " our poverty and not our will" hath set up our rest.

You are a classical scholar, Sir John, and as you boast your intimacy rather with the labours of the pen than the deeds of the truncheon, you will pardon our reminding you of that admirable maxim of British jurisprudence, " nemo tenetur seipsum accusare." We are quite as well aware as you are, if you had the candour to acknowledge it, that the air of this country is unfavourable, just at this season, to Whig constitutions ; and we are almost as well instructed in those matters which relate to our own interest as any Tory of the " ancien regime." If " pernicious publicity" be disagreeable to *them*, we happen to know it would be fatal to us.

But, good Sir John, it seems you would like to know the Whigs from the Tories ; we believe you : the desire is natural enough, and we should be most happy to afford you any reasonable gratification ; for we admire your talents, esteem your private character, and hate only that part of

your political creed which would deprive *us* of that appeal to public opinion, of which *you* were, when you felt you wanted it, the most strenuous and eloquent advocate. But, Sir, we have just mother-wit enough remaining among us to observe, that it is highly profitable to belong to one party, and very penal to be of the other. If experience has not made us *talk* wisely, (as you will, perhaps, infer from the circumstance of our having taken the liberty of passing these few remarks on the portion of doctrine delivered by you to the Court of Proprietors,) it shall, at least, preserve us from the folly of tying the tin canister to our own lower extremities, to enable you and others to hunt us up and down the Peninsula at your leisure.

And now, "revenous à nos moutons." Your correspondents, Mr. Editor, have doubtless taken care to keep you acquainted with the state of our military operations; and I need not dilate on the singularly meagre results which have attended victories so pompously announced in the Gazettes, that it was believed, with good reason, that the empire of his golden-footed Majesty tottered to its base. We shall not say "audi alteram partem," because the privileged speakers are all on one side; but we shall take leave to inform you, lest the "regular channels" should accidentally omit the fact, that a large force was assembled on the Sylhet frontier, under Brigadier-General Shuldham, and that no means having been taken to ascertain if the country would admit of its advance, the General remained inactive just at the moment when a simultaneous movement might have brought the war to a successful termination in one season.

It is unnecessary to remark to you how delicate a subject our belligerent operations has become of late, and how firmly convinced even the strongest advocates for "imposing attitudes" now are of the impolicy of committing ourselves to such a contest with such a nation. That it may not last, is devoutly to be desired; but even should we succeed in dictating our own terms at Amerapoora, what indemnification will ever be obtained for such useless destruction of human life, and for such thoughtless expenditure of the public resources? Possibly we may confer on the country the signal benefits of a subsidiary force, and on the Amerapoora exchequer the obvious advantages of our experience in fiscal matters. Those Burmahs know nothing of political economy. But even such judicious arrangements for their improvement, unpopular as they sometimes are with those ill-advised governments who have a ridiculous preference for their own modes of managing the army and the budget, are liable, in the present instance, to two little objections. It is strongly suspected that there is very little money to be collected, even with the aid of our sagacity in such matters; and, as I had the honour of stating in my former despatch, the country has been the grave of at least a third of our army.

We trust, therefore, that when we *do* patch up our unhappy differences with the Burmese Court, (and that we are sincerely desirous of backing out of the "embarras" into which we have contrived to precipitate ourselves, may be inferred from the fact of our having attempted to negotiate through a gun lascar,) we shall, it is to be hoped, intrust the superintendency of our political and commercial relations to some such respectable agency as that through which we have just now vainly attempted to establish them, and then march away to easier laurels and more profitable triumphs. They are a stiff-necked generation, those Burmahs, and

so lamentable their ignorance of diplomatic forms, that we have absolutely trembled "steteruntque comes" when we have reflected on the ignoble uses to which we have thought it likely they might apply Mr. Secretary Swinton's elaborate state paper.

The public journals have observed a most decorous and becoming silence touching a Bundelah irruption, which contrived to destroy the station of Culpee, in Bundelcund, distant a night's run by dawk from the great military cantonment of Cawnpore, in a very few hours. The force was led by one of those allies whose good faith it would have been nothing less than heresy to doubt six months since, but who had the insolence, as the Tories call it, to attempt to throw off our hateful yoke at what he deemed a convenient season. The attempt had a momentary success, and it was well for the civil functionaries of the district that the little fort of Culpee was at hand, in which they found a refuge. But we have not been permitted to learn any other details, though we presume that the blessings of our rule have long since been restored to the agitated province.

The three last months have added little to our domestic history. The protracted absence of the Bishop of Calcutta, on a tour to his diocese, has been viewed with a feeling of regret, which is scarcely alleviated by the consideration, that, go where he may, peace and good will to all mankind are the guides to his footsteps, and charity and benevolence follow close upon them. That his Lordship's tour will be productive of benefits to his widely-dispersed flock, none that know him will doubt. It is only to be regretted that his means of doing good are in the inverse ratio of his ability.

A tour to his diocese! How well does this read? Will it not be supposed by credulous and unsuspecting ignorance—will it be doubted at Lambeth—that his Lordship's pastoral visit is destined for numerous congregations, who have little more to learn than the fit application of his precepts, or the adoption of his example? Will it be questioned that a clerical establishment, suited to the vast and important interests which belong more particularly to its superintendency, is gone forth to meet its respected head—to welcome him to the sanctuaries of its worship—to point out to his attention the endowments which have been set apart by this munificent Government for the support of the national faith—to hold up to him the remote but certain prospect of Christianity triumphant, among the idolatrous nations which own our sway, whose moral and intellectual improvements the collected wisdom of the great council of the nation, (a circumlocutory but reverend form of speech understood to mean the majority of "life and fortune men" in both houses,) has proclaimed to be our duty? Now, Sir, we shall beg to call the attention of the public in England, not to what might be expected in India, but what really exists there; not to what the excellent person above named may have vainly expected to find in his boasted tour, but what he actually observed; and we solemnly call on him to contradict us, if we have misstated or distorted one iota of the truth.

We assert, then, this remarkable fact, and let it be proclaimed for the edification and instruction of certain well-disposed coteries, who congregate ever and anon to make discreet use of the teapot and the Bible, whose good-natured "optimisme" is content with things as they are; who go to rest assured that a branch of the Society for the Suppression

of Vice is actively employed in the City of Palaces, compelling the satraps to put fig leaves on their casts of the Venus and the Gladiator, and that a neat little white-washed parish church is to be found at each station, with comfortable pews lined with green baize for the Judge and the Collector, a corresponding though less magnificent convenience for the Register and the assistant, a space railed off for the military, and other accommodations below for those, alas, who have terminated their brief career above. There never was a greater error. The Bishop of Calcutta travelled from the capital of the British possessions in India to the Ultima Thule of its dominion, without finding a single place of public worship built, supported, or endowed, by Government!

It is in vain to say, that at the principal stations where there are European troops, the regiments are assembled, and prayers read to them, in some riding-school or barrack, which by sufferance of the commanding officer is appropriated to this purpose; we return to the fact, that there are but two small chapels between Calcutta and the Sutledge, and these were built by a subscription formed by the gentlemen resident at Benares and Dacca, unaided, as we believe, by the East India Company.

We shall not follow his Lordship in his well-intentioned pilgrimage from Dan to Beersheba. Well might the pathetic apostrophe be applied, "Verily to see the nakedness of the land ye are come;" and we blush that it is so. But where lies the fault? Will it be said that individuals, who are here for the sole purpose of accumulating in most instances a very moderate independence, and flying as speedily as possible from liver complaints, and the still more insufferable vexations which jacks-in-office provide for them, can be expected to build churches? The idea is ridiculous. If there were the means, the inclination is not in human nature; and suppose even that the Lady Huntingdon of Hindoostan should rise up among us, and present us the pulpits, we should be glad to know how they are to be filled. We happen to know, that out of an establishment of thirty clergymen for these vast provinces, fifteen only are at this period in the active discharge of their duty. But were they all at their posts, "what are they among so many?"

We have been thus particular in our details, because we abominate hypocrisy, and the powers that be are well content to permit varieties of cant to go forth to the world uncontradicted as to their attention to those principles whose energy they are perfectly aware is liable to some trifling deterioration from the possession and exercise of almost sovereign power, and occasional obstructions of the liver.[1] They well know that the magistrate's court-room, and the collector's treasury are not precisely the schools where virtue's votaries are most wont to assemble "pour se former l'esprit et le cœur." But is any provision made to preserve for public use the religious principles which may have survived a very long voyage across the Atlantic, and (without scandal be it spoken) may not have been very carefully nursed in Writers' Buildings, and which might therefore by possibility be left behind in delicate health at the Presidency. In good sooth, if, as we are told, "we have the fee simple of the estate," methinks we might do a little more for the spiritual weal of the tenants.

[1] On soit que la plupart des malheurs du monde ont résulté d'un etat constipé du souverain. A la Sainte Barthelemi Charles IX. tira sur ses sujets d'une des fenêtres du Louvre. Il etoit horriblement constipé depuis huit jours.

Observe the wretched little settlements of the Dutch and Portuguese, of every nation, save that one to whom unbounded dominion has been assigned in Asia. Is there any one of them unprovided with the neat though humble chapel: its modest spire; the little turret where chimes the bell to summon two or three together, whose requests are to be granted? At Anjengo, Cochin, Goa, have the miserable remnant of nations once powerful as ourselves permitted the house of God to fall to the ground, though their own roofs are in ruins? We are accustomed to be very loud in our abuse of the intolerance and bigotry of these nations; but we should be glad to know which is most respectable—a sincere though mistaken zeal for the doctrines of Christianity, or the most utter contempt and indifference for them.

There is not a more distinguished, a more honourable body of men in any country of the world, than the officers of the Bengal army. No public functionaries in the employ of any European Government existing are more enlightened, more liberal, or more just, than the civil service of the East India Company. *They* need not the spur or the flapper which Mr. Trant was pleased to inform the Court of Proprietors was in occasional requisition. But we shall take the liberty of remarking for his information, and that of the particular caste to which it is understood this gentleman belongs, that the worth and virtue of the Bengal civil service is its own acquisition, and if a very small number have erred and strayed from the right way, let him assure himself that the fault is with those who have set up no single, solitary beacon, to light them on their path.

Let him, then, and those who really wish well to the country, exert themselves to remove such a scandal from the history of our Indian establishments. Let Sir John Malcolm, the "ci-devant" (some say "soi-disant") friend of the Anglo-Indians, solicit for *them*, at least, the blessings of religious instruction in the country which gave them birth. Tell him (and we challenge the saints and the sinners, "les Dieux et les Diables," to contradict us,) that his protegés cannot now legitimatize their offspring, or give them a name; because, in the first instance, they cannot pay the enormous fees levied on the necessary marriage-license by the Supreme Court; because, if they had the license, they cannot afford to send many hundred miles for a clergyman; and, finally, because the Government had the cruelty to interdict the solemnization of such ceremonies as were civil contracts before their magistrates, because, forsooth, there is a nominal establishment of thirty pious men to work in the vineyard. "Truly the harvest is great, but the labourers are few."

The magnificent measure of paying off the debts of the civil service is just now under the consideration of Government; and we reserve our remarks for the final decision not yet passed on the question. In the mean time, you may assert, without hesitation, that the arrangement was generally unpopular with the service; and so far from its being considered the act of a paternal Government, jealous of the good name of its functionaries, it has been characterized, wherever it was possible or safe to express such an opinion, as a stock-jobbing transaction, in which Government proposed to take advantage of the necessities of its servants, to lend at six per cent. that which they borrow at four.

It will be said, that the agents lend to the civil service at eight per cent., and that the service gains, therefore, two by the measure; and a

cry has been raised, as usual, that the civilians are in the hands of monied Natives; and a regulation has been made to prevent their borrowing from any Native resident within their districts. The whole enactment is a libel on the service; and it marvels, with the celebrated Oxenstiern, "quam parva sapientia regitur mundus," as if it were possible to suppose, that if a judge, magistrate, or collector, could be depraved enough to forget the obligations of his oath, and allow a corrupt influence to govern his actions, he would have any respect for this precious legislative provision for the conscientious discharge of his duty. But we shall examine it, as well as some other portions of the law of this land, more particularly at our leisure. To return, at present, to the embarrassments which are said to have led to it:

We assert, that nothing can be more unjust than the cry which has been raised against the opulent Natives, who occasionally advance money to the civil servants, and the houses of agency in Calcutta; as if such men as Messrs. Palmer, and Clarke, and Young, and Sutherland, and fifty others we could name, were positively encouraging the young men in their extravagance, to make ultimate profit by them. Really one would fancy that these gentlemen were to be found every afternoon at the corner of Tank-square, their purses in their nether integuments, ready to be offered to the thoughtless adolescent, when, armed for conquest and the Course, he emerges from the hallowed sactuary of Writers' Buildings, and, mounting his modest tilbury, is tempted by these exemplary persons with, "Sunt quos *curriculo* pulverem Olympicum collegisse juvat." Alas! here is another great error. For mere wanton extravagance, the houses of agency have no funds; but their liberality may be inferred from the fact of their constantly allowing balances of thirty and forty thousand rupees to stand without collateral security in their books, at eight per cent., it is true; but this is only two per cent. more than the Government debtor will have to pay; as a life-insurance, at about two per cent., will accompany the loan. As Government will doubtless be its own insurers, its gains are as certain as Cocker can make them.

But whether we consider the measure itself as a boon to the Service, as a bonus on extravagant expenditure, or a profitable investment of capital contemplated by Government, the *mode* in which the ungracious charity was offered has scarcely more politeness to recommend it, than the parish beadle exercises, when he has occasion to fill up a set of paupers with mendicity soup at the door of the village workhouse. Every circumstance of the pauper's debt, the affairs of his family, his follies or his vices, his misfortunes or his faults, have been made the subject of unfeeling remark, or indelicate discussion. We have heard, that "whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth;" but the Civil Service will not forget, that the oath which preserves from "pernicious publicity" the acts and deliberations of Council, should have shielded it from such indecent and profitless exposure, even if it were politic to treat the aristocracy of the country, that body of men whose cheerful and heartfelt exertions for the common weal no insult or disgust should weaken or repress, like a set of defaulters before a commission of bankruptcy.

Ye satraps, whose "high-blown pride has sunk beneath you," go, study that Resolution of the right honourable the Governor-General in Council, where your early follies, your thoughtless extravagance, your youthful imprudencies, are declared to amount to a disqualification for

high and responsible station; go, read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest, the Regulation wherein the corrupt influence exerted over you is proclaimed in your courts; go, estimate the difference between the agent's frying-pan and the Government fire; and when the sneering sarcasm of a secretary casts in your teeth those incumbrances which you proclaimed, like a set of fools, and which they published, like something worse, when patronage has to trample on the well-earned claims of half a century's exile,—Peace! Let no bootless murmur presume to remonstrate: learn to kiss the rod which chastises you,—you have bound it for yourselves.

But you have one consolation left, and let it be found in the reflection, that there is a fortunate disposition in the Council-Room, to take the converse of the orders from the Court of Directors, which, it is understood, decrees a slender maintenance and low station as a punishment for debt; whereas, throughout the Civil List, the highest, the most responsible, and the most profitable appointments, have universally attended the deepest incumbrances. Six weeks had not elapsed after the promulgation of the exemplary resolution of the Governor-General, which some "mauvais plaisant" has termed the vagrant-act, when four or five paupers were named to the highest dignities of the country. We only wait a single contradiction, to illustrate our little sketch, by putting figures on the canvass.—To be continued by

An Old Acquaintance.

HYMN FOR THE DEAD.[1]

They are not gone—whom Death's dark shroud
Hath curtained from our mortal eye—
They are not gone.
Down to their bed of rest they bowed:
It was their portal to the sky,
Their pathway to the throne.

They cannot die—whose being here
Is by its worth immortal made—
They cannot die;
Though the time-wasted sepulchre
In which their vestiges are laid
Crumbled in dust may lie.

They are not dead—whose ashes fill
That melancholy house of clay—
They are not dead;
They live in brighter glory still
Than ever cheered their earthly way
Full beaming round their head.

[1] From a recent and beautiful little Volume of Hymns, by Mr. Bowring, intended as a Sequel to his Matins and Vespers.

COMPARATIVE STATE OF DISCIPLINE IN SHIPS OF WAR AND EAST INDIAMEN.

[We have received a communication in reply to the strictures of Defensor in our June Number, on the letter of Admiral Page, inserted in that of the preceding month. Our Correspondent remarks, that "as Admiral Page gave his name to the letter he published, Defensor might have followed his example, or, at least, refrained from the use of certain expressions under an anonymous signature." Concurring in the justice of this observation, and desirous to act impartially between both parties, we feel bound to allow Defensor's opponent to be heard. But as his reply is in a very diffuse and acrimonious style, we deem it necessary both to curtail and soften it, to save our own space, and at the same time to avoid giving occasion to the same complaint against his anonymous strictures which he brings against those of Defensor. All illiberal jealousy between different branches of the national strength should, if possible, be buried in oblivion; and it certainly reflects no credit on one British officer to throw in the teeth of others the insolent sarcasms of the common enemy of their country. With this brief expression of our regret that such a spirit of animosity should ever exist, we subjoin a portion of the letter, leaving out the most exceptionable passages.]

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

Sir,—In your Number for June, I have read a letter entitled, a 'Defence of the East India Company's Naval Service,' signed Defensor.

Defensor says: "The letter of Admiral W. B. Page I read with mixed feelings of contempt and indignation." The Admiral is certainly entitled to the commiseration of his brother officers for the loss he has sustained in this opinion of the master of a merchantman; but I doubt if any reciprocal indignation will be excited in the breast of the Admiral. He will smile at the enraged skipper, and wonder what became of his indignation, when, if he has sailed long on board an Indiaman, he must have been daily excited by the insubordination and absurdity of the ludicrous attempts to reconcile the economy of a floating hotel with the dignity of a British man-of-war!

Defensor again asserts: "The discipline on board Indiamen is sufficient for all purposes of safety and comfort." If Defensor really understood the strict import of the word "discipline," he would hardly have hazarded such assertion. If military regulation and order is implied by the word discipline as regards a ship, an East Indiaman is almost devoid of it, from the very nature of the service, and the duties those on board have to perform. For, Sir, how is the service constituted and governed? If I am not misinformed, an owner nominates his own commander, who is approved of and sworn in by the East India Company. Thus he is the servant of both, and has to reconcile the performance of his duty to two masters, whose interests are opposed. Then comes a third interest, which is his own, he being a trader on his own account; and the ship is unmercifully stuffed with cargo and privilege tonnage, until she, in some instances, is scarcely sea-worthy. In support of such remarks, I would ask Defensor, whether it has not frequently happened that part of

their cargo has been ordered out in consequence of the surveying officer pronouncing them too deep?

Let me again ask DEFENSOR, if he has not seen the cuddy and steerage stuffed with cotton, in the ships bound from Bombay to China in war-time, when it was pretended such ships were disciplined and prepared for self-defence, having, probably, but a motley crew of 140 men to manage forty guns, with sometimes beef and water stowed between the guns. If the decks, instead of being so lumbered, were clear, 140 men of the wretched description they carry would be hardly able to work them well; and when it is remembered that nearly one-third of that number may be taken off for guinea-pigs, joiners, bakers, butchers, poulterers, tailors, waiters, and musicians, which form the motley group so essential to the establishment of a floating hotel, to talk of fighting them is really laughable. But as they are large sightly ships, painted to resemble sixty-fours, their appearance has often done for them what their guns and pretended discipline never would have effected. Indeed the guns render them, in many instances, more liable to harm than otherwise, as no naval man can believe an Indiaman adapted for sustaining a battle, even if sufficient men were put on board. Suppose only one solitary shot struck them between wind and water, with the wings stuffed with cargo, how is it to be plugged, and what must not be the consequence? It is really a waste of words to argue on such a subject; but it is not presuming too much to say, that the loss of many of them may be attributed to the absurdity of cramming them with guns which they cannot use, and affecting a discipline which produces disgust and dissatisfaction, instead of comfort and harmony.

To effect military discipline, it would be requisite, in reason and justice, to alter the nature of the service altogether, and to render them any thing but what they really are intended for. Discipline, to have a good effect, should apply to the officers as well as the crew; and it is unjust and impolitic to confer power when the very nature of the service imposes no sufficient restraint on those who are to exercise it. A reference to many of the causes that have been tried in the courts of law, will fully illustrate the nature and practice of the discipline on board an Indiaman, and how exempt the commanders and officers are from the chance of punishment by that august body, the Court of Directors. It would be fair to ask, if the Court has ever, in one solitary instance, either thought of or afforded redress to any individual, in support of that discipline which is pretended to prevail?

One word more on the subject of guns on board an Indiaman. I recollect that, when four Indiamen were lost at once off the Cape, in a large fleet bound from Bengal to England, it was ingeniously attributed, at the East India House, to the loss of men pressed out of them by the men-of-war in India. That will hardly be admitted to be the cause of their loss, when it is recollected that, supposing even every man of their European crew had been taken, they still had the same means of obtaining foreign seamen and Lascars as the country ships; and as there were many country ships in company, not one of which foundered, it becomes damning evidence of their being either safer for want of guns, or better managed than the ships whose pretensions are espoused by DEFENSOR.

The "Devonshire's" loss in the river Hoogly, when at anchor taking in cargo, was attributed to the guns solely. She was moored in Saugor

roads, and an ordinary north-wester took her on the broadside. Her warlike ports were open, and before her *well-disciplined* crew could bar them in, she filled, and sunk at her anchors. Now do not let us be told that such squalls come on suddenly; they give hours of warning before they approach, as may be seen by a reference to the India Directory.

In the mere skirmish of Admiral Linois with the homeward-bound China fleet, they were indebted entirely to their appearance, aided by a report the French had received a few days before from a Portuguese, that as there was no convoy with them, six of them were armed and equipped as sixty-fours; and he, therefore, avoided an action, and merely exchanged a few shot.

The capture of the "Kent," carrying near forty guns, and having 300 troops on board, in addition to her crew, by the French privateer, "Confiance," of sixteen guns, conveys a good idea of the discipline and value of of an East Indiaman as a ship of war; while the loss of the "Triton," of the same force, and nearly of the same place, which was taken by a pilot-schooner, manned with only twenty Frenchmen, is too painful to be recorded in our naval history, unless it be to show the folly of such equipment.

If the obedience of the commanders and officers to the regulations and orders of their superiors, or of the ship convoying and affording them protection, can be understood as in any way a proof of good discipline, why, then, I only ask, how happened it that Mr. Milliken Craig, who sinned in almost every shape in every voyage, continued to command so long as he pleased, one of those well-disciplined ships? as if the ridiculous penalties affected to be inflicted by the Court of Directors, could be intended to produce discipline, or to discourage it in every grade of such service. I could quote hundreds of instances in support of my assertion, but it is unnecessary: they are known to all the maritime world; and the vain pretensions of DEFENSOR will only excite the regret of his friends.

My notions of discipline are indeed so wide of DEFENSOR'S, that it would be more agreeable to me, but probably as little flattering to him, if he were to ask what the masters of French, American, and other merchant ships, say of our Indiamen; and I beg to remind him, that when Surcouff was congratulated on the capture of the Kent Indiaman, by the Confiance of sixteen guns, he observed: "I claim no merit or praise for such achievement, as I conceive it is only requisite for a French officer to reach the deck of an Indiaman to ensure success."

A NAVAL OFFICER.

June 18, 1825.

FROM THE ARABIC OF TOGRAI.

Thou sleepst while the eyes of the planets are watching,
Regardless of love and of me.
I sleep; but my dreams, at thy lineaments catching,
Present me with nothing but thee.

Thou art changed, while the colour of night changes not,
Like t[illegible]ing allurements of day.
I am cha[illegible] for all beauty to me seems a blot,
While [illegible]y of my heart is away.

ON THE TRADE OF THE BUGIS, IN THE INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO.

THE more civilized portion of the inhabitants of Celebes, in the Eastern Archipelago, raise corn, and fabricate cotton cloths, in which they clothe themselves; while the uncivilized portion of the same people feed on roots, and wander naked through the forests of the islands. They consist, together, of four or five distinct tribes, speaking as many different languages. These are the Bugis, the Macassar, Mandar, Kaili, and Menado: of these, by far the most considerable, in point of numbers and improvement, are the Bugis, who are themselves again subdivided into many nations, united, however, by the common ties of similar language and similar institutions. Among the Bugis nations, there is but one tribe distinguished for maritime enterprise and commercial spirit,—the Wajo, or more correctly, Tuwajo people. When, therefore, the trade of the Bugis is spoken of, it is, with very few exceptions, to be understood as meaning the trade of this people only.

The original country of Wajo is nearly in the centre of Celebes, on the northern banks of an extensive fresh-water lake, about twenty-four miles in breadth. The outlet from this lake is a river, which falls into the bay of Boni, and which is navigable for boats of twenty tons burthen. Such is the original country of this remarkable race, where they live under a true federal aristocracy, the inferior chiefs being elected from particular families in which their dignities are hereditary, and the chief of the whole union being chosen by the rest, and holding his office *during good behaviour*. The people of Wajo pay neither land-tax nor any other species of contribution, being exempt even from imposts on trade of any sort or description. The inferior chiefs support themselves from their own domains, and other private revenue; and the Arumatua, or president of the union, alone obtains three days' personal services in the year, one in ploughing-time, one in seed-time, and one in the time of harvest. The Wajo men are perfectly free to go abroad and return at pleasure. It is the pride of a freeman of Wajo, that "no chief or prince can shut the gates of the country against him;" and they often dwell with satisfaction upon this advantage, repeating the expression. The other governments of Celebes are more arbitrary, and far less favourable to industry. Under them a tythe of the gross produce of the land is paid to the sovereign as a tax. *Corvées* are frequent, military services oppressive, and no subject can quit the country without the will of the government, in itself a formidable instrument both of oppression and taxation.

The advantages of the free form of government now described, notwithstanding the turbulence and anarchy to which it is occasionally liable, are the true sources of the industry and enterprise of the Wajos. Actuated by these, this tribe has colonized in almost every maritime country of the Archipelago, where they preserve their original manners and habits, while their commercial voyages extend from Manilla to Acheen, and from Siam to New Guinea; it being observed, that the parent country is by no means that which now carries on the most extensive foreign trade. It is singular, that this people should be the sole native carriers of the Archipelago, all the other tribes confining themselves to mere coasting voyages. When, for example, we hear that the

islands of Bali and Lombok, Macassar, Mandar, and Kaili, in Celebes, Gresik in Java, Pasir and Cuti in Borneo, and similar places, carry on a trade with the new settlement of Singapore, this always means the trade of the Bugis of Wajo; for we here never see a trading native of Bali or Lombok, nor of the greater number of the other places, although their commodities be brought to us in abundance, and ours be conveyed to them in return.

The following is the most correct list which we have been able to obtain, of the number of the Wajo prahus, or vessels, carrying on foreign trade; and the statement will convey to the reader a general view of the extent and importance of each particular branch enumerated:

Sumbawa, 40; East Coast of Borneo, 66; West Coast of ditto, 20; Original Country of the Wajos, 50; Mandar, in Celebes, 200; Kaili, in ditto, 100; Macassar, 100; Boniratti, a small island between Celebes and Sumbawa, 50; Pari Pari, in Celebes, 10; Bali and Lombok, 50; Java, 50; Flores, 50: making a total of 786 prahus.

Those which visited Singapore alone, last year, amounted to ninety; and, in the present year, they have not been short of 120, although the war of Celebes has kept away nearly all the vessels of Wajo Proper, of Pari Pari, and Boniratti. Their burthen is commonly from twenty to sixty tons, and the average value of their cargoes cannot well be estimated at less than 4000 dollars each. A few rich ones, chiefly carrying birds' nests and tortoise-shell, have imported cargoes into Singapore, valued at 30,000 dollars. These cargoes vary according to the countries from which the Bugis sail; but the details are too extensive to find room in a short essay of this nature. The following brief recital, however, will convey some general notions in regard to them:

The traders of Wajo Proper chiefly export cotton cloths, manufactured by the women of their own country. The traders of Bali, Lombok, and Java, export cotton fabrics, the manufactures of those countries, with rice and oil. The traders of Mandar export oil, rice, and, within the last year, some coffee. Those of Kaili export a great deal of gold; those of Macassar, cloths, tortoise-shell, and sea-slug. The traders of the east coast of Borneo deal in esculent birds'-nests and tortoise-shell; and those of Flores in the same commodities.

The communication between the eastern and western portions of the Archipelago, through means of the Bugis, is still imperfect, owing to the existence of the spice-monopoly. When this is abandoned, (a consummation which the tone and character of the notes exchanged between the Dutch and the English plenipotentiaries, and the experience of its absurdity and utter incompatibility with every principle of good or just government, which the recent visit of the Governor-General will have afforded, gives reasonable ground to hope must immediately follow,) then the commerce in spices will necessarily become, of all others, the most important branch of the Bugis trade. In the meanwhile, it brings to us small quantities of cloves and nutmegs, with birds of paradise, and other curious objects, from the distant islands of Ceram, the Aroos, and New Guinea. We may here remark, that the Bugis are only carriers and general merchants, and have very little share in the collection or preparations of the articles which compose their cargoes. Spices, and birds of paradise, for example, are supplied to them by the negroes of Ceram and New Guinea; and sea-slug, tortoise-shell, and birds'-nests,

by a singular amphibious race called Bajao, who live a wandering life in their boats, without any other home or habitation, devoting their existence

The commodities which the Bugis carry away from the European settlements, may be shortly enumerated: they consist of opium, gunpowder, fire-arms, iron, coarse Bengal cotton goods, Europe chintzes, and some broad-cloths, raw silk, Chinese pottery, Siamese and Chinese culinary utensils, and Javanese tobacco.

In the details which we have now furnished, we have taken no notice of the intercourse between Celebes and the Gulf of Carpentario, in New Holland, because this, in truth, is no Bugis trade at all, being conducted by the Chinese, who employ the boats and mariners of the Dutch settlement of Macassar (not Bugis), to which place alone the trade is confined. This branch of industry is, in fact, a fishery, and not a regular branch of commerce, the sole object of it being to supply the Chinese market. It is, in a word, an insulated traffic, at present utterly unconnected with the spirited enterprises of the Bugis merchants.

When we consider, that the voyage from Celebes to the Gulf of Carpentario is more distant and dangerous than that to the furthest extremity of the Indian Archipelago; that the Gulf of Carpentario itself is within the latitudes of hurricanes and tornados; and that neither the soil nor climate of the neighbouring portion of New Holland are reported to be favourable, or can be fitted for the European constitution;—we must doubt the sagacity and intelligence of those who have recommended to his Majesty's Ministers the establishment of a British colony, having for its principal object the formation of an emporium, to attract a large share of the general commerce of the Indian Archipelago. In such a situation, where, we should ask, (should the Bugis be persuaded to resort to such a settlement,) are they to obtain the assorted cargoes, which at present attract them to the western ports of the Archipelago? And where, in return, are Englishmen to obtain those assorted articles, which are indispensably requisite to constitute a cargo for Europe, and which the whole commerce of the Bugis, put together, even were it centered at this spot, would not supply? For they deal only in costly articles occupying trifling room; and the great staples of colonial produce, which make up the bulk of a homeward cargo, and which alone would make the trade important, would be altogether wanting.—*Singapore.*

ALAS! THAT MORNING, SEEN SO BRIGHT.

Alas! that morning, seen so bright,
Gleaming in all its vest of light,
Should ever fly,
And leave the sky,
To vanish into gloomy night.

'Tis thus the morn of life, which glows
In splendid tints that mock the rose,
Sees sorrow blight
Its hours of light,
And midnight darkness shade its close!

L. L. L.

SUMMARY OF THE LATEST INTELLIGENCE FROM INDIA AND OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE EAST.

BENGAL.

Our intelligence from the Eastern world is greatly increasing in interest, as the Burmese war is evidently drawing to a crisis. The plot thickens on all sides: for twelve months the Indian Government has been mustering its forces, and precipitating them upon its opponent of the "golden foot." The war is now raging in the heart of his territories; and the season is arrived when we look with eagerness for the event,—whether he will be terrified into instant submission, or resolutely hold out, and expose our troops to the hardships of a third campaign. The Burmese may be encouraged to adopt the latter alternative, by the near approach of the rains, when they well know the hostile operations of their invaders must be suspended. The present prospects of the war, as collected from official despatches and other public documents, will be given under the proper heads; but we shall here introduce, as more interesting to those who wish for correct information respecting the real state of affairs in India, the substance of various private letters lately received.

Among other things, they advert to the departure from that country of Mr. John Adam, who has since paid the debt of nature, on the voyage homewards. We shall therefore abstain, at present, from any remarks whatever on the public conduct of that gentleman, having, indeed, nothing to add or alter in the opinions already expressed. On public grounds, none can wish more sincerely than we do that his life had been longer protracted; but as it has happened otherwise, the same rigid justice is due to his memory as to his living character. Accidental circumstances have associated his name with the great questions which involve the happiness or misery of many millions of British subjects, whose interests are far more important in our eyes than the fate of any individual, however elevated by rank or fortune. The remarks of our Indian correspondents are, therefore, laid before our readers with that strict impartiality due to all men at all times. One observes:—

"Mr. John Adam is gone home in the *Albion*, but without receiving any of those parting honours which Mr. Fergusson said, in the Town-Hall, in August 1823, ought to be reserved to crown the close of his career. A vote of a service of plate was expressly postponed on *that* ground; and now that he has retired from the country, these gentlemen will not give him a final testimony of their approbation by way of viaticum, and to grace his return to his native land. Some of his friends did meet at the house of Mr. Larkins, and resolved, for reasons which they scarcely ventured to express but by vague hints, (as, that "the day was gone by;" that "it would not look well towards Lord Amherst," &c.) that it was not expedient to require the sheriff to summon a meeting of the British inhabitants of Calcutta, in the Town-Hall, to take into consideration a farewell address to be presented to the honourable John Adam, Esq., who, *some eighteen months ago*, had been Governor-General of India. Mr. Chinnery, the artist, has made very little progress with the sitting picture which was voted to Mr. Adam, or the equestrian which was voted

to Lord Hastings; and considering the slow rate at which he proceeds with such works, I really think he should begin during the first months of the Governor's administration, instead of during the last. No time should be lost in seizing Lord Amherst's likeness, for there is no saying how soon it may please heaven 'to release us from him.' Various backgrounds might be imagined for such a picture; and every month will supply materials for more. What need I say of the dinner given by the merchants of Calcutta to Sir Francis Macnaghten?—What but that it was equally honourable to those who gave, and to him who received? But I leave them to your mercy, and hope you will not spare them. They are a set of men who have NEVER yet shown an atom of public spirit. Sir Francis, however, deserves credit for his 'Considerations on Hindoo Law': it is the only book that gives a full and correct view of the law; but the Preface is obnoxious to severe criticism, both in matter and manner, doctrine and style."

From another hand we have the following picture of the feelings and opinions of Calcutta society, as to the men and things acting and transacting around them:—"We are all as amiable, quiet, and orderly, and consequently as stupid, as any set of animals can be, that are as we are. If it were not for the Burman war, I do not know what people would get to talk about. And as for our poor editors, and our 'well-regulated' Indian Papers, they ought, I am sure, to bless Mr. Chew's memory, who originated so prolific a theme for them. Another great benefactor of their brains is a certain Dr. Paterson, who gives lectures on phrenology once a fortnight at the Asiatic Society's Rooms. The said lectures cause mighty controversies among the editors, and afford matter of discussion not easily to be exhausted. It is a harmless way of occupying people's thoughts, as it helps to prevent them from tutning, as they ought to do, on Governors and such high people. As for politics, every one seems to think it the wisest policy to live quietly, and let things take their chance. That all can or do approve of this state of affairs, I do not mean to say. There are many who would wish it far otherwise. Our *excellent* friend, Mr. Adam, is leaving us. A vain attempt was made to get up a dinner for him; but it would not do. I know of several who refused to have any concern with it; but Sir F. Macnaghten, you will see, went off with great *eclat*, although there were, of course, some who could not so soon forget the registering of certain Regulations. Our present Governor-General is apparently a most inoffensive sort of man—quite as harmless as the white horse he rides on; but the contempt in which he is held by all English and Natives, is really almost incredible. Except a few intimate friends of his own, I verily think I do not exaggerate when I say there is not a living soul in Calcutta who does not feel for him the greatest pity and commiseration.—Poor creature! there is, I believe, nothing about him to dislike; and in his own house he is, I am told, very agreeable and pleasant."

He is, indeed, to be pitied; and the blame rests not with him, but with those who converted a "pleasant," "mild," and "amiable" Lord of the Bedchamber into an odious Governor-General. But they see now, if they were ignorant of it before, that a mind may be well stocked with private virtues, yet be too weak a soil for any public ones to flourish in. Notwithstanding the total suppression of public opinion, and the in-

terdict passed to prevent, if possible, the Indian community from even thinking on public affairs, the conduct of Government is regarded with a general feeling of disgust, which is the more intense because persons are obliged to confine it within their own breasts. If they were allowed to discuss public affairs, they would have a pleasure and a pride in discriminating what was praiseworthy from what might be censurable: at present all is condemned in the mass. Another Correspondent observes;—

"There is not a person, who has anything to do with the administration, (in which I include Sir Edward Paget,) who would not be almost universally condemned, if the public voice could be heard. I pity Sir Edward from my heart; for I know he means and strives to do well. But he is surrounded by such a set of pitiful animals, that it makes one's blood boil to think the interests of the army should be in the hands of such a set of selfish, low-minded, interested wretches. Scarce one of them has a single pure or generous thought for the army's weal. They think of themselves alone; the gratification of their own avarice and malice; the promotion of their friends, and the depression of their enemies. It is truly lamentable that Sir Edward (who is really a noble-minded, honest, and independent man) should be obliged to rely on the advice of such creatures. It is equally ruinous to his reputation and to the Indian army. From this class, however, I must except Sir Stamford Whittingham and Col. Stevenson, who do, I believe, act honestly. The former, from being on the staff of the King's army, cannot, however, do all the good he would, since he cannot interfere in many things which he sees with regret. The latter, from various causes—his dislike to business, and his plain modest character—has not that weight which his integrity and judgment entitle him to have. He does, however, more good in a quiet way than most people are aware of."

We now turn to another communication, which takes a more profound view of Indian politics, and unfolds some new circumstances worthy of attention:—"Every letter (says the writer) that has been written from India during the last twelve months must have described, in stronger and stronger language, the entire unanimity which prevails among all ranks of people, as to the utter unfitness of Lord Amherst to be Governor-General of India, and their increasing impatience for the arrival of Lord William Bentinck, or some other competent successor. The *second* campaign against the Burmese is closing, and now it appears there must be a *third*, after subjecting the troops to the sickliness of a second rainy season, which it is supposed will overtake General Morrison at Arracan, and Sir A. Campbell at Prome. The attempt to advance from Sylhet to Munnipore is abandoned by General Shuldham's division as impracticable. There is not a Cockney in London at this moment more ignorant of our south-eastern frontier than the Bengal Government was when it declared war, with all solemnity, against the Burmese. Supposing the war at last victoriously terminated, it is a question, whether we ought to abstain from making any addition to our territory, or to include the whole province of Arracan within our future frontier. The decision will probably be in favour of the latter alternative, on account of the mountainous barrier which runs parallel to the coast, and of the convenient harbours it affords. The inhabitants are friendly, and would make good soldiers in climates hostile to the constitution of our up-country sepoys.

In the mean time, it is certain that no disturbance could occur in the upper provinces, without causing the greatest alarm and uneasiness. Sir John Malcolm has truly said, that our empire in the East is 'not secure for a day except under the management of an able and firm ruler.' What then must it be under the *present?* But, in truth, it never can enjoy true safety under the ablest chief whom England could send, until we withdraw the restrictions on Colonization, which have been continued, with a degree of perverseness amounting to infatuation, long after men's eyes have been opened to their danger and folly.

In a private letter, under date of April 4th, it is stated, that "The whole army has been extremely disgusted by a late General Order of the Governor-General in Council, requiring commanding officers of divisions and heads of departments, to send annually to the Secretary of Government in the Military Department, or to the Adjutant-General, as the case may be, a confidential report on the qualifications of all the staff officers employed under them. The reports received by the Adjutant-General are to be transferred to the office of the Military Secretary to Government, who is moreover to submit what observations occur to him on the mode of transacting business with the different departments which directly communicate with his office. It is obvious that this order strikes directly at the dignity and authority of the Commander-in-Chief, and gives to the Military Secretary to Government a degree of power, which (however much he may already possess it in substance,) is irreconcileable with all ideas of constitutional form and decency. I say nothing (adds the writer) of the innumerable practical absurdities to which it must necessarily give occasion. It is said that the Commander-in-Chief did not see its true import and tendency till *after* he had consented to its promulgation. How it will be got rid of, (for no degree of modification will render it useful, judicious, and tolerable,) remains to be seen."

In a former Number we noticed the formation of an Apprenticing Society at Calcutta, and intimated our opinion that it was a scheme to provide occupation for those whom certain pious members of the Bengal Government wish to make Christians, while they at the same time support a system of policy which renders it extremely difficult for the Converts to obtain the means of subsistence. A writer on the spot pronounces the Apprenticing Society to be "a vain attempt to war with the laws of nature, by forcing a demand for labour which cannot exist under the present restrictive system which so effectually stunts the growth of India. The most experienced persons in the country think it a premature attempt; that is, they think it can do no good *without* Colonization, but with Colonization it would be useless."

A tract has been published in Calcutta relative to the object of the Apprenticing Society lately formed there for improving the condition of Indo-Britons; in which the author quotes a letter from the Marquis of Hastings, showing the benevolent desire of that nobleman to forward this praiseworthy attempt. His Lordship adverts to the proposal of sending a number of the youths to be bred up with respectable tradesmen in England, and expresses himself as follows to the author:—

"Your judicious and benevolent exposition of a plan for improving the condition of Indo-Britons has been perused by me with peculiar pleasure. If it be not inconvenient to you, I should be happy to con-

verse with you on the subject, because I happen be so circumstanced, as that I may possibly have the means of practically forwarding your project. The Tower Hamlets, though not within the limits of the city, form a considerable part of the metropolis. You may judge their extent and population, by my mentioning that they furnish two regiments of militia. As Lord Lieutenant of the district, I nominate all the magistrates; so that I could put under their special protection any of the lads sent from this country to be instructed in trades. This would secure the apprentices from ill treatment, and insure for them a ready return to India when they desired it. As part of my dominion is separated from the city by only an almost imaginary line, the opportunities of being well instructed in different branches of business would be as good as could be found any where; and I suppose no entrance fee would be expected, since the apprenticeship does not lead to the freedom of the city."

Although India is not provided with hosts of projectors, like the parent state, it is not altogether destitute of this ingenious race of men, who labour so indefatigably to devise methods for ridding people of their superfluous cash. An anonymous writer, in the Bengal newspapers, has published a scheme for a joint-stock company, to which the whole Service, civil and military, is invited to subscribe, in shares of 1000 rupees, a capital stock of one crore and forty lacs. The main object of the company is to be, to provide the means of remitting money to England at a more favourable rate of exchange than one shilling and tenpence for the rupee. But there is nothing too great or too little for it to undertake. For details, we must refer to the pamphlet of the great projector himself, which has not yet reached us.—"Judging from internal evidence, (a Correspondent observes,) the great unknown can be no other than Bush Trotter, as no other person could write so much nonsense of that particular quality."

It is stated, that the old territory of Bengal, occupying the space of 162,000 square miles, contained in 1820, 39,679,000 souls; thus exhibiting a denser population than any equal proportion of the globe, China not excepted.

The *Scotsman in the East* mentions some curious facts, with appropriate remarks thereon, which have been quoted by another Indian Editor for such of his readers as delight in "three-years-old conversions, and bread-and-butter-sacrificing saints":—

"One of the speakers at the Meeting of Ladies, held at the Old Church Room, (Calcutta,) on the evening of the 28th of January, appeared to dwell with considerable complacency on anecdotes of a little girl sitting under a tree and reading a little catechism—a little Native girl teaching a grey-headed Brahmin to spell in his old age—a little Native girl of *three years* old overheard in a lane of Calcutta repeating to herself portions of Watts's Catechism—and last, but not least, a little boy making an agreement with his mamma to receive eight annas monthly, in lieu of eating butter to his bread, to contribute to the fund for female education! Anecdotes like these (says the *Scotsman*) may be tolerated in the nursery, but surely stories of little three-years-old saints, and exemplary little boys who abstain from bread and butter, should be spared to meetings composed of persons superior in years, and we suppose in understanding, to mere children."

Certain military movements had taken place in the upper provinces, in consequence of disturbances at Bhurtpore, occasioned by the death of the reigning prince. This was Rajah Bulder Singh, son of Runjeet Singh, who died suddenly at Goberdun on the 28th of February last, leaving his heir, a child of seven years old, under a regency. The boy had been recognised as rightful successor only a few days before, by Sir David Ochterlony, on the part of the British Government. The old Ranee, however, wished to have the sole management of the country; and an uncle, on the other hand, determined to assume the authority of sole Regent. With this view, having gained over three battalions to his cause, he placed picquets and sentinels throughout the town, attacked the fort, blew the gates open, entered, and seated himself on the throne,—after murdering one of his relatives, who was cut down at the very foot of it. He professed, however, that he had acted on purely disinterested motives, and had no intention of usurping the sovereignty, but merely intended to act as guardian of the child, under whose name business should be carried on. On the 21st of March, the 62d regiment of Native Infantry received orders to proceed from Barra to Muttra, towards which field batteries were to proceed on the 24th; and troops were concentrating thither, from all sides, to support Sir David Ochterlony in effecting an adjustment. The strength of the place is well known, as it is not yet forgotten that, only about twenty years ago, it baffled all the efforts of the British army under General Lake. Its present possessor, however, seems more desirous of attaining his end by fair means, he having sent several bushels of sweetmeats as a douceur to Sir D. Ochterlony.

It is the usual policy of states at war to represent their enemies as monsters of perfidy and cruelty. But notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary, the following circumstance shows that a man's head may remain safe on his shoulders even in the Burmese capital. A letter, dated Bauleah, 26th of March 1825, has been received by Mr. G. Gouger, of Stamford, Lincolnshire, announcing the safety of that gentleman's son, who had been carried off a prisoner by the Burmese, after the capture of Rangoon. The following is an extract from the letter:—

"I hasten to communicate the glad tidings of the confirmation of the hopes held out in my letter of the 4th of September. Letters received by the *Eliza* state that your son, Mr. Gouger, who was the only remaining prisoner in the power of the Burmese at the time of the capture of Rangoon, is still in existence. The proclamation of the Burmese Government, prohibiting violence or ill-usage to any European that may fall into their hands, is a sufficient assurance of his safety, and ultimate release, of which no doubt is now entertained." It is believed that Mr. Gouger, jun., is the only European at Amerapoora, with the exception of Mr. Rogers, who has been attached to the Burmese Court, and resident there, nearly twenty-nine years. The residence of Mr. Rogers at the Burmese capital is a most fortunate circumstance for Mr. Gouger, who happened to be not only personally known to Mr. Rogers, but on terms of intimacy with that gentleman.

The following, which is part of an order issued by the Burmese Generalissimo, Bundoolah, to all the Burman Chiefs, gives a more favourable idea of the humanity of their mode of warfare than has been hitherto entertained:—"As for the foreigners who, during the present war, may

have been taken or put to death, or ill-treated, that is now irrevocable; but now should any of them fall into our hands, take care that they are not killed or maltreated in any way." As this was found among the papers accidentally captured from the enemy, more reliance may be placed on its sincerity and good faith than is due to the flaming proclamations, breathing only peace and mercy, issued by those who are wantonly and unnecessarily exposing an innocent people to all the horrors of war.

RANGOON FORCE.

In our last, we left Sir Archibald Campbell advancing in full force against the enemy, with a proclamation threatening to over-run their whole empire, telling them he had already dispersed their most powerful armies like chaff before the wind. It is to be hoped, for the sake of the lives intrusted to his charge, that his deeds will not be so rash and extravagant as his words, of which there are not wanting some grounds for apprehension. But before we detail the recent transactions, we may notice the extraordinary piece of intelligence received by the way of Singapore, published in the early part of last month. It purported to be the substance of despatches from the Siamese Government to the Resident of that settlement, and the channel through which it had come was described with wonderful precision, so that no doubt of its entire accuracy might remain. The first item of news in this despatch was, "the complete subjugation of the Burman empire by the British forces, and the capture of the golden-footed Monarch with his capital"! There was also a story about "a massacre" having taken place in one of the most considerable of the Burmese towns which had submitted to our arms. The Commander of the forces having received the submission of the inhabitants, and left a garrison in the place, the main body of the army, it is said, were hardly out of sight, when the treacherous Burmans rose upon the soldiers, and put them all *hors de combat*. On hearing of this bloody catastrophe, the General returned, and "put every soul of that town's people to the sword"! This signal vengeance, as might be expected, struck such terror into the rest of the nation, that the whole empire instantly submitted, and was in occupation of the British troops. As this report reached Bangkok, the chief sea-port of Siam, it is said, about the 20th of March, all this must, therefore, have been accomplished in the course of two or three weeks! The army which took possession of a country of such extent, in so short a space of time, was, no doubt, well equipped with seven-league boots for the service. If this be a sample of Siamese despatches, it is hardly worth while to notice another which they are said to have sent to the Bengal Government, offering to lend it assistance against the Burmese with an army of fifty thousand men.

Leaving fiction, and coming to fact, it will be remembered that the Rangoon forces were to advance in two divisions supporting each other: one by land, under Sir A. Campbell himself, and the other by the river, under the immediate command of Brigadier-General Cotton. The latter having left Rangoon early in February, reached Teesit on the 16th, where they destroyed some deserted stockades. On the 21st, they captured two stockades at Paulang, which occupied both banks of the river, as a protection to that place. The troops then pushed on, and taking advantage of the impression made by the capture of the two former, im-

mediately attacked the great stockade of Paulang, which was carried without the loss of a man, the enemy instantly evacuating it. Great advantage has been gained in these affairs by the use of the shells and rockets, which are stated to be the chief cause of any loss sustained by the enemy, and regarded as the best means for saving the lives of our men in such service.

Sir Archibald Campbell, with the land column, which is under his immediate orders, had advanced to Laing, fifty or sixty miles from Rangoon, by the 22d of February, being still three or four hundred miles from the Burmese capital. He then writes, that he had so far met with no opposition, although a strong division of the enemy waited his approach at the old Talien fort of Mophi; but on his making dispositions for an attack, they retired into the jungle. "The Carian inhabitants of the country," he says, "view the expulsion of the Burmese with much satisfaction; their ruined villages and fields laid waste, convince me they must be sincerely happy at the change." Does he imagine them so stupid as not to know that this devastation is occasioned by their invaders? He states, however, that they have received our people with kindness and friendship, and that his proclamation, before noticed, had procured them some assistance "in rice, road-making, and slaughtered buffaloes." Of the latter, it is to be feared, the Burmese generals will take care to leave as few as possible for their enemies. The Kee Woongee (or Governor) of Paulang, on the capture of that place by Brigadier-General Cotton, had retired upon Donabew, where the Burmese force still remained: "With what intention," says Sir Archibald, "I cannot understand; for by all the rules of modern warfare, the position of Donabew is turned the moment I reach the Irrawuddy, either at Saraoo or Naugur." The former of these places, or something like it, (Sarawah,) is laid down on our map to the left of the Irrawuddy, considerably higher than Donabew. "The intervention," he adds, "of a broad and rapid stream, with the want of pontoons, will necessarily prevent me from deriving the full advantage my situation would otherwise give me; but I shall, at least, prevent the Burmese army from crossing to the left bank of the river, in sufficient time to cover Prome. I do not, of course, expect to reach that point without some fighting; but, *to the best of my knowledge*, there is nothing now in my front that could materially impede my progress" It might, however, be impeded not less effectually by the hostile army left in his rear, while he depends on supplies to be sent from Rangoon by the course of the river on which the Burmese forces were encamped at Donabew. As to their position being *turned* by him, it has been observed, the meaning of this phrase is, that the Burmese army, amounting to the formidable number of 50,000 men, is placed between him and Rangoon, from which he started, and is, therefore, cut off from Prome and Amerapoora. It has been well remarked by 'The Times,' that "this is one view of the subject; but that another is, that Sir Archibald Campbell himself has, by the same means, been *turned* and cut off from his own head-quarters of Rangoon." The question then is, whether the British troops, in a hostile territory, are better able to exist without communication with their head-quarters, or the Burmese forces in their own country, without direct intercourse with their capital? In the words of the same writer: "God send our gallant countrymen well through it; but, to common understandings, it does seem a tremendous thing to at-

tempt the invasion of such an immense and unknown country, defended by armies so numerous, at least, if not disciplined, with a detachment of two thousand men."

On the 4th of March, Sir Archibald had reached the town of Sarrawaddy, which is said to be about eight days' march from Prome; that is, supposing the troops to advance at the rate of eight or ten miles a day. Not a shot had been fired; but he was beginning to feel the want of supplies, which, however, were daily expected from Rangoon. These depending on the river being kept open by the water column, his progress was completely checked by the disaster which occurred to Brigadier Cotton's division. Having captured a place called Yang-yon-chu, he proceeded to Donabew, the head-quarters of the Burmese General Bundoolah, which he attacked on the 7th of March, and succeeded in taking the first stockade. He then attacked the second, but was repulsed with great loss, and obliged to make a precipitate retreat on board his boats. In this unfortunate affair, Captains Rose and Cannon were killed, besides three officers wounded, and upwards of 100 men killed and wounded. Brigadier Cotton had, in consequence, dropped down the river a few miles to await for reinforcements from Rangoon under Col. M'Creagh. His Majesty's 45th Foot had arrived there from Ceylon, this being the SEVENTH regiment of King's infantry that had been landed at Rangoon since May 1824! while there were besides TWO with General Morrison in Arracan. On the receipt of the above unfavourable intelligence, Col. M'Creagh was expected to advance immediately to reinforce, according to some accounts, Brigadier-General Cotton; according to others, Sir Archibald Campbell himself. For this purpose he had at last obtained the carriages and bullocks necessary. It is mentioned, that the account of the repulse of our troops at Donabew was conveyed to him "wrapped round a quill, stuck in the ear of a Burman." From this it would seem that our commanders are already reduced to considerable difficulty in keeping up a correspondence with their head-quarters. At the same time, it appears that Sir Archibald Campbell's division was quite in the dark as to the fate of General Cotton's, of which they were collecting rumours from Burmese prisoners. The Royals and some artillery had marched from Rangoon, on the 18th of March, to reinforce the divisions in advance; and Sir Archibald being compelled to retrograde was expected to reach Donabew about the 19th of that month, when it was supposed the place would be regularly invested. Some letters also speak of the Burmese beginning to stockade themselves again in the neighbourhood of Rangoon! Major Sale had taken Bassein, the enemy having previously burnt the town to the ground; and his further progress was retarded for want of provisions. Prince Sarrawaddy, it appears, has undertaken the defence of Prome, while General Bundoolah continues entrenched at Donabew, evidently with the intention of cutting off the supplies of our troops should they penetrate far into the interior. On the whole, it appears that the Rangoon force had taken one month, from the middle of February to the middle of March, to advance less than half the distance to Prome; that it was then compelled to retrograde by the scarcity of provisions, and the strength of the Burmese force left in the rear. Supposing the entrenchments at Donabew reduced without any loss of time, and the army of fifty thousand said to occupy them incapacitated from offering further annoyance, or cutting off supplies, Sir

Archibald Campbell advancing at the same rate, might reach Prome between the middle and the end of April. He would, therefore, commence the siege of that place just at the commencement of the rainy season—a second part to the Rangoon expedition. Are the British troops under his command to be again condemned to be there inactive for five or six months, at a great distance from their supplies, struggling with the combined evils of scarcity, disease, and an adverse climate, and surrounded by a hostile force at least ten times more numerous? For Sir Archibald Campbell to think of maintaining himself during the rains among the marshes of Prome, seems as desperate an attempt as if Napoleon had ventured to winter among the ashes of Moscow.

Letters from Martaban, dated the 18th of February, represent the Siamese as up in arms and in great force in the neighbourhood of that place; where Col. Smith, C. B., commanding the Light Brigade, is delegated for the purpose of communicating with the Siamese Government. They are said to have the greatest anxiety to get possession of that place, either by fair or foul means. But the King of Siam had not ventured to declare his views publicly; the offers of assistance to us being made unofficially by his officers alone; his Majesty thus leaving himself a loophole through which he might escape from the resentment of the Burmese in case of our failure, of which it appears he is still too apprehensive to rely on our friendship.

We subjoin the following short extract of a letter given in the Indian *John Bull*, respecting the capture of Bassein, merely premising that the report concerning Sir Archibald Campbell's proceedings is, as usual, contradicted by subsequent accounts. This is dated Bassein, February 27:—"You cannot expect any account of Bassein, as it is impossible I can tell you what it *was*: it *is* a heap of burning ruins, but was doubtless very strong; some of the townspeople, who do not belong to the Burmese, viz. Arabs, Chinamen, and Madrassees, have come in, and given us much information, but how far it is to be relied on, God only knows; however, they all agree that Sir Archibald Campbell has given Bundoolah a thrashing at Donabew, and has advanced towards Prome. They say that news of Bundoolah's defeat arrived here on the evening we took the two stockades at the mouth of the river, and they heard of our taking the stockades the next morning, which induced the Burmese to destroy the town and run off; they left their heavy guns, and lots of goats and fowls, and at present we are living well. We are all in the dark as to our future destination, and begin to think there is little chance of getting away before the rains set in. As for peace, these gentry do not seem to understand the term; and if they mean to follow up the system of burning all the towns, we shall be miserably off for covering for ourselves and men, who are now living under tents made of sails from the ships."

We may add, that the same policy is adhered to by the Burmese in other quarters. Our troops, as they advance, find the country every where laid waste before them, and sometimes catch a glimpse of the incendiaries employed to finish the work of destruction; a dismal mode of warfare, but the surest for a people thinly scattered over a vast territory, and the most fatal to their invaders.

A letter quoted in the *Bombay Courier*, of the 26th of March, gives the following as the disposition of the troops destined against Amerapoora:—

	Land Div.	Water Div.
H. M. 13th Light Infantry	—	216
——— 38th Regiment	350	194
——— 41st Ditto	250	114
——— 47th Ditto	500	198
——— 89th Ditto	350	144
Madras European Regiment	—	330
9th M. N. I.	330	—
12th Ditto	400	—
18th Ditto	—	236
28th Ditto	389	—
29th Ditto	500	—
30th Ditto	456	—
43d Ditto	450	—
Total	3,975	1,432

The body-guard, which are described as a fine body of men, and well mounted, were to proceed with the land division; but the distribution of the Bengal and Madras artillery was not known.

The following extract from the letter from which we have quoted relates to the Burmese artillery: "When you read in newspapers of wooden guns, you must not suppose that they are actually all wood; and why they are called wooden I am at a loss to conjecture; for out of the three guns taken at the Syriam Pagoda, one had a lining of brass, three inches in thickness, and the other two were lined with iron, all strongly hooped. These are covered with wood, joined together with strong hoops like the staves of a cask. The *brass wooden gun*, which threw the shot that hit me, was as ugly a looking devil peeping through the stockade as I ever saw. They have no embrasures where their cannon are, but cut holes through the stockade, sufficiently large to admit the muzzles of the guns, and as forbidding countenances as they may have, we think being on intimate terms preferable to a distant acquaintance with them." The 47th regiment had lost upwards of twenty men from sickness since its arrival, but the troops are described as all in high spirits.

According to a Calcutta newspaper, (*The India Gazette*,) "The wily Court of Amerapoora have completely succeeded in impressing the minds of the people at large with the idea, that this war is one of wanton aggression on the part of the British power." In this opinion they happen not to differ much from the rest of the world. "The people (it is added) naturally look upon us accordingly in the most hostile light; but it is hoped that they will soon be undeceived." We, too, hope that this writer himself is by this time pretty well undeceived, and has the same correct view of the subject with the Burmese. Another speculation that engaged the Indian Editors was the report that a flag of truce had been sent in to Sir Archibald Campbell, which it was earnestly hoped might lead to a peace. But, unfortunately, the poor Burmese having, in fact, no transgression to atone for, are no doubt much at a loss what sort of proposals to make to their invaders, who have never yet intimated what they would be at. To learn this was the object of the message sent by a prisoner to Sir Archibald Campbell, which is full of reason and simplicity. It expressed a hope that the British forces would now take their departure, and consider them (the Burmese) sufficiently punished by what they had already suffered for the aggression of their countrymen at Shahpuree! Surely no human being can deny the justice

of this humble remonstrance against the miseries we are now inflicting upon a whole empire for a cause so frivolous, that it will hardly bear to be named.

Some interesting particulars regarding the Burmese war have transpired within these fews days, through a letter that has appeared in the *Liverpool Courier*, dated near Rangoon in December last, and supposed to be from an officer of high rank serving with the King's troops on that expedition. After adverting to the length of time which elapsed before our forces were able to advance into the country, he says, the Burmese are "a strange people, and though they can make no head against us whenever we meet them, have contrived to keep us in continual hot water, and to give us a great deal of annoyance." He thus describes their mode of warfare, as practised in their grand attack on the 7th of December:—

"Their system of intrenching themselves is curious: they mark out a line, and every man commences upon it to dig a trench for himself, as long and wide as a grave, about four feet deep, and hollowed out about a foot at the bottom, towards our guns, so that he lies there secure from shot, and even from shell, unless it bursts immediately over him; he has his ammunition and rice with him, and never leaves his hole, except to raise his head and fire, as soon as our guns are discharged. These trenches were all round us, in line, about a foot distant from each other, and from two to ten deep, according to the nature of the ground. Where they approached nearest to us it was like a rabbit warren. Many were bayoneted; but as soon as we got fairly in among them, they ran into the jungle, and were out of sight in a moment, leaving arms, rice, clothes, and every thing behind them."

The harassing nature of the service, which ruined our troops last season, and is probably still destroying an equal or still greater number of our gallant countrymen at the present time, is strikingly depicted in the following passage, referring to an expedition undertaken on the 9th of October last, to avenge the repulse and disgrace sustained by two Native regiments a day or two before, in attacking the stockade of Keitlow, (perhaps, Keiklow.) That failure of the sepoys, recorded in our April Number, and spoken of as requiring explanation, is explained by this officer as arising from this, that "they will not escalade in the face of a fire." In consequence, he states, that "on the 9th, our flank companies, with parties of the 13th and 38th, and some Natives, advanced again upon it. We set out at four in the afternoon, and, in consequence of their having broken down bridges over swamps, through which we had to march almost up to our waists, and cut down large teak trees across the narrow pathways through a thick jungle, we were fourteen hours marching seven miles, when we halted till two o'clock that day. We then set out again, and arrived about one mile from Keitlow at dusk, where we lay upon our arms all night, in a swamp covered with long reed grass as high as ourselves, almost eat up by musquitoes, leeches, and every kind of vermin, from which there was no possibility of closing our eyes, though much fatigued by the excessive heat of a vertical sun, and the jungle being too thick to admit a breath of air." Perhaps only those who have experienced the effects of a tropical climate can form an adequate conception of the dreadful sufferings to which these Europeans were exposed;

and after such a service, for a *single day*, the most dismal accounts of sickness and mortality among them cannot give us the least surprise. From the picture presented in the same letter, as the most favourable example of the health of a corps at the most favourable season of the year, when good provisions were most abundant, the reader may judge what the case must have been in the *sickly* season when there was *no* fresh provisions to be had. The writer says:—

"My regiment has been very fortunate in having so few men in action, though we suffered dreadfully from fatigue and sickness. Since my last, we have lost a major and a captain, and our men are dropping off fast. We have buried 230, and have 120 in the hospital, though, for the last two months, we have had dry weather and fresh meat; yet they talk of our advancing towards Ava. I hope we may; any thing is better than remaining idle here. I never felt better able to undertake a march. I have, as yet, felt no inconvenience from the climate. You have, of course, heard of the war before this, and I suspect it will cause some sensation in Leadenhall-street, as, from appearances, it will be the most expensive speculation they have had on hand for some time."

OPERATIONS IN ARRACAN.

Advices have been received by the *Albion*, Captain Swainson, who left Calcutta on the 17th of April last, of the capture of Arracan, capital of the Burmese province of that name, by the forces under General Morrison, on the 31st of March last. The following account is given in Symes' Embassy to Ava of this place, which is situated in lat. 20. 40. N., and long. 93. 5. E.—"This town and fort," says Symes, "were taken by the Burmans in 1783, after a feeble resistance. They found a considerable booty, but on nothing was a higher value placed than an image of Gaudma, (the Gautama of the Hindoos, a name of Buddha,) made of brass, and highly burnished. The figure is about ten feet high, and in the customary sitting posture, with the legs crossed and inverted, the left hand resting on the lap, the right pendent. This image is believed to be the original resemblance of the Reeshe (saint) taken from life; and it is so highly venerated, that pilgrims have for centuries been accustomed to come from the remotest countries, where the supremacy of Gaudma is acknowledged, to pay their devotions at the feet of his brazen representative. There were also five images of Raeshyas, the demons of the Hindoos, of the same metal, and of gigantic stature, the guardians of the sanctuary. A singular piece of ordnance, of most enormous dimensions, was also found, composed of huge bars of iron, beaten into form. This ponderous cannon measured thirty feet in length, two-and-a-half in diameter at the mouth, and ten inches in the calibre. It was transported by the Burmans to Amerapoora by water, as a military trophy; and Gaudma, with his infernal guards, were, in like manner, conveyed to the capital, with much pomp and superstitious parade."

We cannot give any particulars respecting the capture of this city; but letters from General Morrison's camp, dated the day previous, (March 30th,) mention that the place was then closely invested, the Burmese being strongly posted on the summit of the surrounding hills, which completely command the fort.

The details have now reached us of the reverse sustained by Commo-

dore Hayes's squadron, reported in our last; and the loss proves to be not quite so serious as was supposed. Having received information which induced him to believe that the principal Mug Chieftains (that is, the Native Chiefs of the country kept in subjection by the Burmese) were confined at Chambala, a stockade garrisoned by about 1000 men, half a tide from the capital; and conceiving that the liberation of these men would prove of essential service to the advancing army, he determined on attacking the work. He accordingly, on the 23d of February, stood up the branch of the river leading to Arracan, with the *Research* and *Vestal* cruisers, and several gun-vessels, having on board one company of the 54th regiment. At 2, P. M, they came in sight of the enemy's works, from which a heavy fire was soon opened upon the *Gunga Saugor* and the *Vestal*, which led the van. The *Research* getting within half-pistol-shot, commenced a heavy cannonade and fire of musketry upon the stockade and breast-work, which was returned by the enemy with great regularity and spirit. On ranging to the northern end of the stockade, with intent to anchor and flank it, as well as to allow the other vessels to come into action, the Commodore found his ship raked from forward by another stronger battery and stockade, of which they had no previous information. After a severe engagement of two hours' duration, the tide beginning to fall, the Commodore was obliged to wear round, and drop down the river. The *Research*, *Asseergurh*, *Asia*, *Felix*, and *Isabella*, took the ground, and remained fast for several hours near the batteries, but the enemy made no attempt to fire at or molest them. We deeply lament to state that Major Schalch fell mortally wounded, about half an hour after the action commenced. Mr. Rogers, second officer of the *Research*, was killed, with three privates of his Majesty's 54th regiment; while two of the same regiment were wounded; and about thirty of the crews of the different vessels engaged, received wounds more or less severe.

One of the intelligence Hurkarus, and a principal Mug zumeendar, who escaped from the Chambala during the confusion which followed the attack, report, that the enemy's works were of far greater strength than had been supposed, consisting of three large stockades, garrisoned by about 3000 of the best Burmese soldiers, besides Mugs pressed into the service.

In addition to the above, the accounts from Arracan of the 30th of March, state that this fortress (Chambala stockade) had been evacuated by the enemy, and afterwards totally destroyed by the gun-boats.

SYLHET FORCE.

We have already stated, that the prediction of failure in this quarter, noticed in our two last Numbers, has already been verified. Accounts from Banskandy, in Cachar, dated the 26th of March, state, that the rains had fairly set in, and that military operations were consequently at an end for the present season, and till next November. Gumbeer Singh, the Rajah of Cachar, supported by the British, was to remain at Banskandy with his force of Munnipoorees, about 1200 strong; while a corps, under Captain Dudgeon, would occupy a position in advance towards Sylhet, and in this manner, it is said, keep up a communication between Sylhet and Banskandy. We need not expatiate upon this

failure, which has been so long expected by every one except the Indian Government. It is disgraceful only to those who planned the expedition, as it shows their total ignorance of the country they have undertaken to conquer, if not incapacity for the duties of generals and statesmen. The troops seem to have exerted themselves with the most exemplary patience and fortitude; but they could not conquer impossibilities. All their labours and privations for so long a time, cutting through a huge and almost impenetrable jungle, proved entirely fruitless, although no enemy opposed them, but the natural obstacles of the route laid down by their commanders; for the moment the rains set in, the roads they had formed with so much industry became a perfect quagmire; the cattle, as well as the men, were fast falling victims to the climate. We should, therefore, applaud General Shuldham for at last sounding a retreat, as the wisest part of his military operations, if it were not that we believe he had no alternative, unless he had determined to push his men on till he left them to perish, literally sticking in the mud. The following facts, stated in a letter dated from Cachar, March the 11th, will give an idea of the difficulties our troops had to encounter:

"The state of the road through the forest," says the writer, "now beggars all attempt at description: the rain that fell during February made it so soft, that the cattle sunk, and could not extricate themselves without assistance. Attempts were made to repair the road by putting grass and reeds over the worst places. The necessity of supplying the local battalion and pioneers with provisions became daily more urgent; and as many of the elephants were already done up, and about 300 bullocks lost in the mud, a supply was sent forward by coolies (porters, or bearers of burdens). A thousand are said to have been sent, and out of which only 250 reached their destination." What, then, became of the other three-fourths? Did they perish in the swamps and nullahs, or make their escape with life from so dreadful a service? The fate of the unfortunate cattle is plainly stated: "Fancy the bullocks up to their backs in a quagmire; some that succeeded in throwing their loads, struggled out of the mud, and only escaped a miry grave to die on the road-side. Many elephants, public as well as private, have been lost. No means that could be devised in such weather would be of any avail. Troops, accompanied by artillery, and dependent on cattle for the carriage of their supplies, cannot move after such a deluge of rain." The Company's forces, although not a single hostile shot was fired to interrupt their progress, having been unable, in one season, to penetrate more than one-half, or, perhaps, one-third the distance between Sylhet and Munnipore, the Indian Government may now be somewhat better satisfied of the natural strength of its eastern frontier, which Lord Amherst has so wisely undertaken to mend.

MADRAS.

It is well known that the Burmese war is by no means popular among the higher circles at the second Indian Presidency; and that, although obliged to bow to the superior authority, they have made every exertion to alleviate the sufferings of those whom they could not save from the misfortune of being engaged in this ruinous struggle. On the 22d of February, a theatrical entertainment was given by the amateur performers, under the patronage of Lady Munro, "for the benefit of the

widows and orphans of the European soldiers of the Madras army who have suffered in the Burman war." The play selected was well suited to the occasion, namely, 'The Road to Ruin'! and the receipts of the evening were about 2000 rupees.

Reiterated, but unavailing, attempts have been made to induce the British community at Madras to come forward in aid of steam-navigation between England and India. But the leaden weight of the censorship, which has so long hung over the public mind there, seems to have produced a total apathy as to all public improvement; and the sister Presidency of Bombay is much in the same situation.

As the medical gentlemen at Madras are of opinion that the hedges of prickly pears, with which that city abounds, have a pernicious influence on the health of the inhabitants, it is proposed now to clear away such jungle, which has been allowed to attain there so noxious a predominance.

BOMBAY.

The accounts from this Presidency present various details of operations against certain refractory chieftains. A squadron of the 7th Light Cavalry, 300 men of the 44th Regiment of Madras Native Infantry, and some other troops, were despatched, about the 21st of February, to demand the surrender of the fort of Omraiz, near Sholapoor, which had been occupied by some "rebels" under a petty chief, who had been committing some acts of depredation in the neighbourhood. Having arrived before the place about day-break next morning, they summoned it to surrender. This being refused, an attack was commenced, and the outer gate was blown in. An inner one was, after some delay, served in the same manner; whereupon Captain Hutchinson and Ensign Ramsay, with twenty sepoys, effected a lodgment inside; but the door-way was too narrow to admit the gun to be brought through to burst the third gate. In pushing through the second, which was completely exposed to the fire from the fortress within, the party sustained a severe loss. Lieut. Phillipson, of the 44th, was killed, and Lieut. Milnes, of the 7th Light Cavalry, wounded. There being no scaling-ladders, or other means of storming the place, the troops were withdrawn, and encamped at a short distance from the village. The day following, Lieut. Collet raised an advanced battery, and was preparing to attack the place by escalade, when he found it had been evacuated during the night. What is it that has driven these people to offer resistance to the Government? As to this, of course, the Indian press dare not utter a syllable. When we hear of hundreds of men being shot in the country, it is enough for us to know that the Company's servants call them "rebels," and think it proper to treat them accordingly. After the example of Barrackpore, a writer in the 'Bombay Gazette,' (March 23,) thinks the system of wholesale extermination might be introduced with great advantage in the western side of India. He means to begin with a turbulent race of men called coolies, who seem to feel very uneasy under the Company's yoke. Speaking of the country in the neighbourhood of Deesa, the 'Gazette' observes: "Cultivation is said to be now carried on more extensively than formerly, and would be still more so, if it were possible to *exterminate* the refractory coolies, of whom the coombies (or cultivators) are in constant dread. Our Correspondent informs us, that were it not for these marauders, the country would be in a higher state of cultivation, and

more productive than any other under this presidency." Is the Company's system so defective, then, even in the solitary good quality of a despotism, that of preserving order, that its industrious, peaceful subjects live in constant apprehension of lawless plunderers? Has it overthrown the Native governments, and disarmed the people of all political power, to leave them, as its partisans here confess, a helpless prey to rapine and murder! Several sharp skirmishes had taken place between detachments of the force stationed in the northern division of Guzerat and these coolies, whose depredations caused so much distress to the cultivators, "until the activity of the officer commanding in *that district*, in constantly pursuing them, had obliged most of them to seek refuge in parts where opposition was less likely to be met with." This seems to imply that there are other districts under the command of other officers, where, from a want of similar activity, the coolies are likely to meet with little molestation; and, it is added, the nature of the country is so favourable to their secreting themselves, that all endeavours for *extirpating* them entirely have proved ineffectual. On the 5th of March, it being ascertained that a number of these bandits had assembled at a village called Vitleepoor, about six miles from the camp at Kooksa, and not far from Duddanoor, a party of cavalry and infantry surrounded the place, and having killed about fifteen of them, the rest, forty-three in number, who submitted, were made prisoners.

It is stated in the 'Bombay Courier,' that the late earthquake at Manilla had caused the loss of the French frigate that had come out to Cochin China and Macao, and also of several other vessels.

COCHIN CHINA.

The 'Bengal Hurkaru,' of the 3d of April, has an item of intelligence received by a Cochin Chinese junk, which had just arrived at Calcutta. It is reported, that the Government has this season prohibited the exportation of rice, in consequence of an apprehended scarcity. Similar rumours are in circulation respecting Siam, and the consequence is, that the price of rice has began to rise considerably in the market, and it is not improbable will attain an unusual height in the course of the season. By this opportunity it is ascertained, that Messrs. Vannier and Chaigneau, the two French gentlemen who have so long resided in Cochin China, and are Mandarines of high rank in that country, are at present at Saigon, where they have freighted two junks to convey themselves and families to Bengal on their final return to France. M. Vannier has resided upwards of thirty-six years in Cochin China, and M. Chaigneau above thirty. They are both persons of great respectability and intelligence; and it gives us pleasure to be told that they are returning to France with ample fortunes. M. Chaigneau, who made a short visit to France about four years ago, is Consul-General of the French nation in Cochin China.

SINGAPORE.

The following brief narrative of a recent occurrence, affords a just illustration of the character and manners of the inhabitants of the Eastern Archipelago:

"Accounts had been received at Singapore of the death of Raja Bey, an enterprising Malay chieftain, connected by blood with the family of the Kings of Indragiri, but still more illustrious by his deeds of former years

as a noted pirate. He quitted this settlement, where he had resided for some time back, about four months ago, in consequence of having fallen into disrepute for a murder alleged to have been committed by him about a year ago, when he had been sent in quest of the late unfortunate Mr. Thornton and his companions. From Singapore he went to Traingann, and from thence to Kalantan, at which last place, upon his arrival, some of his companions having landed and mentioned his name, well known in the annals of depredation, some traders of Kalantan upbraided him as a pirate. His followers resented the affront: Raja Bey himself landed to second their efforts; krises were immediately drawn, and the affray ended in a few moments by the death of the Chieftain, of eight of his followers, and of five or six of the people of Kalantan. The Raja of that place, on hearing of the rank of Raja Bey, ordered him a suitable funeral. Events of this nature, which are far from being of unfrequent occurrence, afford fair examples of the anarchy and violence which characterise the state of society under the genuine Malayan governments. Raja Bey was, in person, of a slender but active form, and possessed of great courage. About two years ago he performed a feat in the neighbourhood of this settlement, which gained him great repute. Accounts had been received of a gang of Malays, who had murdered some Chinese whom they had taken on board their boat as passengers. Raja Bey offered, for a small consideration, to apprehend the murderers, and bring them, bound hand and foot, to this settlement. He kept his word, and delivered up the offenders in forty-eight hours."

SUMATRA.

Accounts have been received at Antwerp from the East Indies, that Col. Stuers, Resident and Military Commander at Padang, is appointed Commissioner of the Government to take possession, in his Majesty's name, of Fort Marlborough and of Bencoolen, ceded to the Dutch in the late treaty. The expedition consists of a corvette and a brig, with 400 men on board. As soon as the Dutch flag is hoisted at Bencoolen, Mr. Stuers will go to Natal, to unite that also with their possessions; by which the whole of the west coast of Sumatra, which they formerly shared with England, will be subject to their authority only. Perfect tranquillity prevailed at Padang when the letters came away.

ISLE OF FRANCE.

With the gratification all must feel in recording any effort made in the cause of humanity, we insert the following extract of a letter from this island, dated Port Louis, 19th May 1825:—"On Christmas-day we were sailing along the land from Fort Dauphin; and when opposite to St. Lucie, Captain Chapman (of the *Ariadne*) perceived a small schooner at anchor close in shore. He continued his course until he had to pass a small island, which prevented this stranger vessel from seeing the *Ariadne*. Then, having two boats already prepared, he immediately despatched them with directions to pass on different sides of the island, to prevent escape in case it should prove to be a slave vessel, as he suspected. The instant the boats appeared in sight of the schooner she made sail, and, finding it impossible to get away, she was run ashore, and the master, with the crew, made their escape in their boat; but not until they had inhumanly thrown overboard a number of slaves,

several of whom were drowned, but the greater part picked up by the prompt assistance of the *Ariadne's* boats, and recovered by the timely aid of the surgeon. One hundred and forty-seven slaves were altogether found and taken on board the frigate. The slave schooner *(Walter Farquhar)* could not be got off, as she proved to be bilged or scuttled, and the water over her cabin floor. She had no papers, and her only flag was a red one, with a dagger horizontally. She went to pieces the following morning, but some of her materials were saved, and these, with the poor slaves, have been condemned in the Vice Chancellor's court."

We cannot resist the temptation to insert here the following intelligence from an American Paper, although not coming within the scope of this publication. It is connected, however, with the same subject as the above, and deserves to be known in every quarter of the globe :—

" A gentleman in Virginia recently liberated 88 slaves, and paid their passage to Liberia. This munificent example of benevolence, which puts to shame the wordy zeal of a thousand theorists in piety and philanthropy, has been followed by a reverend gentleman in North Carolina, who has just liberated 11 of his slaves for the same purpose. This voluntary mode of putting an end to slavery will, we hope, find increasing proselytes. It violates no rights, real or imaginary; it inflicts injury on no interests or feelings; it displays a spirit worthy of the freest people in the world; and it proves to demonstration that, while we are tenacious on the subject of our own freedom, we are desirous of extending its blessings to all classes of the human race, even at the sacrifice of some of our own personal interests.

" The value of these negroes, at the prices now going, might be estimated at about 26,000 dollars! and Mr. Minge expended previous to their embarkation, about 1,200 dollars in purchasing ploughs, hoes, iron and other articles of husbandry for them, besides providing them with clothes, provisions, groceries, cooking utensils, and every thing which he supposed they might require for their comfort during the passage, and for their use after their arrival out. He also paid 1,600 dollars for the charter of the vessel.

" But Mr. Minge's munificence did not end here: on the bank of the river, as they were about to go on board, he had a *peck of dollars* brought down, and calling them all around him, under a tree, distributed the hoard among them, in such sums, and under such regulations, that each individual did or would receive seven dollars.

" Mr. Minge is about twenty-four or twenty-five years of age, unmarried and unincumbered in every respect; possesses an ample fortune, and has received the benefits of a collegiate education at Harvard University.

" A gentleman of wealth near the city of Richmond, has lately emancipated about sixty slaves, and made provision for their removal and future support. This is the fourth case of the emancipation of slaves in our Southern States which we have been called on to record within the last three weeks."

The only other item of intelligence from the Isle of France is, *apparently*, of a description almost too ludicrous to follow what has been already given; but the order alluded to has, no doubt, utility for its object :—" Sir Gilbraith Lowry Cole, the Governor of the Mauritius, has issued a singular proclamation from the Government House, Port

Louis, requiring proprietors of estates, lessees, and other occupants, to deposit, at the civil commissaries of their respective quarters, in the course of the year, *ten* birds' heads, or *twenty* rats' tails, at their option, for every slave in their possession. The birds' eggs, young birds or rats found and destroyed in their nests, shall be counted in common with others. A penalty of six sols is fixed on every bird's head and rat's tail not furnished. Every head of an ape or monkey shall be received as equivalent to six rats' tails, or twelve birds' heads. All those races are considered destructive to the harvest and culture on the island. The story of Whittington and his cat, after this circumstance, ought no longer to be considered a romance."

NEW SOUTH WALES.

One of the most singular transactions we have yet had to record in the annals of our colonial history, has lately occurred at this settlement. It is said to have originated in the dangerous power possessed by the local government of raising or depressing at pleasure the price of produce. Having suddenly lowered the rate to a sum below what would remunerate the colonists, the latter diminished their cultivation, and the stock in the colony was engrossed by capitalists speculating on the natural revulsion of the market, when the supply should fall short of the demand. The first effect of this measure was to ruin a great proportion of the smaller farmers, and advertisements of sales under execution soon filled the Sydney Gazettes. When the property had got chiefly into the hands of a few opulent monopolists, and the diminution in the quantity of produce began to be felt, the prices of wheat speedily advanced from four to fourteen, sixteen, and twenty shillings per bushel. In order to ward off the impending famine threatening to result from its rash measures, the Government chartered a ship (the *Almorah*) to Batavia, for a cargo of sundries; and she returns laden with dollars, flour, rice, sugar, wheat, and *tea*. The latter *fatal* ingredient brings the Australian state into new troubles. For it unfortunately happens that the Island of Java is within the limits of the East India Company's charter, which confers on that favoured body the right of trading in tea to the exclusion of all other British subjects. The commercial lords of Leadenhall-street might probably have thought that the felons of Botany did not deserve to be supplied with that precious beverage. At any rate the colonial government is stated to have wanted a supply for the prisoners victualled at its expense. Three hundred quarter chests were therefore included in the cargo of sundries imported from Java. The officers of his Majesty's ship *Slaney*, which was guarding the entrance of Sydney Cove, having scented this forbidden fruit, on the arrival of the *Almorah*, the First Lieutenant, accompanied by a boat's crew, proceeded on board, clapped a lock on the hatches, and declared the vessel a lawful prize. Negotiations, by despatches telegraphic and post, were immediately commenced between the Government and the captors. The Captain of the man-of-war declared it to be his duty to seize the ship on behalf of the East India Company. The Governor is supposed to have disclaimed all participation in the cargo of the vessel, except in so far as regards the rice; but this rests on anonymous authority. The cargo is altogether said to be very valuable, and is thus described in an Australian paper:—" The dollars, it has been asserted, amount to twenty-five thousand pounds;

there being, according to many accounts, fifty boxes, each containing two thousand dollars. We have heard, indeed, that one hundred thousand are actually entered in the manifest. The wheat cost at Batavia about twenty shillings a bushel; and we have been assured that this article will at any time fetch, in the Batavian market, full twelve shillings a bushel; if this be true, it is well worth the attention of the Australian farmer, who may be sure of a remunerating price; and in this respect has a very great encouragement given him for the cultivation of his land. Treasury bills obtained a premium of seventeen and eighteen per cent., which amply pays for the whole expense of sending for them, including commission, freight, &c., the rate of exchange here averaging between fourteen and fifteen per cent. The tea was bought tolerably cheap, it having cost only one shilling a pound; it is black tea. The rice is supposed to be worth about fifteen shillings per bag. There are some private investments on board. The Captain had a small venture of dollars. All these small matters share the fate of the rest, and are liable to fall a sacrifice to the prize takers, along with the ship and the tea!"

The Government, being very anxious to arrange the matter so that the provisions at least might be available for the use of the colonists, proposed to the captors that the cargo should be landed, with the exception of the tea, and that treasury bills, to the value of the whole, should be be placed in the hands of the Colonial Treasurer, to abide the decision of the question in a court of competent jurisdiction, and that Captain Mitchell, commander of the *Slaney*, should give a bond to the value of the tea retained in the ship. Captain Mitchell agreed to these proposals, on condition that the bills should be lodged in the bank instead of in the hands of a Government officer. This condition was rejected on the part of the Government. The *Almorah* accordingly prepared to go to sea; it being resolved to carry her to Calcutta, for trial and condemnation there, within the empire and stronghold of the Company; as the Supreme Court of New South Wales was not considered to possess competent authority. This opinion, at least, is attributed to the Colonial Attorney-General, who is made, however, according to the account, to act a very ambiguous part: for at one time he is represented as giving such an opinion for the captors,—at another, as proceeding against them in person, acting in behalf of the charterers of the vessel. We are told that "The Attorney-General, in the early part of the week, formed an opinion that very strong measures would be justifiable on the part of the Government, in re-capturing the cargo, and rescuing it out of the hands of the *Slaney*. In consequence of this opinion, a warrant was applied for, and obtained from the Superintendent of Police; and with this the Attorney-General proceeded in a boat towards the ship. Those on board, in order to avoid being taken by surprise, warned all boats off, and would allow none to come alongside. Several boats made to her, but when they persisted in nearing, some show of firing was made from on board, by letting off a few blank cartridges. The boat in which the Attorney-General was proceeding, when within hail, was waved to like the rest, and *saluted* like the rest; those on board, of course, not knowing whom any of the boats contained."

So here is something like a civil war breaking out in the southern continent, and arising from a dispute about the same commodity with which commenced, little more than half a century back, the ruinous struggle

that ended in depriving Great Britain of her splendid possessions in the *then* "New World." The Paper from which we quote speaks of the Attorney-General, not as discharging a legal function on this occasion, but as "the commander of a boarding-party," proceeding to take the vessel by storm,—a singular service for the chief law-officer of the crown. Extravagant as such a notion is, in this light, however, the Captain of the *Slaney* seems to have viewed the matter. Legal steps were then taken to make this gentleman produce a surety to answer an information for aiding and abetting in the discharge of muskets supposed to be loaded against the Attorney-General and his party; for it only rests on report that he caused his men to fire blank cartridge. For this assault he is to stand his trial; and it remains to be seen whether he will plead that he was acting in self-defence against the apprehended illegal and piratical attempts of his Majesty's law-officer! The *Sydney Gazette* indulges in the following strain of irony on the occasion:—

"We do hope, for the honour of human nature, that no such sanguinary project was ever contemplated as the employment of actual force to recover the *Almorah*. If the regiments had received orders to be under arms, or if, for an instant, it had been thought advisable to open the batteries, the movement of Captain Mitchell, in sending her to Point Piper, if an accidental circumstance, was a merciful interposition of Providence; if a precaution, was a perfect masterpiece in tactics, and merits the approval of everybody. It is impossible to foresee how far he might have deemed it necessary to sacrifice his humanity to his duty—his commission to save the lives of his fellow-subjects. But it is also impossible to conjecture what the impulse of the moment might have dictated, notwithstanding the horror he felt at the mere mention of a collision between the King's land and the King's sea forces. There is no knowing to what pitch of folly and crime the rage of disappointment may stimulate a frantic mind; but it can hardly be conceived that the firmness of Captain Mitchell could have urged his opposers, in a moment of excitement, to commit themselves by a contrivance which, under any circumstances like the present, might have led to the shedding of blood. The ship, *primâ facie*, was a legal seizure, and Captain Mitchell had legal possession until it was shown to the contrary, not by the warrant of a justice of the peace, even though in the hands of the Attorney-General; not by a constable's staff; not by fixed bayonets and nine-pounders,—but by means of a civil measure in a competent court of law."

The Deputy Commissary-General and his assistant (how implicated is not stated) have been arrested, under a special order from the Chief Justice, for 70,000*l.*, being double the estimated value of the *Almorah* and her cargo. Captain Mitchell's trial was postponed, it is stated, until process of outlawry could be duly had against Mr. Matthews, the person, we believe, acting as Captain of the *Almorah*, who, in the eye of the law, is now to be considered the principal in the affair, as having forcibly carried her off for Calcutta.

The proceedings of those who made this seizure have been well characterised, we think, as "rash, violent, injurious to the interests of the colony, and highly disrespectful to the executive Government," especially considering the reasonable terms of adjustment that were offered [illegible] rejected; when ample security was proposed to the captors for [illegible] value of the cargo, should it be ultimately condemned, if they would

allow it to be landed for the use of the colonists. Notwithstanding the apparent ultra zeal shown by Captain Mitchell in defence of the privileges of the East India Company, that body will not thank him, we apprehend, for pressing their monopoly upon the attention of the public, in a manner which shows so strikingly its monstrous character.

The same vessel has brought accounts of a civil war of another description, at this settlement. Several serious affrays have happened between the inhabitants of Sydney and the military stationed there. How the feeling of hostility between them first originated is not mentioned; but it was aggravated by an order, warning the townsmen not to trust the soldiers for liquor more than the amount of a day's pay. The men, having received some previous provocation, stimulated by anger and thirst, sallied forth from their barracks, (having armed themselves secretly with bayonets,) and commenced an indiscriminate attack upon all they met, entering houses, demolishing doors and windows, and cutting and maiming every adult of either sex that came in their way. At least twenty persons received bayonet wounds, many of those so assailed being in their own houses at the time; and the police-office, next day, exhibited the appearance of an hospital after a general engagement. People covered with blood and bandages, their arms in slings, and faces covered with plasters, came forward, for several hours in succession, to state cases and make depositions; and many more were prevented from attending by severity of their injuries. Two lives only were considered to be in danger.

A misunderstanding is also stated to exist between the naval officer at Hobart Town and the mercantile community there, owing to the restrictions enforced by him upon trade, Another paragraph mentions that the Lieutenant-Governor has refused to confirm the appointment, by the Governor, of Mr. Murdoch as naval officer of Van Dieman's Land; alleging as a reason, that the appointment interfered with his high prerogative. The nomination of a person to fill that office has, it appears, hitherto been left to the Lieutenant-Governor.

A letter from New South Wales, dated in March last, published in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 19th ultimo, after stating that much distress and discontent has been produced in the colony by a system of false economy on the part of Government, ruinous both to agriculture and commerce, thus sums up:—

" And to what purpose have the *anticipated* savings (the *actual* saving has been none) been applied by his Majesty's ministers, before, even in the most fortunate issue of their measures, a fund could be realized from them? Not to the promotion of public measures beneficial to the colony, but to the purpose of its conversion into a long-backed horse, and of burthening it with numerous riders; to the creation of various unnecessary offices, with large salaries attached, as a provision for hungry ministerial dependents! Thus has the colony been first impoverished, and then saddled with a heavy *onus*, to which its strength and resources are utterly incompetent. For example, the former Colonial Treasurer, then denominated Treasurer of the Police Fund, whose integrity in that office was unimpeached and unimpeachable, and who received for the performance of its duties the sum of 100*l.* sterling per annum, has been displaced, to make way for a Mr. Balcombe, of St. Helena notoriety, with a salary of 1200*l.* per annum, an allowance of 150*l.* for a clerk, and 150*l.* for a house! Illustrious specimen of financial economy! Then, we

have an Attorney and Solicitor-General—a Commissioner of the Supreme Court—a Master in Chancery—a Sheriff, with 1200*l.* per annum —and a variety of subordinate officers, although the colonists are not considered yet sufficiently advanced in morals or civilization for the introduction of 'trial by jury;' a boon which, I think, might reasonably be expected, in return for the heavy burthens with which they are oppressed by these new and costly appointments."

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Accounts from this settlement have been received extending to the 11th of June, the substance of which has been given as follows, in the *Globe and Traveller* Evening Paper:—

"An order in council from England had been received in that colony, which has thrown the inhabitants into the greatest consternation. The paper-money in circulation was in rix-dollars at 4*s.* each. The order from England is, that the payment for this currency is to be made in new coin, (shillings and sixpences,) at the rate of one shilling and sixpence for each rix-dollar. Thus the inhabitants find their property depreciated in the most alarming manner; the merchant worth 20,000*l.* in one day is reduced to 7,000*l.*; and every species of property and merchandise in the colony is reduced in the same proportion. The alarm was so great, that all the inhabitants simultaneously proceeded to the Governor, praying him to stay the order in council, as the British Government had no doubt been misled by some monstrous misrepresentations. His Excellency stated that his orders were peremptory, and he accordingly issued the proclamation. It ought to be observed, that at the capitulation of the colony to the British arms, the currency (then amounting to two millions of rix-dollars) was recognised and guaranteed; and in 1810 the English Governor issued another million of this paper, which, taking into calculation the rate of exchange, produced to the coffers of Government the value of about three shillings and sixpence per rix-dollar.

"The order of council, under these circumstances, is most extraordinary, and, if persisted in, will bring the greatest calamities on the inhabitants. Immediately on the receipt of this intelligence in the city, the merchants met to deliberate, and they will no doubt represent the whole circumstances to the ministers. The next arrival from the Cape will bring the memorial of the inhabitants on this important subject. The general meeting was to take place on the 13th of June."

A proclamation has been issued at this colony, promulgating an order under the royal sign manual, bearing date the 9th of February last, which directs that a council shall be established for the colony, to "advise and assist in the administration of the government thereof." The Chief-Justice, and five other individuals of the first rank and character at the settlement, are to compose the council and act jointly with the Governor. We are not informed how these new members of Government are to be selected; but at any rate an executive so composed will afford a much better chance for wisdom and justice in public measures, than the mere caprice of one man as formerly. This innovation shows that ministers are sincerely desirous to secure the colonists against such another visitation as the rule of a Lord Charles Somerset. We earnestly hope that, as the powerful hand of ministerial reform has reached the Cape, it will soon be carried a little farther to a country which has still greater

need of it, where, if a remedy be not applied in time, more mischief may be done in one year than the value of all our African possessions put together.

NETHERLANDS INDIA.

A proclamation has been issued by the Duch Indian Government, dated February 28, 1825, imposing an "outward duty" of 2¼ guilders per pecul on all coffee exported in Netherlands' ships to any foreign part; also a duty of 6 per cent. on all goods the produce of places situated in the Eastern Archipelago, belonging to the Netherlands or to *Indian* powers, and people with which the Government of the Netherlands stand on friendly relations; on goods imported direct from those places to Java and Madura in foreign places, without touching at any foreign ports; but when such goods are brought to Java and Madura by foreign ships indirectly, and not without touching at foreign ports, and do not otherwise fall within the above description, then double the amount of duties charged for Netherlands' ships, or inland vessels placed on an equality therewith, shall be paid.

This new regulation of duties has been loudly condemned by some, on the ground that it violates the spirit of the late treaty between us and the Dutch, to secure a participation of reciprocal advantages between the two states; as the duty of 2½ guilders laid on the Dutch bottoms going to foreign ports is said to be merely nominal with respect to them, since they never export but to the Netherlands; whereas the double duty authorized by the *letter* of the treaty will really operate with great severity against the British merchant.

INCIDENTS AND EVENTS IN EUROPE CONNECTED WITH THE EASTERN WORLD.

As it was reported, about a week ago, that an overland despatch had been received at the East India House, we endeavoured, by inquiry among our friends in the City, to ascertain its contents. Nothing, however, has been allowed to transpire; but had the Burmese capital been taken, or the Golden Foot made captive, or peace restored, the news would not have been concealed for a moment. This silence, therefore, is most eloquent and most ominous. The Directors may think that bad news will travel fast enough; and if intelligence of such importance as to be worth sending by an overland despatch, cannot be divulged, it must be bad indeed. It is whispered that Sir Archibald Campbell has been compelled to fall back upon Rangoon, and that the continued ill success of the war has so much endangered our Indian Empire, that it had become necessary to raise ten new regiments.

On another subject the Directors are equally silent,—the destruction of the sepoys at Barrackpore. The proceedings of the Court of Inquiry, which was held so far back as November last, *must* have reached this country: if they have not, what are we to think of the motives of those who have withheld them? Every additional month of concealment and mystery makes this transaction wear a darker aspect; and after the inexplicable delay that has already occurred, the public can hardly regard its authors

and their friends as persons acting with the openness and candour of conscious innocence.

GOVERNORS-GENERAL—PAST, PRESENT, AND TO COME.

THE last month has produced another ponderous volume of papers from the East India House—additional fruits of the late discussions respecting the administration of the Marquis of Hastings. This new Blue Book, which relates to the affairs of Oude, and extends to upwards of a thousand folio pages, is labelled "Papers respecting a Reform in the Administration of the Government of his Excellency the Nawaub Vizier, and the employment of British troops in his dominions, from the 1st of January 1808 to the 31st of December 1815; also relating to the negotiation of the several loans contracted with the Vizier, between the months of October 1814 and May 1815." We need hardly say, that it would require no little time, as well as patience, to peruse with attention this huge mass of documents. Not having yet had sufficient space for so laborious an undertaking, we can only promise to devote to it our first leisure moments; and if, according to the old adage, the truth be in this case contained in a nutshell, we shall endeavour to strip it of the enormous husk which now envelopes it, and present the kernel in such a naked form that it may be digested by our readers.

A dinner was given at Ayr to the Marquis of Hastings, on the 31st of August, for which the public rooms in the County Buildings of that town were fitted up in a very splendid style. The Earl of Glasgow, Lord Lieutenant of Ayrshire, was in the chair: the Marquis of Hastings, the Lord Justice Clerk, Sir Andrew Cathcart, and other distinguished characters took their seats on his left hand; and the Duke of Portland, Lord James Stewart, the Provost of Ayr, Sir James Montgomerie Cunninghame, &c., &c., on the right. Sir D. H. Blair acted as Croupier, with Lord Rawdon and the Earl of Eglinton being seated on his right and left. More than one hundred noblemen and gentlemen of the highest rank and distinction in the county filled the seats surrounding the tables.—The chairman, in proposing the health of the noble Marquis, paid a high tribute to his character as a soldier and statesman, from his earliest services in the American war to the close of his career in India. On the latter he dwelt with the highest praise, saying, "I cannot form a better wish for my country, or for the interests of that great empire which depends on it, than that his system may be pursued in India, and that his spirit may preside over its counsels. I must also wish (said he) to a certain great Company (of which I do not speak with disrespect) a little more gratitude to their most valuable servants—a more gracious and unfettered expression of the high sense they one and all entertain of the noble Marquis's services. But (he added) in the general applause and approbation of his country, in the manly consciousness of having done his duty, in the certainty that history will record, and posterity appreciate, his exalted merit, he has a reward the noblest that ambition can desire or that gratitude can bestow."—In adverting to this part of Earl Glasgow's speech, to which the Marquis of Hastings replied with great modesty, feeling, and elegance, his Lordship observed, that, "when he looked around him, and observed the Noblemen and Gentlemen he addressed, he considered it one of the happiest circumstances of his life to receive their approbation—one of the highest honours to be told by them

he had done his duty. In the management of the immense and complicated concerns of India, many instances of error (he said) must be presumed to have arisen. But, as regarded the Native Princes, there was one line of conduct which could not be mistaken, and if, in pursuing that line, he had pursued those measures which were best calculated for manifesting the admired and munificent generosity of the constitution of this great nation, then probably he might have some claim to their approbation."

This was very well, addressed to an aristocratical assembly; but it would have been more satisfactory to us to hear something of what was done for the permanent improvement of the people. We should be glad to see more importance attached to the amelioration of the condition of our sixty millions of subjects, than to the treatment of some half dozen broken-down Princes. His speech was received with the most unbounded acclamation, and appropriately followed by the song of "Loudoun's bonny woods and braes," to the air of "Lord Moira's welcome to Scotland."

On the arrival of the accounts of the death of Mr. Adam, the Court of Directors, on the 14th ultimo, passed the following resolution, as a tribute to the memory of this old servant of the Company, who, besides other important trusts, had, for a short time, filled the office of Governor-General during the vacancy between the departure of the Marquis of Hastings and the arrival of Lord Amherst:—

"*At a Court of Directors, held on Wednesday, the* 14*th September*, 1825,

"Resolved unanimously,—That this Court having received the melancholy intelligence of the death of Mr. John Adam, on his passage from India to this country, desire to record in the strongest terms their deep sense of his exemplary integrity, distinguished ability, and indefatigable zeal, in the service of the East India Company, during a period of nearly 30 years; in the course of which, after filling the highest offices under the Bengal government, he was more than six years a member of the Supreme Council, and held during some months of that time the station of Governor-General. And that the Court most sincerely participate in the sorrow which must be felt by his relations and friends on this lamented event."

Such a mark of respect to an old and faithful servant, is decent, becoming, and to be expected of those to whom he had devoted the greater part of his life, and who can now reward him only by eulogies on his memory. It is natural that they should wish to display the amount of their gratitude by the warmth of their praises, and that others should silently acquiesce in their lamentations, from the sympathy felt for one over whom the tomb has just closed. But this hardly affords an excuse for those, who, yielding to the old but pernicious maxim, of saying nothing but good of the dead, strew flowers over the grave of persons for whom they really feel neither sorrow nor admiration. On the present occasion, a weekly journalist makes the following panegyric on Mr. Adam, which, if sincere, is so contradictory, that the writer can hardly be supposed to understand his own meaning. He says, "though we differed widely with that gentleman on the policy of many of his measures, yet it is only justice to him to say, that in him the Company have lost a servant, whom it will be difficult, if not impossible to replace, with one of equal talent and integrity. To a mind of extraordinary powers, he added

a zeal and assiduity in the duties of his high station, not often to be met with in our Eastern dominions." Now, by great "powers of mind," and high "talents," as here attributed, we should understand the capacity of forming just opinions; and by "integrity," an honest and conscientious reduction of these to practice. But the writer condemns his measures, and therefore denies either the justice of his opinions, or the honesty of his practice; thus leaving the "talents and integrity" no ground to stand upon.

He mentions, in the same column, some circumstances connected with Mr. Adam's conduct, as censor of the Calcutta press, equally at variance with the foregoing panegyric. During the Ceylonese war, when it was known at the seat of Government that Sir Robert Brownrigg's affairs were not going on very well in that island, "all extracts of letters from officers on the spot were carefully exscinded from the columns of the journals by the vigilant scissors of the censor of the press; while vague rumours of victories, which never had any existence save in the heated imaginations of those who fabricated them, were treated with consideration and respect by those who were well aware of their fallacy, and carefully preserved for the edification of his Majesty's lieges!"

In bringing forward, at present, this system of misrepresentation, of which Mr. Adam, as censor of the press, was the author, his eulogist seems to think that the systematic practice of deception is as good an example of "integrity" as the formation of false opinions is of great "talents." This shows how much a man may be injured by indiscreet praise. It is only for the purpose of exposing such absurdity that we have said any thing at all on this subject, and with no desire of throwing a reflection on the deceased. His character is already before the public; and for us to pass a judgment on it at the present moment would be invidious as well as unnecessary; therefore silence is preferable, since we owe respect to the feelings of the living, as well as justice to the memory of the dead.

It is now believed that Ministers have at last resolved on the immediate recall of Lord Amherst. It were superfluous to offer any lengthened remarks on this act of justice to their own reputation and to their country; a measure that has been so long and loudly called for by India and by England.

In the early part of last month a rumour was circulated that the Duke of Buckingham was going to India as Governor-General, in the room of Lord Amherst; and although delicacy to the latter may have prevented the change from being as yet formally announced, the London 'Courier,' which is not likely to propagate an error on such a subject, has inserted the following paragraph from the 'Hampshire Telegraph':—"It is reported in the naval circles, that a ship of war, probably the 'Java,' is to be fitted up to take out the new Governor-General to India; and that his Grace the Duke of Buckingham has accepted of that appointment."

STEAM-NAVIGATION TO INDIA.

It is confidently reported in several of the ship-building yards on the River, that the 'London Engineer' steam-vessel, which used to be employed in conveying passengers from London to Margate and back, has been fitted out for, and actually proceeded on, an India voyage. If so, she may possibly anticipate the Enterprize, which has just left England.

We can neither confirm nor deny the above report, but leave it to be judged of from the circumstance stated in our last, that no other steam-vessel but the 'Enterprize' had made the necessary arrangements for fuel. The very general interest which the latter must excite, justifies us in giving insertion to some particulars that have reached us of her progress, after leaving the shores of England :—She was last heard of on the 21st ult., Lisbon then bearing S.E. 25 miles, and going at the rate of eight miles an hour. Captain Johnston, in a letter of that date, says: "I shall keep the steam up till I reach the Trades, I hope on Tuesday next, when I shall be prepared with good sails to take advantage of the wind. All hands are well, and highly delighted. P.S. Sunday, 10 A.M. Lisbon S.E. 25 miles—going eight knots."

AFRICAN MANUFACTURES.

The following piece of American intelligence, leading us to believe in the existence of a vast productive territory and a manufacturing people in the heart of Africa, will not, we trust, prove to be like the accounts of the famous sea-serpents of former years. It is said, that "A cotton shawl, manufactured by Africans from the growth of their own country, has been received at Baltimore. It consists of five pieces, woven three yards in length, and six inches in width, sown together, and is considered a favourable specimen of arts yet in their infancy amongst that rude people. Cotton, of the quality of which this shawl is manufactured, is said to grow in abundance over a tract of country extending to 40 degrees of latitude, and 70 of longitude, inhabited by many millions of naked human beings."

The *Moffat* and *Juliana*, the two ships which carried the first cargoes of tea from China to Quebec, have arrived in the Downs during the past month. In our last Number, it was mentioned that they had arrived the same day in China, the same day at St. Helena, the same day at Quebec; and it is now remarked, that these twin sailers have again arrived on the same day in the Downs. It is stated, that the tea sales had attracted great interest, being the first direct importations from China; the merchants anticipated great benefits from this traffic, and they say they will supply the United States with all articles from the East, particularly as the duties imposed in the United States are heavy. This circumstance had attracted a larger attendance of the merchants of New York, &c. to the Canada tea sales.

REPORT OF HIS MAJESTY'S PRIVY COUNCIL ON THE APPEAL AGAINST THE LAWS FOR LICENSING THE PRESS IN INDIA.

CONTINUED illness has prevented the Editor from accompanying the following report with the appropriate comments for which he had reserved it, in the hope that he should have been able to show that his Majesty's most honourable advisers were not among the wisest of counsellors that could be chosen to surround a throne. He no longer delays to rescue it from the obscurity in which it would otherwise most probably remain among the musty rolls and parchments of office, and to place on record, in a more public manner than

may be agreeable to the descendants of the sage counsellors and legislators from whom it emanates, the decision of the Judges and Senators of England,—that a law which places Englishmen in India below the most degraded of slaves, and forbids them to utter a single syllable but at the will and pleasure of their despotic rulers, is a *good* law, not at all repugnant to the laws of England, neither subversive of liberty nor unfavourable to good government, and therefore ought *not* to be repealed. It should be added, to their shame or honour, as the world may interpret it, that the learned lawyers who taught his Majesty's advisers this doctrine, and urged them to come to this decision, were—Mr. Serjeant Bosanquet, the salaried dependant of the East India Company; Mr. Serjeant Spankie, once the fiercest of democrats, but now the abettor of tyrants, and the framer of this detestable law for the Eastern despots who employed him; Mr. Tindall, a reputed friend of freedom; and Mr. Henry Brougham, on all *other* occasions the advocate of liberty, but, on this, the apologist and defender of the law which deprives *all* his countrymen in India of the freedom of speech and writing, except at the mere will or pleasure of the parties whose conduct may stand in greatest need of those very strictures which he so justly and unsparingly bestows on the conduct of men in authority at home, but which he thus assists to deprive his fellow-countrymen of all power of exercising abroad.

At the Court at Carlton House, June 14th, 1825 ;

Present—The King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council;

Where there was this day read at the Board a Report from the Committee of the Lords of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, dated the 20th of last month, in the words following; namely,—

"Your Majesty having been pleased by your order in Council of the 10th of March 1824, to refer unto this Committee the humble petition of James Silk Buckingham, late of the city of Calcutta in the East Indies, but now of Cornwall Terrace, Regent's Park, in the county of Middlesex, Esquire, setting forth that, on the 4th day of April 1823, the following rule, ordinance, and regulation, made and issued by the Governor-General and Council of Fort-William, in Bengal, received the sanction of the Supreme Court of Calcutta,—that is to say,

(Here followed the rule and ordinance.)

"That the petitioner humbly submits that the said rules, ordinances, and regulations, are likely to produce discontent amongst your Majesty's British subjects resident in India, and amongst the natives of that country, being subversive of property, and calculated to establish arbitrary power, and to deprive of redress any person who may be injured by an improper and illegal use of power in that country; that the said rules, ordinances, and regulations must prevent the extension of knowledge and information amongst the Native inhabitants of India; and that the said rules, ordinances, and regulations are repugnant to the laws of the realm: and the petitioner therefore most humbly appeals against the said rules, ordinances, and regulations, and humbly prays that they may be rescinded.

"The Lords of the Committee, in obedience to your Majesty's said order of reference, this day took the said petition into consideration; and having heard counsel for the petitioner thereupon, and also on behalf of the East India Company, their Lordships do agree to report to your Majesty their humble opinion that the prayer of the petitioner ought not to be complied with."

His Majesty, having taken the said report into consideration, was pleased, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, to approve thereof.

(Signed) Jas. Buller.

MEMORIAL OF MR. SANDFORD ARNOT.

To the Honourable Court of Directors of the East India Company.

Honourable Sirs,

1. I feel it to be a duty incumbent on me to lay before you a representation of the treatment I have experienced from the Right Honourable Lord Amherst, Governor-General of your territories in the East Indies; in the hope that you will be pleased to take into your consideration the losses and sufferings to which a British subject has been exposed, by those acting under the shelter of your authority; which, extending over many millions of human beings in a vast and distant region, urgently requires that the manner in which its exercise affects their happiness, should receive your continual inspection and control.

2. In the year 1819, I was induced to leave my native country in consequence of letters received from a gentleman, (my particular friend, who holds at present several situations under your Government at the Presidency of Madras,) representing British India as one of the finest fields in the world for a person of any education, industry, or enterprise; since the trade had now been thrown open, and the Honourable East India Company, he assured me, gave great encouragement to Europeans generally, and particularly British subjects, to settle and acquire wealth in their extensive and fertile territories; he concluded, therefore, that if I would but make a voyage to India there could be no doubt of my being able to settle myself to my satisfaction in that country.

3. This advice was given to me by one on whose judgment I placed the utmost reliance, and who, I believe, had formed no unworthy conception of the Government of which he was a servant, when he concluded it was willing, that its splendid possessions in the finest countries of Asia, should afford some relief to those whom the distress of the mother-country at that time induced to push their fortunes abroad. Without possessing myself any particular acquaintance with the views and principles of your Government, beyond those which I derived from others of greater experience, I felt satisfied that these were the sentiments which all generous Englishmen would entertain towards the children of the parent state, then labouring under the effects of our long protracted struggle with France.

4. In consequence of these prospects being held out to me, I proceeded to Madras, where my views then lay; but on my arrival there, not finding my expectations realized, I felt no desire to remain, and determined to return to my native country without loss of time. For this purpose I found it would be necessary to go round to Calcutta, which, being a place of greater commercial intercourse than Madras, would afford me more abundant opportunities of proceeding again to England. I therefore arrived in Bengal in July 1820, although at the time of my leaving England it was not my intention to proceed thither at all: and even on my landing at Calcutta I proposed to remain only so long as might be necessary to secure a passage to England, by one of the ships of the season; and I accordingly engaged such passage in a vessel that was bound for London very early in the ensuing year.

5. In the meantime, however, various inducements presented themselves for my remaining in the country; since I found that numerous individuals of all descriptions were living here in great comfort, under the fostering protection of a most mild and indulgent Government. I was accordingly at last persuaded to relinquish the intention of immediately returning to my native country, and consented to rest all my prospects of success in life on a continuance in India. But I could not have resolved, for a moment, on such a step, unless I had been satisfied, from actual observation, that there was no objection on the part of Government to the residence of Europeans in that country. Although in former times when British power in the East had to maintain an arduous struggle with dangerous rivals, and was threatened by the machinations of the French and other enemies, your Government was necessarily jealous of Europeans insinuating themselves into the heart of India; it now appeared

that a total change of circumstances, and more especially the complete security which the political state of India had acquired under the Marquis of Hastings, had entirely done away with all such apprehensions: so that even Frenchmen, as well as other foreigners, were allowed to reside unquestioned and unmolested in different parts of the country, in the interior as well as in the capital of your dominions. This being the case, I need hardly add, that British subjects were more particularly encouraged to repose in the fullest manner on the confidence and protection of your Government.

6. So far from it being conceived that we, the natives of the United Kingdom, were regarded with peculiar jealousy, or prohibited from sharing with other nations the advantages of a residence in these countries of the East, unless specially licensed for that purpose by your Honourable Court, it was notorious that many who possessed no such license, resided in different parts of your territories, and had done so for twenty, thirty, and even forty years past, securely engaging in extensive speculations without the least apprehension of molestation or interference. Instead of any appearance of a law being in force for their proscription, or for the exclusion of strangers generally, no notice whatever was taken by your Government, as far as I could discover, during my residence in the capital, whether the inhabitants of it were natives or foreigners; and if I had felt any scruple on the subject, and wished to report my situation to the public authorities, I am not aware of any public officer who would have taken cognisance of it as a thing at all concerning the Government to know. Consequently, if any rule had ever existed for excluding Europeans in my situation, there was every appearance of its having fallen entirely into desuetude. Unless such had been my belief, founded on the most satisfactory grounds, I would on no account have protracted my stay in the country to throw away, in such a climate, six or seven years of the prime of life. I remained on the faith of having nothing to fear, so long as I conformed to the existing laws and regulations in force in that part of your dominions.

7. I accordingly continued to reside in Bengal till the conclusion of the Marquis of Hastings's government, and also during the administration of his successor the Honourable John Adam, within which period farther observation and experience in the country showed me many new reasons for confirming that confidence in the Government, which induced me at first to settle under its protection. I perceived that no legal distinction existed between persons having, and those not having, a license from your Honourab'e Court, inasmuch as all were alike summoned to discharge the most honourable functions of English freemen—to compose a part of the highest judicial tribunal of the land, (in sitting upon juries,) whose duty it is to decide upon the lives and fortunes of the most eminent individuals in that country, and even occasionally to try questions deeply affecting the Government itself and its chief functionaries. I felt persuaded, that the British Legislature (which has made the Judges of our country independent even of his Majesty) never intended that the jurors, their auxiliaries in this solemn office, should be liable to be treated as felons, and dragged even out of the jury-box, for immediate transportation, possibly because they had done their duty, and thereby given offence to some one whose voice had sufficient influence with the local Government to procure their banishment and ruin; assigning as a reason merely that they were natives of the United Kingdom! This is a situation to which I felt satisfied the British Legislature and your Honourable Court could never mean to expose us, and which was never intended to exist in any country under British Rulers, who could never think of degrading the judicial tribunal in the East or West, by placing on it persons who are the mere slaves of the will of another. This, however, must be the case in India, if it be now considered justifiable to transport individuals settled in that country, merely because they are unlicensed.

8. From the situation which I held in connexion with the public press—from my making, for a considerable time, regular reports of the proceedings in the Supreme Court, and publishing the same in the newspapers, to which my name was attached when requisite; and from my name also appearing in the published lists of British inhabitants liable to serve upon juries, generally circulated throughout India, my residence in Calcutta was not in any way secret or concealed from the public authorities; and it is hardly possible that it could have been unknown to them for several years.

Consequently my conduct and occupation were not found to be in the least objectionable, since no fault whatever was found with me under two successive Governors-General, and these also known to entertain very opposite views of Indian policy.

9. Notwithstanding the sanction which these circumstances, combined with the lapse of several years, seemed to convey; yet in the space of one month after the Right Honourable Lord Amherst assumed the reins of power, his Lordship in Council was pleased to decree my transportation to England, on the ground, that being a native of the United Kingdom, I was residing in India without any proper authority.

10. By this sudden and unexpected decree, I was overwhelmed with the completest ruin and distress; through the confidence which I had placed in the liberality and justice of the Government of India, from the encouragement and protection it afforded to British subjects, which alone had induced me to settle, and afterwards continue under its auspices at a time when it was indifferent to me whether I settled in that or any other country. For if it had been intimated to me on my arrival in Bengal, that my residence in India could not be permitted, I might then easily have complied with such a notice; whereas now, after having made this my home, in which was centered all my views of earthly happiness, this sudden expulsion sent me afloat in the world, an unhappy wanderer, with the destruction of all my prospects in life.

11. The cause assigned by the Right Honourable Lord Amherst, for subjecting me to this heavy punishment, was a certain paragraph in the 'Calcutta Journal,' of the 30th of August 1823, disapproved of by his Lordship in Council, for what reason I am perfectly ignorant. But it was well known to Government, that whatever fault that paper might be supposed to have committed, I was not the person responsible for it, from the following circumstances:—1st, Because agreeably to the regulation regarding the press passed by the Honourable John Adam, the Government had granted to Mr. John Francis Sandys, as its sole editor, a license for the publication of that paper. 2dly, At the departure of the former editor, Mr. Buckingham, from India, he gave intimation to Government that he had appointed the said John Francis S[illegible] his successor, who was to be alone responsible for its conduct in future. 3dly, The Government had from that time kept up a very frequent correspondence with the said Mr. J. F. Sandys. From the whole of which it clearly appears that he was uniformly considered, and officially recognised, as solely responsible.

12. Notwithstanding these facts, the official letter intimating the order for my transportation, assumed as the ground of it, that I was, equally with Mr. Sandys, "the avowed conductor of the paper, and clearly and personally responsible" for what appeared in its pages, as from the pen of the editor. On this unjust assumption it was decreed, that as Mr. Sandys, the real and only editor, being of Indian birth and parentage, could not be banished from the country at the pleasure of the Governor-General, I, who was *not* the editor, being a native of Great Britain, ought to be subjected to that severe punishment in his stead! Although Mr. Sandys could not be banished without a trial, it is far from true that he could not be "subjected to any direct mark of the displeasure of Government which would not equally injure the sharers in the property." Since the Governor-General, when displeased with his mode of conducting the 'Calcutta Journal,' might have ordered it to be transferred to the hands of a new editor; an intimation with which all concerned would have found it necessary to comply, suppression being the well-known penalty of disobedience; and his Lordship might thus at once have spared the proprietors, and deprived the editor of a situation of both profit and respectability—a punishment of no small amount. But this obvious course was not pursued, neither on this occasion, nor a few weeks afterwards when the paper was entirely suppressed for an act of this very conductor, who, however, was still not singly punished. And so far from any anxiety being evinced to save the sharers of the property from loss, because they had not committed the offence, much the largest proprietor being, in fact, many thousand miles distant at the time, they were not allowed to re-establish the publication at all, even under an unexceptionable editor expressly approved of by Government. Having begun by punishing me, it soon afterwards punished hundreds of others for the offences of this same editor, of which they were equally innocent.

13. Not being able to understand how I could be considered as the responsible conductor of a publication, avowed and uniformly acknowledged by Government, to be under the sole editorial responsibility of another; or how, as stated in the official letter, it could be considered justifiable, on such a supposition, to punish me, because I was a native of the United Kingdom, in the room of the actual editor, who was a native of India; I could only imagine that the real ground of the dissatisfaction now manifested towards me, arose from my holding the situation of an assistant in the office of the 'Calcutta Journal,' which had the misfortune to labour under the displeasure of Government. I, therefore, immediately tendered to it, with submission, my solemn promise to cease thenceforth from having any concern directly or indirectly, with that or any other publication within the territories of the Honourable Company; and offered to produce competent securities for my future conduct in every respect, if thought necessary, so as to remove every ground of dissatisfaction by the most prompt and unqualified obedience. This offer was not, however, accepted.

14. I may here observe, that the Government was well aware that it had made it a uniform practice hitherto, when a newspaper gave offence, to look to the responsible Editor alone for satisfaction, particularly in the two late remarkable instances of Mr. Buckingham and Mr. Sandys; since the former was expelled from the country without any punishment whatever being inflicted on those Europeans acting as Assistants to him at the time; and when the latter, Mr. Sandys, being of Indian birth, was found to be not amenable to this mode of coercion, the Honourable John Adam, then Governor-General, far from considering his Assistants responsible for him, thought it proper to enact an entirely new law for the Press, that might enable the Government to punish the Editor himself, whenever it was thought expedient. Consequently, the irresponsibility of an Assistant was distinctly admitted in the most important proceedings of Government regarding the Press, and acted upon very recently in a case of such moment as the passing of a new law affecting the privileges of sixty millions of people, or the whole population of British India.

15. At the commencement of the Right Honourable Lord Amherst's administration, I was the more entitled to consider myself safe in this situation of Assistant; since the Government was conscious that it had compelled the person by whom I was employed to relinquish the personal superintendence of his own concern, and that immediately after his compulsory removal, the laws affecting that species of property had been completely overturned; while the Proprietor being on his voyage to England, was altogether ignorant of these proceedings, and could make no new arrangements for the disposal of his concern, according to the exigencies of the case. Hence it was left entirely to the discretion and fidelity of the agents he had employed, to prevent the property from being completely destroyed in his absence before he could have time to lay his case before your Honourable Board, and from your decision, be enabled to take proper measures for its future management. During this period of suspense, it was to be hoped that the local Government would refrain, through deference to the superior authority, from anticipating that decision by using means in the interim, to undermine and annihilate the property in question, which it was evident must be the result of driving away those in whose hands it was intrusted; since it was not to be expected that any European would thenceforth venture to assist in the management of this concern, if he found that he would thereby render himself liable to the penalty of transportation, even for errors not his own.

16. The same circumstances afforded an extenuation of my fault, if it was considered a fault to be connected with a paper published under the continual sanction of Government, which had always the power of suppressing it at pleasure. Since, in the absence of my employer, if I had been guilty of deserting his concern, when it was placed in jeopardy, while he was incapacitated from providing for its safety, this would have been, in my estimation, the basest treachery; and the same feeling for his interests must have taken away from all concerned in its management, any inclination, had such existed, to give umbrage to the Government. There being no honest alternative left for us but patient perseverance in our respective situations until the pleasure of your Honourable Court could be known, it would seem hard to visit an individual with punishment for a conscientious adherence to his duty.

17. I could not have believed that the Right Honourable Lord Amherst would adopt such measures to destroy a publication so situated, which had uniformly spoken of him and of his government with courtesy and respect; even from the first moment when it was announced that he had been promoted to his present high office, down to this period inclusive. For I humbly submit to the wisdom of your Honourable Court, that even the paragraph quoted as the ground of my transportation, evinces the greatest deference towards the Government, apologizing in the most respectful manner for merely mentioning a past act, although such mention never was supposed to be prohibited by any law or regulation in India (*a*). Indeed, it is impossible to conceive any motive which the 'Calcutta Journal' could have to offer insult to the Government, when the individual at its head, having arrived in the country only a few weeks previously, was not known to have performed one public act to excite a feeling or opinion of any kind regarding him; and the proceedings thus alluded to in the most temporate manner, (though his Lordship in Council was pleased to consider the bare mention of them disrespectful,) were, in fact, the proceedings of a former Governor-General, with the merits of which the present could have had no more personal concern than with that of any act of Warren Hastings, or Lord Clive, or any other fact in history, to which reference might, in the same manner, be made.

18. The paragraph in question had besides this peculiar excuse and justification: attempts being made by the Reverend Dr. Bryce, both through his Magazine and in Pamphlets very widely circulated in India, to bring the proceedings of the Supreme Court of Judicature into disrepute; and the Government having allowed these repeated and flagrant violations of the Press-Rules to go on unchecked, it was to be hoped that his Lordship in Council would with even-handed justice between the Court and its accusers, indulge others with the same license of replying to those publications, which were calculated, if left unanswered, to bring the administration of justice into contempt. The 'Calcutta Journal' felt it to be its duty to make a stand in defence of the Court against these attacks of Dr. Bryce; and that in so doing, it performed an act of public justice, seems admitted by the Government itself, which, as I am informed, afterwards reprimanded Dr. Bryce severely for the very same writings which the 'Calcutta Journal' censured. They might, however, have passed unnoticed, had not this publication first exposed their injurious tendency; and it is difficult to perceive how the effect of Dr. Bryce's public aspersions on the Court, circulated in the various newspapers throughout India, could have been counteracted by a secret and silent reprimand, given privately to the author, and known to few but himself.

19. But if this defence of the Supreme Court, and opposition to Dr.

(*a*) For the respectful tone of the Paper, a general reference to its pages may be sufficient; but it seems requisite that the particular passage objected to should be here quoted. It was contained in the 'Calcutta Journal' of the 30th of August 1823, forming a part of a very long article in defence of the judgment of the Supreme Court against the aspersions thrown on its wisdom or integrity by Dr. Bryce. The small portion of it extracted by Government as offensive is included in the following paragraph:—

"Our readers cannot but recollect the subject of the Paper for which Mr. Buckingham was removed from India. The mention of this event is essential to our present argument; and we hope we may speak of it as a matter of history without offence, as we shall express no opinion on it either one way or another. If it were not absolutely necessary, we should not even allude to it; but in doing so, we shall not for a moment forget the respect due to the established laws and government of the country. The article in question related to the appointment of Dr. Bryce as Clerk of the Stationery Committee; and the part of it which is understood to have been so offensive to the Government as to determine Mr. Buckingham's transmission, was an allusion to the report of Dr. Bryce being the Author of those Letters placed in connexion with his appointment to his secular office. Thus it appears Dr. Bryce's reputed authorship and pluralities were the cause of Mr. Buckingham's removal, and of the new laws which were in consequence established for the Press. But for him this society might have continued in the enjoyment of all its former privileges, nor have been deprived of one of its members. When those who watch with anxious expectation the progress of improvement in this country, and the spread of that Gospel which Dr. Bryce is commissioned to preach, consider the effects of these measures, it will be for them to award him the praise or censure which they may think he has deserved."—S. A.

Bryce's violations of the Press-Rules, had really been considered culpable in the 'Calcutta Journal,' it might have been immediately suppressed at the pleasure of Government, in conformity with the law lately enacted for the Press; by which the suppression of a Paper is the only penalty assigned for its offences; and the declared object of passing this law was to put Europeans and natives of India on an equal footing with regard to the Press. Nevertheless, the Government throwing aside entirely its recent Press regulation, resolved to lay the punishment of the alleged offence upon me alone; placing on my head, merely because I was a native of the United Kingdom, the responsibility of the real Editor, who was a native of British India, and with that view, decreed my immediate transportation, without stopping a moment to inquire whether I was at all concerned in the paragraph objected to, or whether I might not possibly have been fifty miles distant at the time it was written and published.

20. The only explanation I can conceive of this proceeding is this: That some enemy of Mr. Buckingham being desirous of destroying his 'Journal,' and not being able to find a decent pretence for its suppression by Government, from the prudent and discreet manner in which that Paper continued to be conducted after his departure, thought of accomplishing this object by procuring the transportation of one of the individuals connected with it, which might probably have the effect of frightening away all others from the concern, when it must of course fall to the ground. And that to carry his point with the greater certainty, he took advantage of the first days of the new Governor-General's arrival in the country, before his Lordship could possibly have time to become acquainted with the real state of things from actual observation. Such an adviser would of course deem it of no importance whether the individual selected *in terrorem*, were himself innocent or otherwise.

21. I am reduced to the necessity of adopting this opinion, because it appears from the official letter of Government ordering my transmission, that this was decreed on grounds which are quite contrary to truth; from which I must conclude that the Governor-General was imposed upon by his informer: and the person capable of such deception might think the present crisis a favourable one for destroying the concern; since, while the Editor himself, as well as most of the Europeans engaged in its management, were labouring under indisposition, (as stated in the Calcutta Journal of the 1st of September,) and one of them in fact, within a few days, fell a victim to the climate; it might be easily inferred that the instantaneous banishment of another would greatly weaken the hands of the Editor, and necessarily endanger the safety of the property (*b*).

22. Knowing that, individually, I had committed no offence, and being conscious of my entire innocence of any such intention, unless my connexion with the 'Calcutta Journal' was considered an offence; as soon as dissatisfaction was expressed by the Government, I immediately offered to renounce

(*b*) I think it necessary to quote the words contained in the Calcutta Journal of the 1st of September 1823 as an "Apology to the Reader." It is as follows:—

"Persons who follow other professions may, when labouring under indisposition—unfortunately, but too common at this sickly season—defer their business for a day at least, or till their recovery; but it is far otherwise with the conductors of a periodical publication, which, as Johnson observes, must, like the stage-coach, start at the appointed hour. The hardships which persons engaged in publishing a daily paper must suffer in case of sickness, from which they are unfortunately not more exempt than other men, can only be fully estimated by themselves, as they seldom intrude them on the notice of the public. On the present occasion, however, we think it but fair to state, that the indisposition both of ourselves and other individuals connected with different departments of this Paper for some weeks past, has rendered it necessary for us, too often we are afraid, to claim the indulgence of our readers."

This appears to have been written on Saturday; it was published on Monday morning, and the order for my transmission was signed in the Council-Chamber on the Wednesday, only two days after. While the Editor was sick, and one of his assistants (Mr. James Sutherland) was dangerously ill and absent from Calcutta for change of air, another of his assistants (Mr. Hackford) died, and Government ordered a third to be banished, although not charged with committing any offence. There remained then only the Librarian and Printer, who could not be touched, they not being natives of the United Kingdom.—S. A.

any concern whatever with that or any other Paper, and to produce competent securities for my conduct in future under such penalty as the Governor-General in Council might require; and I trusted that his Lordship's natural humanity would induce him to accept of this alternative rather than subject me unnecessarily to the heavy punishment of transportation. But although I thus gave every proof of my earnest disposition to conform my conduct in every respect with the orders of the local Government while I resided within your territories, the Governor-General hardly deigned to notice my humble tenders of submission; and it was intimated to me verbally, through the Magistrates of Calcutta, on the 10th of September 1823, that his Lordship was resolved to transport me by force, unless I myself should embark on board a ship bound for England within twenty-three days, and for that purpose I was required to give security to the amount of twenty thousand rupees.

23. Feeling this to be an impossibility from the shortness of the time allowed, and the situation in which I stood with regard to pecuniary matters, I might have been excusable in doubting whether the Government had really adopted so harsh a resolution, unless I actually saw a copy of it, with the grounds on which it was passed. Even this favour was denied me, notwithstanding my reiterated and earnest entreaties to be allowed an authenticated copy of the official papers, decreeing my ruin,—until after the Government had determined to be satisfied with nothing less than actually taking me into custody; thus cutting me off from all opportunity, between the sentence and execution, of offering explanations on the contents of those papers, and perhaps removing entirely from the mind of the Governor-General the erroneous impressions declared to be the grounds on which it was proposed to subject me to this treatment.

24. On the 12th of September, immediately after this intimation, I was accordingly seized in the public streets of Calcutta by a warrant from the Governor-General, carried into Fort William, and thrown into a place known by the appellation of the Strong-Room, from the manner in which it is secured by bars of iron; where I was besides continually watched by guards walking before me with fixed bayonets, and not suffered to move out of this place unless attended by a military sentry. It was resolved to keep me in this state of confinement until there might be a ship in the service of the Honourable Company ready to proceed to England; and there being then no such ship as far as could be ascertained, capable of being sent, nor even one in a state of preparation, I had no prospect of being liberated for many months. Foreseeing how much I must suffer both in body and mind from remaining for so long a time cooped up in this fortress in the sultry climate of Bengal, and every means that could be thought of for softening the rigour of Government being exhausted, I had only one hope left, and that a doubtful one,—to seek the protection of the laws of my country. My case being accordingly laid before the Supreme Court of Judicature, it pronounced my confinement to be illegal by the voice of its Chief Justice, and therefore ordered my immediate release, with which order the Government found it necessary to comply.

25. In order to avoid any cause of misconception, I think it proper to state explicitly that of the two Judges then on the bench, the Honourable Sir Anthony Buller, of whose conduct the 'Calcutta Journal' had published the defence which was assigned by Government as the cause of my confinement, voted for its continuance; and the Honourable Sir Francis Macnaghten, whose conduct to the Press that Paper had censured, gave his decision for my release.

26. I then made a representation to the Governor-General of the very great embarrassment into which I was thrown, and the difficulty I felt of extricating myself from my pecuniary obligations in consequence of the resolution passed for my expulsion from India, and solicited a delay of three months to enable me to arrange my affairs, engaging at the end of that time to comply with its orders for my removal. Considering that from the usual season of the year for the sailing of the Europe ships being yet distant, it was probable that it would be about three months, (as it really happened,) before my removal became practicable, I had every reason to hope that Government would be satisfied with this engagement, which was calculated to secure every attainable object. In answer, I received a note from the Chief Secretary, intimating briefly that the Governor-General in Council did not think it necessary to make any reply.

27. Being left to divine the meaning of this silence, when I reflected that it had now been officially intimated to

the Government in my last letter, that I was not at all personally responsible, as had been alleged, for the paragraph in the Calcutta Journal, on account of which I had lately suffered confinement in Fort William, and saw that the Government now declined accepting the engagement proffered to it for my removal, I concluded that it was unwilling to carry farther the punishment of an innocent person. I considered the Governor-General too humane to keep me in this state of cruel suspense by silence, if it had been intended ultimately to subject me to transportation.

28. Nevertheless, several months afterwards, while I was residing in the house of an English gentleman, at the French settlement of Chandernagore, where I happened to be for a few days on a visit of friendship, I was suddenly summoned before the foreign Governor of this place, where I learnt that a requisition had been made to him by the English authorities to surrender me up for the purpose of being instantly embarked, and transported to Europe. I was accordingly carried, without loss of time, to Calcutta, and placed a prisoner on board the ship "Fame," one of the Honourable Company's chartered vessels, then on the point of sailing.

29. Although there were several other ships in the service bound for England by a direct course, Government selected for me this vessel, which was destined, in the first place, for the coast of Sumatra, where she was expected to remain a considerable time, being at the disposal of the local Government, and liable, I understand, by her charter-party, to be sent about to collect cargo to Natal, Singapore, or elsewhere, which might occupy several months; in which case I must be carried along with her a prisoner from port to port, subject to all the hardships of a rigorous confinement on board, in that deleterious climate, until the conclusion of this tedious trading voyage.

30. The sum of eight hundred rupees and upwards was allowed to the Captain for my passage, and he was directed to receive me into the third mate's mess, although it was well known that in a vessel of this description no such thing existed. Consequently, by this vessel being selected for me from all others, I was to be condemned to the treatment of a common seaman, in addition to the hardships of a long, circuitous voyage.

31. If the Government had not kept me in suspense by its silence, when, on the 22d of September previous, I solicited only three months' delay, I should, agreeably to the engagement then tendered, have taken my departure probably before this period, (the 11th of December,) the three months being almost expired; and I might have removed at my own charge on moderate terms. But being then suddenly forced on board a ship, not of my own choice, and entirely at the mercy of the captain, who, unless I complied with his utmost demands, was empowered to subject me to the most degrading treatment and hardest fare, I was compelled to promise to make up to him the sum of two thousand eight hundred rupees for my passage; although this was at least double the price he was entitled with justice to receive for the degree of comfort and accommodation his vessel afforded. Whereas, if allowed merely to proceed in another vessel, I could easily have removed to England at little or no expense; the commanders of various other vessels having voluntarily offered to give me a free passage to England in their ships.

32. These circumstances were duly made known to Government in successive representations, which, however, were entirely disregarded; and so fixed was the determination to have me carried a prisoner in the "Fame" through the whole round of her trading voyage, that, if I had attempted to proceed to England in any other ship, this new offence was to have been punished with the ignominious treatment of the vilest malefactor, as it was intended, I afterwards learnt, to put me in irons, which were provided by Government on purpose, and put on board the "Fame," that they might be used on me if I made any attempt to leave the vessel before her arrival in England.

33. I was accordingly carried to sea on board of the "Fame;" and, from the effects of this unmitigated severity on my mind, together with the miserable treatment I experienced on the voyage, by the time we approached the coast of Sumatra, I was seized with the yellow jaundice; and while labouring under this dangerous illness, I ran the risk of perishing for want of proper sustenance, if I had not been supplied by the kindness of a fellow-passenger, Mr. Imlach, from his own private stores.

34. On arriving, in this state, at

Bencoolen, I must have been confined on board of the ship, however long she might have continued there, without setting a foot on shore, although it were to save my life, according to the peremptory orders of the Governor-General. But from this I was saved by the humanity of the Honourable Sir Stamford Raffles, then Lieutenant-Governor of that Settlement, who, notwithstanding these orders, on a medical certificate of my indisposition being presented to him, sanctioned my coming on shore for the recovery of my health.

35. After a detention of nearly three weeks, the "Fame" was ready to resume her voyage; her departure being greatly hastened owing to several accidental circumstances, which favoured her early despatch, and particularly the anxiety of the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Stamford Raffles, on account of his health, to leave the Island with the least possible delay; otherwise we might have been detained for months instead of weeks. But, before we started, the captain of the "Fame" forcibly deprived me of the cabin he had put me in possession of at Calcutta, and which I had occupied ever since; seizing upon it for his own accommodation, and thrusting me down between the decks, into a place which I considered quite uninhabitable in that sultry climate, from the want of light and ventilation. The sum he had exacted from me, on account of my passage, I therefore considered to be the greatest extortion; to which, indeed, free scope was given by the helpless situation in which Government placed me as a prisoner on board his vessel, so that I was unable to resist his unjustifiable demands. In proof of this I need only mention, that one of the best cabins in the ship, both light and airy, being situated under the poop, was subsequently let to Mr. Imlach, for a smaller sum than the captain received on my account. And this gentleman would not have agreed to pay nearly so much, even for the best accommodations, as two thousand eight hundred rupees, unless he had been compelled to go to sea immediately, from the perilous state of his constitution.

36. Having put to sea on the morning of the 2d of February, the "Fame" accidentally caught fire about twelve hours after, and was, in a very few minutes, completely enveloped in flames, (she being loaded chiefly with highly inflammable materials,) so that the passengers and crew had only time to save their lives, which, from a concurrence of favourable circumstances, were providentially preserved. Being thus thrown upon the shores of Sumatra, stripped of all I possessed, and without even a complete suit of clothes, I reported to the Honourable Sir Stamford Raffles, as Lieutenant-Governor, the situation in which I was placed through the measures of the Supreme Government; and being released from my confinement by the destruction of the "Fame," I thought it proper to place myself at his disposal, as the nearest local authority acting under the Honourable Company. In the reply made by an official letter, dated Feb. 5th, 1824, the Lieutenant-Governor, considering that my case and circumstances might have been affected by the destruction of the "Fame," suggested to me the propriety of making a representation to the Supreme Government, of which he offered to be the channel.

37. When such a proposal proceeded from so distinguished a servant of the Honourable Company, I considered it to be my duty to follow the course he had pointed out; and again made a humble appeal to the justice and humanity of the Supreme Government of India, by a respectful representation of the misfortunes in which it had involved me; flattering myself that the Lieutenant-Governor would not have encouraged me to make another trial of this kind, unless, from his knowledge of the maxims and character of that Government of which he was a subordinate member, he had possessed a thorough conviction that the punishment already inflicted upon me would be considered sufficient. The memorial I drew up in consequence, being considered by him a proper one for the occasion, was accordingly forwarded in duplicate.

38. Through his liberality I was, in the mean time, provided with the means of subsistence during my necessary detention on that Island. At the same time, if I had declined to adopt the above course of memorialising the Governor-General, and abiding by the issue, the Lieutenant-Governor promised to afford me a passage to Europe by the first opportunity that might present itself. At this period, however, there was no certain prospect of any vessel proceeding from that place, which is in a great measure cut off from the rest of the world, and has no regular communication with Europe, except by the Honourable Com-

pany's annual ships; consequently, the "Fame" being destroyed, there was no chance of another till the ensuing season. To be compelled to linger and lose my time in inactivity for many months, at this sequestered spot, was a prospect truly appalling; the speediest way of escaping from which seemed to be that of laying my case before the Supreme Government, and soliciting permission to return to Bengal. My own inclination also strongly urged me to adopt this course; and having done so, I became bound in consistency to adhere to it, although opportunities of pursuing a different one afterwards accidentally occurred.

39. After a detention of three months and upwards at Bencoolen, seeing that but one opportunity remained of leaving the place—by the ship Wellington for Calcutta, no other vessel being expected for a considerable period—I felt it expedient to embark on board of her, to avoid worse consequences. For, although desirous to await there the decision of the superior authorities, I unfortunately did not possess any means of supporting myself longer at that place, having been lately thrown ashore destitute of every thing, and the temporary resource on which I had hitherto depended being withdrawn when Sir Stamford Raffles left the Island. Hence a longer delay at that Settlement, where the prices of all the necessaries of life are exorbitantly high, would have involved me in debts and incumbrances I could ill bear, and which, according to the laws in force there, might soon have deprived me of the freedom of leaving it at all, when I wished to do so.

40. On my arrival in Bengal at the end of May 1824, I reported to the Supreme Government the disasters that had befallen me in consequence of its measures, and awaited its decision; expressing a hope that, in pronouncing sentence on my future fate, his Lordship in Council would be pleased to take into account what I had already suffered. In reply, it was intimated by an official letter from the Chief Secretary, that if I was found within the Bengal territories after a certain date, Government would subject me to a repetition of similar measures, or, in plain terms, to a Second Transportation.

41. This period (in consideration probably of the season of the year, when it is usual for ships to sail for Europe, not having arrived) was fixed on the 1st of September, but afterwards extended to the middle of October; and as immediately on my arrival in Calcutta, I had an offer of a situation of 400 rupees per mensem, the emolument arising from it during my authorized stay in Bengal, would have been of material service to me in procuring another passage to England, in lieu of that I had lost by the burning of the *Fame*. But the gentleman at the head of the concern in which I was offered this employment, received an intimation that Government would take offence if he carried his views towards me into effect; and as in such a case, he being a native of the United Kingdom, the will of Government is law, it thus effectually took from me this opportunity of gaining either the means of subsistence, or of removing myself in obedience to its orders. The Government being at this time well aware that I had suffered the destruction of all my property in the *Fame*, besides losing the passage money of two thousand rupees, knew that I must have incurred fresh charges in returning by another vessel to Bengal—that it had ordered me to provide myself with a second passage to Europe—that I could not live in Calcutta for any period without expense—that my wearing apparel, which had been burnt, could not be replaced without money—and it had been apprized that I was overwhelmed with pecuniary embarrassment by the first step of these ruinous operations; the order for my expulsion at once annihilating, together with my prospects, all the property I had either carried with me from England, or realized in Bengal, from the fruits of years of hard, incessant toil; its influence, therefore, used now directly or indirectly to preclude me from earning the means of present subsistence, was, I humbly submit, calculated to reduce me to desperation. And I cannot help observing, that if the rest of mankind had been actuated by a similar spirit, I must either have ended my days wretchedly in an Indian gaol, or have had one ready to receive me on my arrival in England, should I survive the unalleviated miseries of such a voyage as I was doomed to undergo. Part of this may yet be my fate; and if I have as yet struggled through these difficulties without sinking under them, it has not been without contracting obligations continually accumulating, which I have now no hope of being able to discharge—not the least painful feel-

ing these proceedings have entailed upon me.

42. As a means of subsistence, and that my further stay in Bengal might not be spent altogether unprofitably for others also, I engaged in superintending the education of part of the pupils of a seminary established some years ago in Calcutta, for the gratuitous instruction of Native Youth, into which I was anxious to introduce the study of the mathematics, from an idea I have always entertained, that if the Hindoo mind were improved by solid learning, calculated to strengthen the reasoning faculties, it would soon discard irrational and debasing superstitions. After I had been engaged for some months in that occupation, a number of the friends of this charitable institution, Natives of India, pleased with my exertions, and themselves solicitous for the education of their poor countrymen, laid a representation (*c*) before the Governor-General in Council, stating the difficulty they had experienced in obtaining an European competent to assist them in this work, and humbly requested his Lordship's permission for my continuance in the country, to devote myself to that object, until the pleasure of your Honourable Court should be known; they offering, at the same time, to give security for my con-

(*c*) We subjoin a copy of this Memorial to the Bengal Government, the prayer of which, although so humble and so reasonable, was treated with contempt. We observe by the copy in our possession, that several other highly respected names had been originally attached to the Petition; but these, we are informed, were afterwards withheld, in tenderness to the prejudices of those liberal Rulers, who are well known to view with aversion those few Natives particularly distinguished as being enlightened beyond the great mass of their countrymen:

To the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council.

My Lord—We, the undersigned Patrons and Friends of a Seminary of Education, for the gratuitous instruction of Native Youth, beg leave most respectfully to represent to your Lordship in Council, that this Institution having existed for nearly three years, during which a portion of the pupils have made such a degree of proficiency as urgently requires increased ability in their teachers—a want which till lately we found it impossible to supply; in the beginning of June last, Mr. Saudford Arnot, immediately on his arrival here from Bencoolen, and while in expectation of being permitted to remain in the country, engaged as a means of subsistence, to superintend the education of the pupils under our charge, agreeably to the wish we had long entertained of procuring the assistance of a competent European teacher.

Under these circumstances, we beg leave to request, with the greatest deference, that your Lordship in Council will be pleased to grant us permission to retain Mr. Arnot in his present situation, until the pleasure of the Court of Directors be known, should it be agreeable to the benevolent disposition of Government; we, in the meantime, being ready to become responsible, and to produce the most satisfactory security for his conduct.

We are the more encouraged to hope for this indulgence, as the British Government has been pleased very frequently to express a desire to promote the diffusion of knowledge among its Indian subjects; and it will, therefore, we feel confident, embrace every favourable opportunity of enabling the Natives of India to avail themselves of such means as lie within their reach, for instructing their children and those of their poor countrymen. Whereas, since few if any Europeans of education, come to this country, unless expressly destined to other pursuits, which it can seldom be in their power and their inclination to abandon, we have found it impossible to obtain any competent European teacher, at a moderate salary; on which account we have been endeavouring to procure a fit person from England. In regard, therefore, to the principal object of our Institution, we have at present but faint hopes of success, unless through the indulgence of Government now solicited.

We have presumed to make this request, under the general impression that, from the liberal disposition of Government, it will be pleased with an opportunity of conferring on us a favour of this nature; feeling confident that your Lordship in Council will excuse the liberty we have taken in presenting this address.

We have the honor to be,
My Lord,
With the greatest respect,
Your Lordship's most obedient
and humble Servants,
GOOROODOSS MOOKERJEE.
LALLAH KISSEN CHUND.
HURRUCHUNDER GHOSE.
ROY KISSEN MOHUN MITTER.
BISSONAUTH GHOSE.
BECHARAN SEN.
ROOPCHUNDER COONDO.
RAMCHUNDER BISWAS.

duct if required. The desire which the British Government had so frequently expressed, to promote the diffusion of knowledge among its Indian subjects, induced them, they stated, to hope for this indulgence, without which they despaired, for the present, of the success of their institution. The Government returned an answer to these Native Gentlemen, couched in the haughtiest style, refusing compliance with their request, without any reason assigned. I hope you will pardon me for expressing my belief, that the real reason of this refusal to defer the matter to the judgment of their superiors, was the belief that your Honourable Court would have pronounced a more liberal and magnanimous decision; and the recent public declaration of your honourable Chairman, that if I had been permitted to remain in Bengal, the Court would not have disturbed such an arrangement, furnishes sufficient proof that your servants' apprehensions of your superior liberality were far from being unfounded.

43. Having now detailed the circumstances of my case, I beg humbly to submit to your consideration, under four distinct heads, the grievances of which I complain:

44. First, That after being induced to settle under the Government of British India, by the liberality and tolerance it displayed to people of every nation, Britons not excepted, and after having resided upwards of three years in your territories, on the faith that the execution of the laws would continue uniform, (without which there is no safety in any country,) I am suddenly expelled, in a manner, as far as I know, quite unprecedented; since I was not accused of having personally committed any offence, and it is a well known fact, that although from time immemorial many hundreds of Europeans have resided in different parts of the country without licenses from your Honourable Court, it has not been the practice to expel any individual so settled, unless he has been officially brought to the notice of Government, as guilty of some public misdemeanour, some flagrant violation of the existing laws, or contumacy to the constituted authorities. That I was not so brought to the notice of Government, is admitted; since I am not accused of having individually committed any offence; and the fact of my being connected with the *Calcutta Journal* at all, was only elicited by an inquisitorial letter addressed by Government to the Editor a short time previously, demanding the names of the Europeans employed under him, when mine was of course given in among the rest. In the same manner, it would be very easy to ascertain the names of all the unlicensed Europeans in the country, since nobody considers it necessary to conceal them; on the contrary, they are published in printed lists, which are in every body's hands

45. Secondly, I complain, that in a time of profound tranquillity, when even the countrymen of Bussy and Dupleix, Deboigne and Perron, (who could once shake India to the centre,) are no longer dreaded, and may follow their pursuits unmolested, under the auspices of the British Government; a British subject, accused of no offence whatever, is pursued like an enemy, even into a foreign territory, and the French themselves are called upon as auxiliaries to assist in driving him out of the country. If any solicitude had existed about the tranquillity of your possessions where I was residing, I might then have submitted without murmuring to the hard necessity of the times. But of such anxiety or apprehension, there was no symptom whatever; and it happened that at this very period, the most excitable part of the population—the followers of Mohammed, who are but too apt to contrast the consequence from which they have fallen, by our ascendancy, with their present condition—were exposed to the delusions of an artful impostor, who inflamed them with hopes of change; and the better to work upon their credulous minds, had performed a pilgrimage to the Tomb of their Prophet; after which he returned to Calcutta, to renew his labours. Adding to sanctity the pretence of miracles and inspiration, instruments so powerful with the superstitious multitude, he drew around him a vast concourse of the "Faithful," who flocked to him daily from every part of the capital of Bengal and its vicinity, universally believing him to be something more than mortal. Such a man as this notorious Peer Suyud Uhmud was surely more dangerous, if a shadow of danger existed, than any European inhabitant of Calcutta; yet he was allowed to pursue his machinations unchecked and unmolested, while a British subject is proscribed for doing nothing at all. Indeed, if a judgment may be formed from the proceedings of the present

British Rulers of India, Pagans, Turks, or foreigners of any description, are viewed with far less jealousy than the natives of these Islands, whose distinguishing privilege it is to be treated as traitors by their own countrymen on the slightest pretences!

46. Thirdly, I complain, that the mere circumstance of my being born in Great Britain was declared by the Governor-General to render me undeserving of either justice or mercy, as appears by the official letter, ordering my expulsion from India, in which his Lordship lays it down as a principle, that I, being British born, ought to be punished in the stead of another, who happened to be born in a different, and it appears more favoured country; and on this ground it was decreed that I should suffer transportation, on account of an act for which I was not at all responsible; no inquiry whatever being made as to my conduct, and no pretence being set up that I was personally and individually guilty of any offence. Yet the punishment so awarded, has been inflicted upon a person confessedly innocent, with all imaginable circumstances of aggravated hardship, and the most unrelenting perseverance, although I made every possible submission to authority, and continually offered ample security for my future conduct; all which could not so much as gain me the favour of a temporary respite, to submit my case to your Honourable Court.

47. Lastly, I hope that I shall not be misunderstood as presuming to question the authority vested in your Government for the removal of British subjects; when I only complain of the manner of its exercise in my individual case. I am aware that you are armed by the British Legislature with vast powers for the security and preservation of your Indian Empire; the use of which for such a purpose, (the only one worthy of the dignity of a government,) it would be my duty to submit to without a murmur. But I humbly appeal to your judgment, whether in my case these powers have not been wrested entirely from their proper object? Whether, vast as they are, they have not been greatly stretched, and the spirit as well as letter of the laws of England violated, in order the more effectually to crush me? My confinement in Fort William was pronounced by the only accessible and competent tribunal to be illegal; and that illegal act was undoubtedly intended to subject me to the sufferings of several months of imprisonment, which, in such a climate, if not shortened by the decree of the Court, might have cost me my life. Some compunction might have been felt for intending me so heavy a wrong, which surely deserved to be atoned for by some slight mark of future indulgence. But when I then tendered my obedience, offering to depart with every practicable haste, was it dignified or manly to maintain a sullen and mysterious silence, torturing my mind with suspense? When I had resigned for months all connexion with the press, which I did immediately, in deference to the feeling evinced by Government on that subject, and agreed to bind myself under any penalty to deport myself agreeably to its orders, was my mere existence within your territories an offence? And if it was so, why should your servants pursue me, dogging my steps into those of a foreign settlement, where I might surely be suffered to breathe in peace? Not that I ever harboured the slightest intention, or could, for a moment, brook the thought of leading a clandestine and fugitive life, in a country whose rulers sought to expel me from their dominions: of this I hope I have given sufficient proof during these transactions, having never been driven, by all this ruthless persecution, to take refuge in any thing like disguise or concealment. The only favour I ever asked of your servants was permission to exist; which they denied me. But above all, if it were indispensable that I should be transported, why should they send me unnecessarily by a circuitous trading voyage, to aggravate by its length the evils of confinement? Whether it be legal or illegal (of the last, however, few persons entertain a doubt) is of but little import to a ruined man, who knows that he can do nothing but submit to his unhappy fate. But I appeal to your own hearts, whether it is either just or merciful thus to swell the amount of suffering, by carrying men prisoners around the world in this unheard-of manner, to encounter the risk of fire, and pestilence, and shipwreck, in Sumatra, Singapore, the China seas, or elsewhere; as if simple transportation were not punishment enough for persons convicted of no offence whatever. For me, who was even accused of nothing, was it not enough, after spending five or six years of the prime of life under a tropical sun, to be thrown back, beggared and ruined, on this country which I

left in circumstances of comparative affluence, with youth on my side, and health and spirits unbroken by adversity? Was it necessary to fill up the full measure of vengeance, by endeavouring wantonly to inflict upon me a lengthened confinement at sea? It was this illegal and superfluous infliction, by which my life was imminently hazarded, my time miserably wasted, and the last shred of my property destroyed. From my being pursued by such measures, as contrary to law as they are repugnant to justice, and unnecessary to your security, I have to trace my greatest disasters and sufferings—in being obliged to linger away my days fruitlessly for many months in a pernicious climate—in being led into the expense of at least three voyages to Europe instead of one, and so long tantalized with fresh hopes, which, after racking my mind with suspense, ended at last in total disappointment. In my humble opinion, may I be allowed to express it, if a reputation for justice and humanity be held of any value to a state, such proceedings were as hostile to your interest as they were cruel to me.

48. I now crave your decision, which is due alike to the important station you hold in the Government of a vast country, and to the numerous individuals placed in a similar situation with regard to your authority. I feel satisfied that it will be impossible for any representations to persuade you to look upon the increase of British settlers in India as an evil; at the same moment that complaints will reach your ears from those carrying on the free trade between England and Bengal, of the persons employed by them being seduced from their engagements to enter into your service, and remain in defence of your Indian possessions; experience thus proving, that a large British population there, to which recourse might be had on any emergency, would be an invaluable source of strength. But whatever policy may be adopted for the future, those who have been already for years settled in your territories have peculiar claims on your protection. It was the hope and trust of experiencing kindness and clemency under the rule of their own countrymen which allured them to place their fortune and happiness in your hands; otherwise, in leaving their native country, they might have easily found an asylum in some other quarter of the world: in Africa, Australasia, or America; and if they had chosen the latter, even a foreign people would not have hunted them from their homes, and turned them adrift in the world destitute in their after years; subjecting them to proscription and exile on account of the place of their nativity. Of that land we have hitherto been proud to acknowledge ourselves the sons, in whatever part of the world fortune may have placed us; and I persuade myself it is far from being your wish, that in your dominions alone we should feel it to be the greatest of misfortunes.

49. Yet I have been subjected to transportation and imprisonment by sea and land—to the influence of a fatal climate, and the loss of all I possessed; and after I had suffered every thing short of capital punishment, (which there was no power to inflict,) having, however, very narrowly escaped with life itself; as if all this were not sufficient, a repetition of similar measures was decreed against me, and the declared ground of this unrelenting persecution is, that I am a native of the United Kingdom—that unexpiable crime which placed me beyond the pale of mercy! If British subjects are thus proscribed, and spurned, and trampled upon by your servants, will you be surprised to learn that in some, the spark of patriotism and nationality is at last totally extinguished; so that from being your natural allies, they are driven into the ranks of your enemies, and, as is reported and believed at this moment in the pending war with the Burmese, commit the monstrous act of bearing arms against their own countrymen.

50. In addressing you, Honourable Sirs, I state my opinions on this subject without disguise, believing that you are capable of listening to the plain truth without offence; and that it is your interest to hear it, as well as the interest of all who are concerned in the permanency of British power in India. As, however, some of your servants there think otherwise, I could only, in that country, observe a respectful silence on questions of Indian policy; nor do I recollect of ever writing any thing on the subject that was even slightly objected to, save a few cursory remarks in behalf of the Marquis of Hastings, when his administration was misrepresented and traduced, some months after its close, by a cotemporary publication; but his successors did not, it appears, consider it equally allowable to defend him, and

their injunctions were of course obeyed. If they thought the Press to be altogether an evil, they had in their hands the means of doing it away. If they considered it culpable to be in any way connected with it, some public intimation of this might have been given to enable us to flee from impending destruction. But no warning was allowed me—no place of repentance was left open—no atonement would be received—and no degree of submission or suffering could soften the rigour of my sentence, until it had accomplished my utter ruin.

51. In thus describing, for the information of your Honourable Court, the treatment I have experienced from those acting under your authority, if I have any where expressed myself in a manner unsuited to the persons or the subject, the only apology I have to offer is, that I am unable to speak of it in more moderate terms. For I have the misfortune to be unable to forget that, on the slenderest grounds, I have been banished and proscribed like the worst malefactor, with a degree of suffering which few will appreciate who know not what it is to be torn, at a moment's notice, from their homes and all they hold dear. The felon even has some consolation in his exile, since he flees from the ignominy of his own misdeeds; but I bear with me only the painful consciousness of leaving friendship and affection, and of lacerated feelings and blighted prospects enough to embitter the longest life.

I have the honour to be,
With the greatest respect,
Honourable Sirs,
Your most obedient and most
humble Servant,
SANDFORD ARNOT.

51, *Burton-st., Burton-crescent*,
6th April, 1825.

The foregoing Memorial, as shown by the date, has been before the Court of Directors for nearly six months; and, while the subject was under their consideration, we abstained from bringing it to the notice of the public. But as they have now come to the resolution of allowing Mr. Arnot 1500*l.* in compensation for his losses and sufferings occasioned by the proceedings of their servants, and have submitted the matter to the Court of Proprietors, by which it has been rendered a subject of public discussion, we think it proper, in recording this act of liberality and justice, to lay before our readers an authentic statement of the grievances which have been thought entitled to this redress. The issue of this affair we consider highly creditable to the Court, and it will give us much pleasure to have to record similar acts of reparation to those who have still stronger claims on their attention.

LETTER OF A NATIVE OF INDIA.

To the Right Honourable Charles Watkins Williams Wynn, President of the Board of Control.

HONOURABLE SIR,—Since you have been selected by the British Government to preside over the affairs of India, I think it proper to address myself to you; and I trust, that the high situation you hold, in connexion with the interests of this country, will afford a sufficient excuse for the liberty I take, in making known to you the sentiments of a Native of India on the present state of its affairs.

The facts to which I shall have occasion to advert in the following letter, will, of course, many of them be reported to you through the regular channels of communication from the local government; but it is to be expected, that having entire command of these channels, it will represent things in the manner most favourable to itself. But should the official accounts differ in any particular from mine, I pledge myself, that my statements will be found, on inquiry, to agree most exactly with the truth.

That you are well acquainted with the views of our present Governor-General and his co-adjutors, I cannot doubt; but in such an emergency, I imagine it may also be useful for you to know the sentiments of the people of India, with regard to the

war which the Government is now carrying on against our neighbours to the eastward. I know you have too much judgment to attach any weight to the opinions expressed by our public papers, while the press is in its present shackled state. One of them called by the name of 'John Bull,' and distinguished by its adulation of the local authorities, has been labouring with extraordinary diligence to persuade the monied men here to accept of the terms of a four per cent. loan, opened to supply the exigencies of the war; and although others dared not publicly express how different their sentiments were, what the community in general felt on this subject has been proved by the event: the failure of this financial project. The same publication has lately had the assurance to assert, that the Burmese war has been conducted in such a manner as not to distress the Natives of this country; but so completely is the public voice silenced, that no man dares to contradict the most notorious misrepresentations. Lest your mind should be swayed by the intentional perversions of the enslaved press, or the self-interested statements of men in power, and the partial reports of their numerous dependants, I proceed to bring to your particular notice some facts, from which a correct judgment may be formed:

From the very face of the declaration of war, it is manifest that it was by no means a necessary one; therefore, the sacrifices it has already cost, deserve to be the more strictly investigated. The grounds on which hostilities were avowedly commenced, were the following, viz. the disputed right to the possession of an insignificant island, and the disrespectful tone assumed by the Burmese Government towards the British. As to the first of these points, negotiation would have been the proper mode of settling it; since it had never clearly been established to whom the right of possession properly belonged, which is itself a strong proof that it had always been esteemed by the rulers of British India a matter of extreme insignificance. But what was unworthy of their attention formerly, is now, it appears, considered of sufficient importance to involve the empire in war. As to the second ground of hostilities: The tone of ignorant presumption assumed by the Chinese and other Governments in Eastern Asia is well known; and the insolence of the Burmese towards their neighbours is nothing new; since the Marquis of Hastings experienced it, and treated it with contempt, as shown by his pamphlet, containing a summary of his Indian administration. In fact, no enlightened government or wise man, would expect politeness from barbarians, or assign the want of it as a reason for going to war with them. Lastly, if, on due trial being made, it was found that the Burmese would not arrange the matter amicably by negotiation, the British Government might then easily have seized and kept possession of the island by force. A respectable body of troops kept there for a short time, must have given such a check to the Burmese, destitute as they are of all knowledge of the military art, that they would very soon have both given up their claim to the island, and have been too much intimidated to annoy any other part of the British frontier.

Instead of such an obvious, cheap, and easy course being followed, the plan adopted by this Government was, at once to declare war, and at the same time leave the frontier unprotected; so that the Burmese were afforded an opportunity of possessing themselves, not only of the disputed island, but also of a great part of the British territories in the district of Chittagong. They also cut to pieces the small body of troops Government had stationed at Ramoo, a place on the frontier; ravaged the surrounding country, and alarmed the very capital of the Indian Empire, which was left so totally unprotected, that an enterprising leader, if there had happened to be one among the Burmese, might have advanced to plunder Dacca and Calcutta itself, without meeting with any serious interruption! The alarm was, in fact, so great among the most intelligent classes, that many were meditating the means of flight; and some among the most respectable merchants in Calcutta, consulted with the Government about removing their treasure into Fort William as a place of safety.

While this distressing alarm prevailed in the south-eastern part of Bengal, the Government was drawing off all the forces that could be spared from this, as well as the other Presidencies, to fit out a naval expedition against another part of the Burman territories. The British fleets had consequently to cross the Bay of Bengal at the period of the year known to be very dangerous to shipping. The

troops also had to arrive in the enemy's country, just in the beginning of the rainy season, (which continues about five months); during which, from much of the country being laid under water, to invade it successfully, or carry on extensive military operations, must be impracticable.

This expedition, fitted out at so unpropitious a season, consisted, it is reported, of upwards of fourteen thousand men; and was directed first against Rangoon, a commercial sea-port belonging to the Burmese. Those who have visited this place represent it as so feebly fortified, that they could have taken it at any time with a hundred armed men. It of course fell at once before the British forces; but they were unable to make any further progress afterwards, owing to the unfavourable season of the year, and the total want of foresight in Government. The whole surrounding country continued in possession of the enemy, except a few miles occupied by the British camp, which had, therefore, to depend entirely on its own resources, and the supplies sent from Bengal and other distant places. The Government had thus to maintain a large body of troops at this remote station, at a vast expense, during the whole of the rains, when great numbers necessarily perished from the unwholesomeness of the climate at this season, and the inferior and scanty supplies of food that could be afforded them.

Allowing for a moment the war to be necessary, no man of common sense will attempt to justify the vast sacrifice of men and money incurred by this premature expedition against Rangoon, the occupation of which was of so little importance for getting possession of the country; since a small detachment could have taken it at any time, when the season for military operations arrived, without much loss or expense; not to say the garrisoning it for a number of months with a body of 10,000 to 14,000 men; and all the charges for the numerous vessels taken up to convey the troops and supply them with provisions.

The only advantage which is pretended to have resulted from this expedition, is that given out by Sir A. Campbell in his despatch, published in the Government Gazette of Monday last week, viz. That the Burmese have been intimidated! If this can be called an advantage, still it brings no merit to the expedition; since half the number of Company's troops employed at Rangoon could at any time soon have proved their superiority over the undisciplined Burmese wherever they had met them. A few defeats on the frontier of Bengal, (had it not been left defenceless,) would have fully as well answered the purpose of disheartening the enemy, and would also have saved the disgrace of the affair of Ramoo, which alarmed the very capital of British India, and inspired the Burmese with a confidence they never possessed before. But the British Government, by declaring war before it was prepared to defend itself or to invade the enemy's country, has lost the vast advantage it would have enjoyed, in making a sudden inroad into the Burman territories, and taking them unprepared. On the contrary, the premature declaration of hostilities and ill-planned expedition undertaken, have given the enemy full warning to prepare every means of opposition and resistance.

The disadvantages to the Honourable Company of this mode of procedure are great and obvious: A vast expenditure of treasure in maintaining the army at Rangoon for many months during the rainy season, which necessarily impeded all military operations; a useless waste of men's lives, by the unhealthy climate and bad supplies of provisions; the general discouragement given to the troops by this inauspicious commencement of the war, the effect of which on the whole army is incalculable.

While writing this letter, I hear that one of the regiments stationed at Barrackpore, being ordered to embark in this expedition against the Burmese has refused to do so, unless promised an increase of *bhuta;* an allowance given to the army on march, which on former occasions was increased when the Company's troops were sent on distant expeditions. Probably, the reports received of the great scarcity of provisions in the eastern part of Bengal, and consequent expensiveness of living there, may have had a share in making the troops form this expectation on the present occasion; if the demand be not *merely* an indication of the general aversion, which the foregoing circumstances have created to this war. The most lamentable circumstance that has yet attended it, is this affair at Barrackpore. That enlightened statesman, Sir John Malcolm, has, in his writings, earnestly insisted on the great importance of conciliating the affections of the Native

troops; and every friend of British power in India would willingly draw a veil over the alarming transaction which has just occurred in the neighbourhood of this capital. These men, who refused to proceed on the Burmese expedition without an increased allowance, were, on the first of November instant, surrounded by artillery and infantry marched against them by order of the Government; and as they continued to insist upon their claim, the other troops were commanded to fire upon them, which they did accordingly, dispersing and cutting to pieces the whole regiment; and thus fell, without resistance, or were afterwards put to death, between four and five hundred men, by the hands of their fellow-soldiers! A war, which has given rise to so lamentable an occurrence, would require some strong justification. What will the Native Army feel when it hears the fate of these unhappy men, composed of Rajpoots and Brahmuns, the most respected castes among Hindoos?

Although this event happened under our very eyes, and innumerable private letters, doubtless, conveyed intelligence of it, (with many mistakes, and probably exaggerations,) to every part of the country, the Government prohibited the real facts from being stated in the public papers here, as shown by the accompanying letter; (1) similar ones being addressed to the different editors, compelling them to wait for (*i. e.* to remain silent or follow) the official statement of Government. This, when it appeared, was quite vague and unsatisfactory, as a perusal will show; and was, besides, far from correct, as declared by Lieut. Macnaghten, who, from acting as Judge-Advocate, in conducting the trials that ensued regarding the mutiny, was qualified to pronounce an opinion, (on its truth or untruth,) which he did as just stated, in the newspaper called the Bengal Hurkaru, (of the 8th of November,) of which he is editor.

I have already noticed the account which the Government here allows the English newspapers under its control to proclaim to the world: that the war is carried on without occasioning any distress to the Native population. Of the truth of this statement, you will be able to judge, when you are informed, that the whole eastern part of Bengal is so exhausted by the supplies demanded for the troops, that the inhabitants have hardly left them the means of subsistence; that even the population of Calcutta is pressed into the service of the state; the people being laid hold of in the streets, forcibly carried away from their homes, and compelled to go on the expedition against the Burmese. Many who are permitted to remain behind do not suffer less distress: their working cattle, which afford them and their families the means of a livelihood, being forcibly taken from them, at such a price as the agents of Government think proper to pay. Might not the bullocks required for the public service have been gradually purchased and collected in sufficient quantities ere this time, the war having existed already the greater part of a year? the Government must, therefore, have known several months ago that no means of conveyance could be procured in the enemy's territories. In other parts of this country, some of them not very distant from Calcutta, where the inhabitants keep large quantities of cattle to let out on hire, they might easily have been either purchased or hired in sufficient numbers, with mutual advantage, both to the owners and to the Government, if the latter had possessed but a very little foresight; and might not men, (who are accustomed, in some parts of the country, to hire themselves away from their homes,) have been induced in like manner, for money, to volunteer their services, without recourse being had to oppressive measures like these; which are so much calculated to excite general murmuring and discontent, and alarm the capital, by the proof they give of the urgent necessities of the Government?

When it has exhibited itself in a position so extremely unfavourable, merely to contend with so despised and inconsiderable a people as the Burmese, can any thing else be ex-

(1) *To Muthoor Mohun Mitter, Editor of the Shums-ool-Akhbar.*

I am directed by the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, to desire, that you will not take any notice in your paper of the conduct of the 47th regiment, Native Infantry at Barrackpore, and the punishment with which it has been visited, until an official statement on the subject has been published.

I am, &c.

(Signed). A. STIRLING,
Nov, 3, 1824. Persian Sec.

pected, than that the credit of the State should decline, its troops become mutinous, and the subjects generally disaffected?

The condition to which the Government has so soon fallen under Lord Amherst, from the eminence it so lately enjoyed with the Marquis of Hastings at its head, may well convince the British nation, that there is something extremely defective in the constitution of the present system of rule in India. Although the attachment of the Indian army to Lord Hastings, (a leader of whom they might well be proud,) with the love and veneration which his name inspired among all classes of men, Europeans as well as Natives, gave vast strength and security to the Government, and the same may happen again under any wise and good Governor; yet, when after a few years he returns to England, all the advantage of his reputation and popularity is entirely lost. The supreme power here then falls into the hands of another person, who is probably guided by entirely different principles; and when we have begun to know him, after a few months, or at most a few years, the Government is again transferred to one who is a perfect stranger to us; a foreigner, of whom we know nothing. As each successor, into whose hands the supreme power happens to fall, introduces new rules and principles of government, according to his taste and pleasure; amid this perpetual fluctuation, the people have nothing on which they can fix their minds; all is loose, shifting and precarious in its aspect; and there is nothing to give permanent stability to the British rule. In fact, every thing depends on the character of an individual, the same as it did under the Moguls' reign; the fate of which ought to be a lesson to their successors.

Instead of this vacillating system, wherein the most ancient and approved maxims of administration are continually liable to be sacrificed to the ignorance or caprice of every inexperienced new-comer, I would suggest, that the whole affairs of the country be placed under the superintendence of a Council, composed of twelve to twenty persons of talent and experience—as the civil and military gentlemen, who from long residence are well versed in the affairs of this country. If the Governor or Captain-General were intrusted merely with the executive power, subject to the control of this body, we might then expect to see wisdom, consistency, and regularity, in the measures of Government. By pursuing an intelligent and steady course, it would gradually acquire a fixed character in public estimation, and thus establish itself on an immoveable basis, which no accident would be liable to overturn.

I beg of you and the British Government, seriously to consider these things, which I am anxious to bring to your notice; because, if through any unfortunate conjunction of circumstances or impolitic measures, the British power in the East should be shaken, it is *I* and *my* countrymen who must suffer the most direful consequences, since all our present hopes of future happiness and improvement would be destroyed. Although the British nation can suffer comparatively little from such an event as that apprehended, I trust, that for the sake of the inhabitants of this country, over whose destinies it presides, the Supreme Government will take precautions against the imprudent and improper conduct of its servants in India, by establishing some regular means of general communication, through which the true character of their measures might from time to time be correctly represented. In that case, I and many others would furnish information regarding the judicial proceedings and internal regulations of Government, in the various parts of the country, and also regarding political transactions, which ought to be known to the higher authorities; although, while the present system continues unchanged, they must remain concealed.

I have the honour, &c.

JUGUNNOUTH MUGMOODYRE.

LETTER OF CERTAIN NATIVES OF INDIA TO MR. CANNING.

To the Right Hon. George Canning, Secretary of State, &c. &c. &c.

SIR,—We, the undersigned, in conjunction with several others, having, about the beginning of the present year, addressed a Petition to our august Sovereign, his gracious Majesty George IV., regarding the state of the press in this country, which was committed to the charge of Counsellor R. C. Fergusson, on his departure from Calcutta for Europe, that it might be laid before his Majesty; but being apprehensive lest our Petition, and likewise the copy of it transmitted to the President of the Board of Control, should, from any of the accidents liable to occur in long journeys and voyages, not reach their destination, beg leave to forward to you the accompanying copy, in the hope that if you see proper you will lay it before his Majesty.

From our thorough persuasion of the liberality of your principles, and your desire to promote the improvement of the human race, and more especially the prosperity and happiness of every part of the British dominions, throughout which your name is, therefore, held in very high estimation by all classes of men, we feel assured that you will excuse the liberty we have thus taken: and we entertain a hope that, when our condition comes to be debated in the High Councils of the Empire, the claims to consideration we have imperfectly expressed in our Memorial, will, so far as they appear to you founded in justice, receive the support of your eloquence.

We still feel (and from recent events, if possible, more strongly than before,) the urgent necessity of some measures being adopted to check abuses in this country, as prayed for in our Memorial: viz. If the Freedom of the Press, which the Natives of India heretofore enjoyed, be now denied them by the British Government, at least it cannot hesitate to grant that restricted liberty of publication which we have specified. However, should even this be withheld, its place may be, in some degree, supplied by the appointment of Commissioners to inquire into the state of this country; or, the opening of a direct channel of communication between us and the honourable Board of Control; but we forbear dwelling on a subject so fully insisted on in our Memorial. Should we fail to obtain any of these requests, so necessary for such improvement in our condition, as you and all philanthropists would desire, this, at least, we trust will be granted—the introduction of Gentlemen, born and educated in Europe, as pleaders in the Company's Courts, which would afford the Judges the assistance requisite to enable them to investigate thoroughly, and decide correctly, the multiplicity of causes which arise within their extensive jurisdictions, and would subject their judicial proceedings to the scrutiny of a respectable and enlightened Bar, which can alone insure the pure and efficient administration of justice.

In the present system of English Judges and Native Pleaders, a collusion uniformly exists between the latter and the Native judicial officers, by which every species of corruption and deception can be practised with impunity; so that the real facts of a case may with facility be concealed from the Judge, who is then incapacitated from doing justice, however great his talents and integrity. When, on the contrary, the Judge is inclined to abuse the powers of his office, the pleaders and officers of his court, even if they were as honest as they are generally corrupt, being so vastly removed from him in situation and circumstances, could impose no moral check whatever on his conduct. For we need hardly observe, to one so well acquainted with mankind as yourself, that the Bar cannot exercise any effectual influence on the conduct of a Judge, unless it be composed of persons for whose opinions he has some respect, from their having possessed the same advantages of education with himself, and enjoying similar rank and consideration in the community. In that case, the Company's Judges could not, as at present, treat the officers and pleaders of their Court with contempt, while the latter look up to the Judge as humble dependants to a master, rather than independent advocates of the rights of their clients. And the whole are so closely leagued together, that if a complaint be preferred to a higher tribunal against the Judge, (he having the power of promoting the interests or ruining the prospects of the Native officers and pleaders,) they are all ready to support him, and each other, to the defeat of justice, by false oaths and fabricated documents.

In consequence of the great encouragement which this lamentable state of things affords to the crime of perjury, and various other abuses, they have at last grown to such a height, (as you must be aware from the reports of Gentlemen who have been any length of time in this country,) that in the examination of evidence adduced before the Courts, it is almost impossible to distinguish what is true from what is not; and it is with the utmost difficulty that even the most no-

torious facts can be judicially proved so as to place them beyond dispute; and, upon the whole, the chance of obtaining justice has become a complete lottery.

Under these circumstances, we should be filled with the deepest despondency if we did not repose great reliance on the wisdom of the British Government; and we shall feel extreme grief and disappointment if the present liberal and enlightened ministry do not devise some measures to remedy the evils existing in the internal administration of this country.

We have the honour to be,
Your most obedient and most humble servants,
THE SUBSCRIBERS OF THE MEMORIAL TO THE KING.
Calcutta, November 1824.

CIVIL AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

CIVIL SERVICE OF INDIA.

MADRAS.

Feb. 25.—Mr. M. Lewin, Head Assist. to the Principal Collector and Magistrate of Canara; Mr. H Morris, Assist. to the Collector and Magistrate of Nellore; Mr. H. M. Blair; Registrar to Zillah Court of Canara.

BOMBAY.

Feb.—Mr. J. Farish, Sec. to Governm. in Territ. and Commerc. Depart.; Mr. C. Norris, Sec. to Govern. in the Jud. Gen. and Marine Depart.; Mr. D. Greenhill, Act. Sec. to Govern. in Jud. Gen. and Marine Depart.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ARMY.

MADRAS.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George, Feb. 1.—Capt. A. Ross, Superintendent Engineer in the ceded district, and acting ditto in the northern division, to act as Civil Engineer in that division; Lieut. J. J. Underwood, Superintendent Engineer in the southern division, to act as Civil Engineer in ditto; Lieut. H. C. Cotton, ditto, in Mysore, to act as Assistant to the Chief Engineer, till further orders.

Head Quarters, Choultry Plain, Feb. 1.—Lieut. J. A. Campbell. 9th N.I., and Ensign J. W. Smith, 34th Lt. In., appointed to 1st Battalion of Pioneers, dated, former, 29th Aug., latter, 17th Oct. 1824; Lieut. W. Compertz, 14th, and Ensign W. C. M'Leod, 30th N.I., to do duty with ditto, dated 26th Dec. 1824; Lieut. J. B. Green, 1st European Reg., and Lieut. T. Rooke, 12th N.I., to resume his duties with the Commissariat at Rangoon.

Fort St. George.—Feb. 4th. Capt. F. Crowe, 43d N.I., to command the 1st Batt. of Pioneers, vice Milne; Lieut. J. K. Laurd, to be Quart.-Mast. Int. and Paym. to 16th N. I., vice Dalzell, prom.—5th. Capt. Hitson, 23d Lt. In. to do duty with 1st European Regt. on his arrival at Rangoon. 21st. Capt. C. M. Bird, 31st Lt. In., Lieut. Bissett, 1st N.I., and Ensign C. Stafford, 39th N.I., to do duty with the 22d N.I., and to join Capt. Hamilton's detachment at Palaveram. 23d. Capt. A. Roberts, 12th N.I., to do duty with 38th until its arrival at Rangoon. 28th. Lieuts. J. C. H. Campbell and T. Panton, 47th N.I., to do duty with 38th do.; Lieut. N. Geoghegan, 25th N.I., appointed to 1st Battalion of Pioneers; Lieuts. G. Burn, 14th N.I., E. Newton, ditto, and G. J. Richardson, 31st N.I., are appointed to the Rifle Corps.

PROMOTIONS.

Fort St. George, Feb. 25.—50th N.I., Sen. Ensign T. Sewell, to be Lieut., vice Ewell, dec., dated Feb. 8.

REMOVALS.

Fort St. George, Feb. 10.—Lieut.-Col. J. Wissert, from the 6th to the 44th N.I., and Lieut.-Col. W. Woodhouse from latter to former.

Head Quarters, Feb. 23.—Lieut.-Col. W. Dickson, C.B., from 6th to 7th Lt. Car.; and Lieut.-Col. J. H. Collette, from latter to former.

FURLOUGHS.

Fort St. George, Feb. 1.—Capt. W. Milne, 37th N.I., to Europe, for health; Ensign E. W. Snow, 24th N.I., to do. for do. 3d. Ensign J. O'Brien, 26th N.I., to do. for do. 15th. Assist. Surg. A. Stuart, to do. for do.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort. St. George, Feb. 4.—Assist. Surg. F. Pulham, to be Garrison Assist. Surg. at Seringapatam, vice Searle; Assist. Surg. H. S. Fleming, M.D., to be Garrison Surgeon of Fort St. George.

BOMBAY.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Bombay Castle, Feb. 18.—Lieut. E. M. Ennis, 21st Reg. N. I., to be Adj. vice Lighton, resigned, dated Feb. 15.

Feb. 22.—Lieut. W. Keys, 6th N. I., now attached to the Depart. of the Rev. Surv., in Guzerat, to be Assist. of the 1st Class, from the date of Lieut. Damaresy's dep. to England.

Feb. 26.—Lieut. Lechmere to act as Adj. and Quart. Mast. in the Surat Div.

Mar. 4.—Ens. T. Stirling, 1st B. E. Reg. to be placed at the disposal of the Resid. of Hyderabad; Ens. E. Marsh, 9th N. I., to be Mahratta Interpreter, dated March 1.

Mar. 5. Lieut. E. M. Earle, to be do. do., dated do.

Mar. 15.—Lieut. W. H. Jackson, 12th N. I., to be Adj. to the 4th Extra Batt., dated March 8.

March 16.—Lieut. S. Hennell, 12th N. I. to be Adj. to the Marine Batt. vice Clark, dated March 8.

March 8.—The Governor in Council having resolved to raise a Provincial Battalion of Native Infantry, for the Civil duties of the Zillas of Ahmedabad, Kairah, Broach, and Surat, the same will be carried into effect with as little delay as possible at the former station.

Guzerat Provinc. Batt.—Capt. J. Clarke, 22d N. I. to command. Dated March 8.

2d Extra Batt.—Capt. E. M. Wood of the 14th N. I. to command; Lieut. J. W. Gordon, 7th N. I., to be Adj; and Ens. W. Lang, 21st N. I., to be Quart. Mast., and Interpreter in the Hindoostanee and Mahratta languages.—Do. do. do.

3d Extra Batt.—Capt. C. Davies, of the 15th N. I. to command; Lieut. W. Ward, same Reg. to be Adj.; and Ens. C. Hunter to be Quar. Mast. and Interpreter in the Hindoostanee and Mahratta languages.—Do. do. do.

4th Extra Batt.—Capt. F. Roe, 12th N. I. to command; and Lieut. R. Payne, of the 3d Reg. N. I. to be Quart. Mast. and Interpreter in the Hindoostanee.—Do. do. do.

The 2d Extra Batt. to be embodied at Ahmednugger, the 3d at Poonah, and the 4th at Kairah.

The facings of the 2d to be Light Buff, those of the 3d Sky Blue, and those of the 4th Bottle Green, all three with Silver mounting.

W. NEWNHAM, *Chief Secretary.*

FURLOUGHS.

Bombay Castle.—March 12. Capt. W. Ogilvy, to the Cape for twelve months.—15. Lieut. W. H. Clarkson, 3d N. I. to Europe for health; Capt. W. G. Robertson and Capt. P. W. Pedlar for twelve months, in extension.—19. Ensign H. N. Ramsay to Europe, for health.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Bombay Castle.—March 10. Assistant Surg. A. Duncan to be Civil Surgeon of Sholapore.—14. Assist. Surg. Inglis, M.D. to do duty as Civil Surgeon at the Presidency in the absence of Assist. Surg Kane.—19. Assist. Surg. Ormond to officiate as Assistant Garrison Surgeon until the return of Assist. Surg. Magee.

PROMOTIONS.

Bombay Castle, Feb. 26.—*3d Lt. Cav.* Cornet G. Grenville Malet to be Lieutenant, vice Græme, deceased; dated Feb. 21.

Mar. 5.—*10th N. I.* Ensign D. J. Powell to be Lieutenant, vice Hay, deceased; dated 22 Feb.

The undermentioned Cadets are posted as follows:

Cavalry.—To be Cornets: 1. William Mecke, 19 May 1824, to 3d Regt. Light Cavalry; 2. Horatio Berry, 15 June 1824, to 3d Ditto; 3. The hon. Alex. Oliphant Murray, 15 June 1824, to 2d Ditto; 4. Mr. G. O. Reeves.

Infantry.—To be Ensigns: 1. Edward George, 19th May 1824, to 8th Regt. N. I.; 2. John Glenny Gordon, 8th June 1824, to 19th Ditto; 3. Augustus Samuel Hawkins, 8th June 1824, 2d European Regt.; 4. Samuel Adams Crofton, 15 June 1824, to 10th Regt. N. I.; 5. David Mause, 7 August, to 2d Gr. Regt. N. I.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Bombay Castle, 16 *March* 1825.

No. 92 of 1825.—The honourable the Governor in Council is pleased to publish the following Regulations in continuation of the General Orders under date the 14th of September last:

1st. With reference to the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th paragraphs of the General Orders above adverted to, it is to be understood that the staff allowance granted for the several commands therein enumerated, is to be drawn in addition to the Regimental Pay, full Batta, &c. of the officers exercising them, in lieu of all others heretofore drawn in virtue of such command, whether Peace or Field.

2d. Officers below the rank of Major General, when exercising the command of either the Presidency, Poonah, or Surat Division of the Army, are authorized to draw the following allowances, *viz.*

Staff allowance per mensem	Rs. 2,200
Tent allowance in Garrison or Cantonment, or when moving on duty within respective Divisions	300
Additional Tent Allowance when on Field service	500

With the Pay of their Regimental rank.

3d. An allowance of 30 rupees per month for Stationery, instead of the sums now drawn, is granted for the command of each Troop and Company of all regular Corps, including the Pioneer Battalion. It is also authorized for the Invalid Battalion. This allowance is to defray

all charges for Stationery, on account of Detachments and absent Details, and agreeably with the expressed intention of the hon. Court of Directors is to be paid only to those officers actually in command of and present with Troops and Companies. The same deductions as at present are to be continued on account of Adjutants and Quartermasters officiating as Paymasters.

4th. Officers appointed by Government to the command of Districts, Fortresses, and Cantonments, and officers commanding Corps in their own right, are to forfeit no part of their allowances when absent on duty; and the full allowances are to be drawn also by the officers actually exercising the command during such absence. But in all cases of absence, *on leave*, the allowances are to be drawn only by the Officers exercising the commands.

5th. Officers on the Invalid Establishment are not entitled to Tent allowance, but if required to move, they will be furnished with Tents and Carriages from the Stores and Commissariat.

6th. Commanding and Staff officers to whom Regimental house allowance had been granted previous to May last, are to continue to receive it.

7th. Officers commanding Divisions of Artillery are authorized to draw an allowance of 20 rupees per month for Stationery, exclusive of the allowance which they may be in receipt of regimentally on account of a Troop or Company.

8th. Officers of European Cavalry, Artillery, Engineers and Infantry will, until further orders, draw the same rate of Tentage in Garrison as is drawn by the officers of Native Infantry in Garrison.

9th. Officers to whom no fixed salary is granted, but who draw additional Half-batta for the performance of a specific duty, as in the instance of those composing the Committee of Survey at the Presidency, are to suffer no deduction on account of House Rent.

10th. The above regulations are, of course, to have effect from the dates on which the new scale of Pay and Allowances commenced, as already provided for.

KING'S FORCES IN INDIA.

BENGAL.

[*From the London Gazettes.*]

MILITARY PROMOTIONS.

16th Lt. Dragoons.—Cornet W. Payne Neale to be Lieutenant by purchase, vice Crossley, promoted; G. F. R. Johnson, Gent. to be Cornet by purchase, vice Neale.

31st Foot.—Capt. G. L'Estrange, from 24th, to be Captain, vice Andrews, who exchanges; Ensign G. D. Young to be Lieutenant without purchase, vice Nunn, promoted; Geo. C. Marshall, Gent. to be Ensign, vice Young.

44th Foot (Bengal.)—Ensign R. B. M'Crea to be Lieutenant by purchase, vice Courtayne, promoted.

BOMBAY.

4th Lt. Drag. Lewis Upton, gent. to be Cornet, by purchase, vice Phillip, prom.

2d Foot. Ensign S. Cooper to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Hindle, prom.; R. Lloyd, gent. to be Ensign by purch. vice Cooper.

67th Foot. Lieut. J. Manlywood to be Capt. by purch. vice Dwyer, prom.; — Currie, gent. to be Ens. without purch. vice Henessey, prom.

UNATTACHED

John Patton, from 46th Foot; Phillip Crosby, from 54th Foot; W. F. Hindle, from 2d Foot, to be Captains; Lieut. Hon. J. Stuart, from 13th Lt. Drag.; Lieut. C. Andrews, from do.; Lieut. J. Crossby, from 16th do. to be Captains of Comp.

MADRAS.

13th Lt. Drag. Cornet Sir A. T. C. Campbell, bart. to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Andrews, prom.; Cornet R. Sugden to be Lieut. by purchase, vice Stuart, prom.; F. G. Smith, gent. to be Cornet by purch. vice Sugden.

1st Foot. Ens. E. A. G. Muller to be Lieut. without purch. vice Babington, dec. To be Ensigns: Hastings W. Neville, without purch. vice Muller; W. H. Campbell, by purch. vice Every, prom.

20th Foot. J. P. Cumming, gent. to be Ens. without purchase, vice W. H. E. M'Dermott, prom.

45th Foot. Ens. Adj. J. Blakeway, from the Cape Corps Infantry, to be Lieut. vice Urquhart, dec.; Lieut. W. Moore, from 11th Foot, to be Capt. without purch. vice Kelley, dec.

46th Foot. Ens. G. Varlo to be Lieut. by purch. vice Patton, prom.; W. J. Crompton, gent. to be Ens. by purch. vice Varlo; Lieut. T. Manns Simpkin, from 34th Foot, to be Lieut. vice Brown, who exch.; E. H. D. E. Napier, gent. to be Ens. without purch. vice Manners, appoint. to 79th Foot.

[illegible]

16th Foot.—Brev. Maj. J. W. Audain to be Major, without purch., vice Hook,

prom. in Ceylon Reg.; Lieut. J. Dalzell, to be Capt., without purch., vice Audain; Ensign T. Jones, to be Lieut., vice Dalzell; Ensign O. Delancey, from 93d Foot, to be Ensign.

97th Foot.—Capt. W. F. Forster, from half-pay 85th Foot, to be Captain, vice Pratt, app. to the 17th.

Ceylon Regiment.—Brev. Lieut. Col. L. Hook, to be Lieut. Col., without purch.; Lieut. A. Robertson, from half-pay Sicilian Reg.; Lieut. T. Phelan, from half-pay 1st West India Reg.; Lieut. H. W. De Chair, from half-pay 6th Foot; Lieut. J. Hewett, from half-pay Dillon's Reg.; Lieut. J. B. Kingsley, from half-pay Royal African Corps; Lieut. T. Woodford, from half-pay 14th Foot; Lieut. T. C. M'Question, from half-pay 103d Foot; Lieut. T. L. Whittaker, from half-pay 31th Foot; Lieut. R. W. Lambrecht, from half-pay 3d Garrison Batt.; Lieut. E. Woodhouse, from half-pay 84th Foot —to be Lieutenants.

Cape Corps.—Capt. A. Briggs, from half-pay 5th Foot, to be Capt. of Inf. vice F. B. Head, who exchanges.

Roy. Afr. Col. Corps.—G. Laudells, gent., to be Ensign, vice Gordon, dec.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

CALCUTTA.

Births.—March 26th. The lady of J. W. Carroll, Esq. M.D., of a son.—27th. The lady of Capt. A. Gordon of ditto.—April 5th. At Chowringhee, the lady of E. Bird, Esq. of a son.

Marriages.—March 26th. H. Lushington, Esq. C. S., to Eliza Louisa, eldest daughter of W. Trower, Esq.—29th. W. Moncton, Esq. C. S., to Ellen, daughter of Col. G. Richards.—30th. At Dumdum, Lieut. Twenlow, B. Artil., to Miss A. H. D'Oyley.—April 5th. Lieut. A. G. Ward, 64th B. N. I., to Hannah, eldest daughter of the late Rev. W. Ward, of Serampore; E. Hughes, Esq. to Rosling, eldest daughter of L. Maney, Esq.

Death.—April 9th.—Mr. F. Ward.

MADRAS.

Births.—Feb. 7th. Mrs. J. Bacon, of a daughter.—22d. The lady of Lieut. T. P. Hay, 22d N. I. of a daughter.—28th. The lady of D. Hill, Esq. of a daughter.—March 11th. The lady of Capt. W. Strahan, Ass. Q. M. G. of the army, of a son.—12th. The lady of J. Minchin, Esq. of a son; the lady of Lieut. G. Pecks, 23d Wallajabad Lt. Inf., of a son.

Marriages.—Feb 9th. Mr. C. Bacon, to Miss A. R Winter.—March 1st. H. Cotes, Esq. Solicitor, to Ann, daughter of A. Davidson, Esq. late of Calcutta.—19th, J. Barclay, Esq. of the ship Sophia, [illegible]line, daughter of E. Day, Esq of Staunton, Somerset.

Deaths.—Feb. 21. Lieut. E. A. Edie, 35th N. I.—March 21st. On board the Circassian, Mrs. Barnfield, aged 51.

BOMBAY.

Birth.—Feb. 18th, the lady of Thomas Crawford, Esq. of a son.—March 1st. At Colaba, the lady of the Rev. J. Clow, of a daughter.—19th. At Colaba, the lady of Capt. T. Roe, 12th N. I., of a son.

Marriage.—March 17. Mr. W. Leach, of the Mil. Audit. Depart. to Miss E. C. M'Dougal.

Deaths.—Feb. 20. Lieut. A. D. Græme, 3d Lt. Cavalry.—21st. Of fever, Lieut. J. Hay, 10th N. I.—March 25th. W. Peill, Esq.

INTERIOR OF INDIA.

Births.—Feb. 19. At Pallamcottah, the lady of G. S. Hooper, Esq. of a son and heir.—28th. At Palaveram, the lady of Lieut. J. Wordword, 32d N. I., of a daughter.—2d. At Ellichpore, the lady of Lieut. Adam, 44th M. N. I., of a daughter.—4th. At Belgaum, the lady of Capt. Puske, R. A., of a daughter.—12th. At Muttra, the lady of Major Smith, 2d Lt. Cav., of a daughter.—20th. At Agra, the lady of H. T. Owen, Esq. C. S., of a daughter.—21st. At Cardiff Castle, Mrs. Ferrar, of a daughter.—25th. At Dinapore, the lady of Lieut. G. Warren, 1st Eur. Reg. of a daughter.—28th. At Bauleah, the lady of R. B. Berney, Esq. C. S. of a son.

Marriages.—Mar. 8. At Secunderabad, Lieut. R. Codrington, 46th N.I. to Louisa, daughter of the Rev. F. Gardener, of Comb Hay, Somerset.—27. At Berhampore, Mr. J. Chesterman, of Poorneah, to the daughter of the late F. Chopin, Esq. of Calcutta.—April 3. At Monghyr, T. M. Farnworth, Esq. 43d Bengal N.I. to Eleanor, eldest daughter of the late P. Gillis, Esq.

Deaths.—Feb. 11. At Ryepore, J. H Martin, Esq. of the Med. Estab. of the Rajah of Nagpore.—17. At Belgaum, Capt. T. Greenhill, 4th M. Cav.—22. In the attack of the fort of Omraiz, Lieut. C. B. Phillipson; at Penang, J. W. Tooney, Esq. C.S.—25. At ditto, W. M. Williams, Esq. C. S.—March 12. In

Camp, Assist. Surg. G. Leach, of H.M. 54th Regt.—15. Drowned, near Ghazepore, Cornet Paxton, 6th Lt. Cav.—26. At Purnea, Elizabeth, wife of Capt. J. Aubert. — At Rosapettah, Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. W. Goodman, Examiner in the Board of Excise.

AFRICA.

Death.—At Accra, Sierra Leone, Capt. De Barrallier, of the Roy. Af. C. C.

SMYRNA.

Marriage.—July 22. Mr. J. Warmington, to Grace Louisa, daughter of J. Barker, Esq. H.B.M.'s Consul at Aleppo.

MALTA.

Death.—July 23. Lieut. J. Malony, 80th Regt. aged 38.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Births.—Sept. 15. At Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the Lady of T. P. Lang, Esq. 13th Lt. Drag. of a son.—20. At Cornwall Terrace, Regent's Park, the lady of J. Thornhill, Esq., one of the Directors of the E. I. C., of a son.

Marriages.—Aug. 22. At St. Pancras New Church, G. Papps, Esq. of Great Coram-street, to Jane, daughter of the late T. Lawrence, Demerara.—29. At Old Windsor, J. W. Howard, of Heathcote-street, to Ann Cath. daughter of the late J. Rowley, Madras Civ. Service. —Sept. 5. At St. John's, Ch. Offley, Esq. of Upfield Lodge, to Arabella Theresa, daughter of T. Martin, Esq. H.C.S. —6th. At St. Saviour's Church, Dartmouth, W. Sterling, Esq. H.C.M.S. to Sibella Pierce, second daughter of W. L. Hockin, Esq.—7th. At St. James's, Garlick-Hithe, Ch. Blake, Esq. of Poorneah, Bengal, to Frances, daughter of the late W. Denis, Esq of Thames-street.—19th. At St. Martin's, Outwich, Beaumont, son of the late W. Atkinson, Esq. of Calcutta, to Elizabeth, only daughter of the Rev. J. J. Ellis.

Deaths.—Ens. Robinson, Roy. Af. Col. Corps, on his passage from Sierra Leone. —May 16. On board the Canning East Indiaman, R. Simmonds, Esq. Surgeon of do. aged 35.—June 4. At Sea, on board the Albion, Hon. J. Adam, late Gov. Gen. of Bengal.—25. Lieut. Col. F. F. Staunton, C.B. Aid-de-Camp to the Gov. Gen. of India, and late Command. of Ahmednuggar, on his passage from Bombay, aged 48.—Aug. 22. At Bedgbury, Kent, Mrs. Cartier, widow of J. Cartier, Esq. formerly Gov. Gen. of Bengal, aged 80.—Sept. 6. At Ditchingham Lodge, Norfolk, Col. J. Capper, H.C.S. aged 82.

Some of our Files of Bengal Papers, which were sent by the Albion *to Liverpool, having miscarried, renders our Civil and Military List of Promotions less perfect than we should otherwise have been enabled to make it.*

COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE.

Madras, March 14, 1825.

Government Securities, &c.

6 per cent. paper 32 per cent. prem.
5 .. .. par to 6 per cent. prem. according to Registry.
4 0

Exchange at 106½ Md. Rs. per 100 Sa. Rs., the rate now adopted by the Merchants and Agents at Madras, in all purchases and sales of Government Securities.

Exchange on England 1 | 8½ at 3
.. .. 1 | 9 at 6
Ditto on Bengal 104 at 107 Mad. Rs. per 100 S. Rs.
Ditto on Bombay par.

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date. 1825.	*Port of Arrival.*	*Ship's Name.*	*Commander.*	*Place of Depart.*	*Date.*
Aug. 31	Off the Start ..	Canning	Baylis ..	China ..	Mar. 26
Aug. 31	Off the Start ..	London	Sotheby ..	China ..	Mar. 26
Sept. 3	Off Penzance	Luna	Knox ..	Cape ..	May 27
Sept. 3	Off Dartmouth	Ann and Hope	Kelly ..	China ..	Mar. 30
Sept. 5	Off Mounts Bay	Ridleys	Blair ..	Cape ..	June 11
Sept. 6	Off Dover	Aleyda	Bakker ..	Batavia ..	Jan. —
Sept. 7	Downs	Lavinia	Brooks ..	Cape ..	June 9
Sept. 12	Downs	Circassian	Douthwaite	Bengal ..	Feb. 27
Sept. 13	Liverpool	Albion	Swainson ..	Bengal ..	April 17
Sept. 17	Off Portsmouth	Ganges	Lloyd ..	Madras ..	Mar. 26
Sept. 17	Downs	Florentia	Wimble ..	Bombay ..	Mar. 26
Sept. 20	Downs	Juliana	Fotheringham	China ..	Mar. 5
Sept. 26	Downs	City of Edinburgh	Wiseman ..	Bengal ..	Mar. 6
Sept. 27	Off Dover	Britannia ..	Bourke ..	Cape ..	July 8
Sept. 27	Downs	Alexander	Richardson ..	Ceylon ..	May 15
Sept. 27	Portsmouth	Moffat	Brown ..	China ..	Mar. 5
Sept. 27		Euphrates	——— ..	Bengal ..	Mar. 30

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Date. 1825.	*Port of Arrival.*	*Ship's Name.*	*Commander.*	*Port of Depart.*
Mar. 9	Madras	Bombay Merchant	Hill	Rangoon
Mar. 9	Madras	Favourite	Geddie	Padang
Mar. 10	Madras	Sophia	Barclay	London
Mar. 13	Bombay	Regalia	Henning	London
Mar. 14	Bombay	England	Reay	London
Mar. 14	Bombay	Bridget	Leslie	Bengal
Mar. 17	Madras	Portsea	Shepherd	London
Mar. 23	Bengal	Theodosia	Kidson	Liverp. & Bomb.
Mar. 24	Bengal	Larkins	Wilkinson	Bencoolen
April 3	Bengal	Aurora	Earl	London
April 26	Ceylon	Palmyra	Lamb	London
May 4	Ceylon	Boyne	Lawson	London
June 6	Cape of Good H.	Atlas	Hunt	London
July	Rio Janeiro	Lady Nugent	Coppin	London
July	Rio Janeiro	Hope	Norris	New S. Wales
July	St. Helena	John	Griffin	Cape of G. Hope
July 8	St. Helena	Bourdelais	Gallais	Bengal
July 12	St. Helena	Mentor	Hezzy	China
July 18	St. Helena	Florentia	Wimble	Bombay
July 21	Madeira	Orpheus	Finlay	London
July 22	Madeira	Victory	Farquharson	London
July 24	Madeira	Alacrity	Finlay	Cape of G. Hope
July 27	St. Helena	Britannia	Bourke	Singapore
July 28	St. Helena	Shannon	Norquay	Singapore
Aug. 1	Madeira	William Parker	Brown	London

DEPARTURES FROM EUROPE.

Date. 1825.	*Port of Depart.*	*Ship's Name.*	*Commander.*	*Destination.*
Aug. 28	Deal ..	Rolla	Nelson	Cape & New S. Wales
Aug. 30	Deal ..	Rosanna	Herd	New South Wales
Aug. 30	Off Portsmouth	Wellington	Evans	Cape and Madras
Sept. 4	Deal ..	Marq. Wellesley	Coulson	Cape and Mauritius
5	Liverpool ..	Roscoe	Hargrave	Madras and Bengal
12	Deal ..	Promise	Gibbs	Bombay
13	Plymouth ..	Resource	Tomlin	Madras and Bengal

DEPARTURES FROM EUROPE—*Continued.*

Date.	*Port of Depart.*	*Ship's Name.*	*Commander.*	*Destination.*
Sept. 13	Deal	Fairlie	Short ..	Madras and Bengal
Sept. 13	Plymouth	Fortitude	Burgon ..	Batavia & Singapore
Sept. 14	Off Portland	Claudine	Christie ..	Bengal
Sept. 23	Deal	Barossa	Hutchinson	Madras and Bengal
Sept. 23	Deal	Manglis	Cogill ..	New South Wales
Sept. 23	Deal	Hibberts	Thacker ..	Ceylon and Bengal
Sept. 23	Deal	Cape Packet	Kellie ..	Cape & New S. Wales
Sept. 23	Portsmouth	Nautilus	Tripe ..	Cape and St. Helena

SHIPS SPOKEN WITH AT SEA.

Date. 1825.	*Lat. and Long.*	*Ship's Name.*	*Commander.*	*P. of Depart.*	*Destination.*
Feb. —	1 10 N. 129 22 E.	Houqua ..	Nash	. London	Manilla & China
April 20	2 N. 84 E.	Duke of Lancast.	Davis	. London	Bengal
May 3	13 8 N. 88 16 E.	Hythe ..	Wilson ..	London	Bengal & China
June 3	5 22 N. 22 13 W	Andromeda ..	Middle ..	London	Van Diem. Land
June 6	22 S. 26 15 W	Minerva ..	Probyn	London	Madr. & Bengal
June 15	3 S. 25 W	Warren Hastings	Rawes ..	London	China
July 10	7 21	Aliquon ..	——— ..	London	Bengal
July 12	12 24	Sarah ..	Tucker	London	Bombay
July 14	19 4 S. 35 31 W	Woodford ..	Chapman	London	Madr. & Bengal
July 15	7 N.	William Miles	Beadle	London	Madr. & Bengal
July 20	4 21	Ceres ..	Warren	London	Bombay
July 22	4 S. 21 W	Thos. Grenville	Manning	London	Bengal
July 27	36 S. 20 E.	Atlas ..	Hunt ..	London	Bengal
Aug. 2	2 N. 22 W	Brothers ..	Motley ..	London	New S. Wales
Aug. 10	11 15 N. 26 W	Bengallen ..	——— ..	Bourdeaux	Bengal
Aug. 14	14 N. 25 W	Java ..	Driver ..	London ..	Bengal & China
Sept. 10		Roscoe ..	——— ..	Liverpool	Ben. off Bardsey

GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

PASSENGERS OUTWARD.

By the *Barossa*, for Madras and Bengal: Miss Goode; Capts. Agnew, Rolfe, and Agar; Messrs. Bignell, Ramsay, Fraser, Campbell, Hamilton, Ardley, Agar, Whistler, Bayley, Knyvett, Sturrock, Christie, and Usher.

By the *Fairlie*, Capt. Joseph Short: Lady Walker and two Misses Walker; Mrs. Dickson, Mrs. Hay; Misses Greenway and Annesley; Lieut. Gen. Sir Geo. Walker, K.C.B.; Lieut. Col. Wm. Dickson; Mr. Greenway, H. C. Civil Service; Capt. Crosby; Lieuts. Winch and Humfrays; Drs. Day and Norris; and Messrs. Oakes, Strange, Bunce, Stoddart, Heyland, Taylor, Humphreys, and Biscoe, Cadets.

PASSENGERS HOMEWARD.

By the *Canning*, Baylis, from China: —Capts. Cracraft and O'Reily, Madras Inf.; Messrs. Weare and Ilbury from Penang; and Mesdames Day, Cunningham, and Smith.

By the *London*, from China: Mr. C. J. Fair, from Bombay; and Mr. P. P. Thomas, from Macao.

By the *Circassian*, Douthwaite, from Bengal and Madras: Mr. W. Bannfield; Mrs. Bannfield, died at Madras; Mr. J. Hay, died at Madras; Miss Hay landed at Madras; Lieuts. Sherrer and Symes; Miss Charitie; Masters Hay and Tate; Lieut. Hammond landed at St. Helena.

By the *Albion*—From Bengal: Hon. John Adam, died 4th June; Rev. T. W. Northmore, Mrs. Northmore, Mr. T. W. Northmore; Mrs. Lock and family; Capt. W. D. Dalzell, 16th Madras N. I.; C. F. Thompson, Esq.; James Walkinshaw, Esq.; Miss M. N. Paton.

By the *Florentia*, from Bombay:—Lieut.-Col. Staunton, C. B., died 25th June; Mrs. Staunton; Mrs John Cumming; Evan Lloyd, Esq., H. C. Civil Service; Capt. Ogilvy, for St. Helena; Capt. Guy, Bombay Marines; Lieut. H. Clarkson, H. C. Service; Lieut. D. Scott, for St. Helena; Lieut. E. Duke, H. M., died 5th May; H. N. Ramsay, H. C. Service; J. D. Stutely, Esq., Civil Service; Rev. B. T. Vernon; Miss S. Vernon.

By the *Ganges*, Captain Lloyd:—Comm. Schreneder, late Governor of Tranquebar; Major Say; Capt. Guyman; Lieuts. Hubbard, R. N., Jones, R. N., Kerr, Goldesworthy; Mr. Gaslin, R. N.; Dr. Gibbs; Master Kebling.

THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

No. 23.—NOVEMBER 1825.—Vol. 7.

PRINSEP'S HISTORY OF LORD HASTINGS'S ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA.[1]

As this work, although considerably extended, and raised from the humbler rank of a "Narrative" to the more pretending title of a "History," is but a second edition of a performance laid before the public, we do not think that it comes altogether within the range prescribed to our critical labours. Any detailed examination of it would, at least, be out of place, considering the time that has elapsed since the original publication, and the unavoidable cooling down of the public feeling and interest in regard to the events which it describes. A few cursory remarks on matters touched in this amended edition, and unnoticed or differently noticed in the former, will suffice for our present purpose, and these we shall incline to offer rather on opinions than on facts.

The author, as most of our readers are aware, very lately filled one of the Bengal secretaryships of state,—the Persian department, a branch of the political, or, as we should say in England, the "foreign affairs."[2] During the two busy periods of which he records the transactions, this gentleman was attached to the Secretary's office with the Governor-General; he accompanied the Earl of Moira on his tour of inspection and superintendence during the first Nepaul campaign, and continued attached to head-quarters during the Mahratta or Pindaree campaign of 1817—18. His position, and the ready liberality of the Governor, not unwilling, of course, to have the story of such eventful doings told by so able and favourable a chronicler, appear to have given him access to all the state secrets of those days, and we must do him the justice to say that he appears to have made

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[1] History of the Political and Military Transactions in India during the Administration of the Marquis of Hastings, 1813—23. By Henry T. Prinsep, Bengal Civil Service. Enlarged from the Narrative published in 1820. London, 1825.

[2] He was one of the six combined Secretaries who united their purses and their influence to prosecute the Editor of the Calcutta Journal, because a writer in that Paper had said, in illustration of another topic, that if no complaints could reach the ears of Government, except through the six Secretaries, then no complaints would be heard but such as they chose. Although these Secretaries contrived to have several of their immediate underlings of office, and personal dependents, on the grand jury—Mr. Macfarlane, Mr. Seymour, Mr. Gibbons, and others, by a bare majority of whom a bill was found, yet a more unbiassed petit jury, after a public trial, gave an immediate verdict of acquittal, to the deep mortification and everlasting disgrace of these functionaries, who combined to crush, by their purses and their influence, a writer whom they could not answer or refute in the more open and manly field of free and fair discussion.

diligent use of his opportunities. He is naturally biassed alike in his views of transactions, and in his opinions of the men and measures of which he treats, partly by the prejudices imbibed from his superiors during the periods when he was employed as a confidential assistant in the bureaux of the political and Persian departments—and partly by an equally natural leaning to the views of the Civil Service, of which talented body he is a distinguished and prosperous member.

As a record of facts—full and complete—during a long and very eventful time, this book has much value. Every author who writes a military history is not a Julius Cæsar or an Orme; yet all those who were actors in the scenes which Mr. Prinsep describes, and all their friends and comrades, will doubtless highly applaud the work; nor can it be denied even by those who sit in mere impartial judgment upon the performance, that it is written with considerable liveliness and effect in many interesting places. There is, however, an undeniable monotony —a *prosy*ness, or at least an *official*ism, (if a word may be coined for the occasion,) in the style, which is not very favourable to prolonged attention; and then almost every thing done or proposed from certain quarters is the best possible, and certain *classes* or individuals appear in like manner to the same uniform advantage. All this, arising doubtless from the natural impress on the author's mind, of the masses of correspondence and despatches with which he was so long familiar, has given to the narrative, military and political, a certain smack of office in tone and finish; while the absolute *dishabille* of the style in some respects betokens a degree of slovenliness or bad taste, or both, which befits not a second edition, or a demi-official annalist. Of this latter defect, innumerable instances might be quoted, such as, revision of a system being "*in hand*," vol. ii. p. 432.—"*Slaying*" for killing, vol. i. p. 268.—A source of "*eternal*" dispute, vol. ii. p. 434.—"*Immediately he*" crosses the frontier, vol. ii. p. 406.—Sufficient salaries which they "*else*" had not, vol. ii. p. 438.—The General had "*staid this while*" in the batteries.—"*Circumvent*," used frequently for "surround;" and multitudes of parallel inaccuracies, not to say vulgarisms. But these affect in no degree the accuracy of the book as a copious, and, on the whole, a faithful chronicle of the military and political *res gestæ* of Lord Moira in the East.

The result of these transactions has been the complete and thorough subjugation of the whole of India, from the debouches of the Indus to the to the Himàlya mountains and the Burampooter, excepting only the Seik'hs and the Sindees. Little disposed as we are to view with blind partiality the crimes or errors of our countrymen in the East, and anxiously as we endeavour always to steer the course of our opinions and judgments according to the golden-letter maxim of the venerable Bentham,—"THE GREATEST GOOD OF THE GREATEST NUMBER FOR THE GREATEST LENGTH OF TIME," we are free to confess that we do not well see that the Governor-General of India, during the years from 1814 to 1818, could have acted otherwise than he appears to have done with respect to the Native Powers. Indeed, it is difficult to evade the position taken up by Sir John Malcolm and others—that from the moment of the English leaving their original factories and establishing their flag over any portion of the soil of India as masters, it has never been in their power to *stop* in the career of conquest, except in the

alternative of total expulsion from the country, and destruction to the "vested interests" of individuals and of England. The appearance of England on the Indian stage, among the other prize-fighters who had been combating there for lucre or renown for ages—her successful invasion and conquest, formed, indeed, a revolution of the most violent and unnatural kind. All parties have ever since been ready to expel the dangerous intruder, but our never-failing pre-eminence in arms, aided by our maritime greatness at critical moments, by our credit and resources and regularity of administration; and before all these, our *intellectual superiority*, which enabled us adroitly to play off one of our antagonists against the other, and so to prevent powerful or harmonious *combinations*—such have been the sources of our strength,* and of all our rivals' weakness. The result we see; and we should be inclined to mourn, as honest citizens of the world, over such a monument of successful triumph of might over right, but that on a closer examination we see grounds to question the *right* of those previous invaders whom we displaced, and that we console ourselves in the sincere and honest belief, that the great balance of good to mankind in general, and India in particular, in short, to the greatest number *for the greatest length of time*, inclines *in favour* of our overrunning and subjugating India.

If indeed we are to govern India for ever, as we have hitherto done—if the stern military rule, the fiscal rapacity, the commercial exactions and oppressions—if the drawing of capital as uncompensated "*tribute*"—if the exclusion of the whole of the conquered races from equality of rights, honours and employments—if we are to strike no root into the country—if the Helotism of the half-castes, and the denial of our example, our capital, our religion, our customs, our higher standard of wants and comforts, of our sciences and intelligence; all, in short, that *Colonization* implies;—if all these things are to continue, or to sum up the whole in one short and too well known word—if the *Company* is to continue—then indeed we should feel but too much disposed to murmur at that course of events, or that dispensation of Providence, which has led to our astonishing successes in India.

But we hope for better things, and we believe that the benefits which our rule has unquestionably already shed upon that country, are but the beginnings of better days, when that *civilization of the East*, towards the accomplishment of which our conquest is but the blind instrument and means, unsuspected and unintended by the conquerors—shall be rapidly extended from our settlements, embracing in fulness of time regions which now are, as before our time India was, an arena for the combats of barbarous savages—a wilderness where human wild beasts devoured each others hosts, and were devoured in turn. It is this hope, or rather this belief in the progress of civilization, only to be effected in this bigotted and benighted country of India by the mighty power of conquerors strong enough to repress and compress all the efforts of struggling savage ignorance, which reconciles us to much of the intermediate misery and vice and degradation which have accompanied our successful career in the East. It is only the first step which costs any thing to those who think of these matters as we do. Grant us but the fulcrum for our lever—let us but take firm footing in our position, that our conquest of India is the first step in progress to its millennium, and we are but too readily inclined to wink at intermediate evils—to

excuse the means for the end's sake. Whether indeed *any* end ought to justify evil means is another and more formidable question; but it is one from any possible consequences of which, as bearing on our present speculations, we escape altogether, because the transactions on which we speculate, and which we would separate and resolve into "means" and "ends," are a long series, extending over a period of almost a century; one event arising out of another in an apparently necessary sequence, bearing each of them the apparent complexion, at the moment, of inevitable acts of self-defence; the historical philosopher may look back and condemn, or approve, according as each transaction may now seem to have been a right end or an unworthy means; but who was to judge at the time,—and who had the power of influencing the tide as it rapidly passed on?

Whatever halcyon days may be in store for India, one benefit has already flowed beyond doubt from our conquest—*Peace* has followed steadily in our train. This may seem paradoxical to persons in Europe who only hear of the wars and series of wars in which we are almost incessantly engaged with some one or other of our neighbours. Still, however, the proposition is undeniably true: the wars in which each succeeding Governor and Commander gets involved—the "*just and necessary wars,*" of course, have been always waged for many years on our enemy's soil, or that of some weaker neighbour (or ally) whom we protect, and in due time extinguish in our friendly embraces. Our own soil is left in peace and security, while we prosecute our wars on that of our foes. The magnitude and importance of this single blessing, rarely interrupted except by an occasional intestine commotion, or the chance depredations of some hurried freebooters, can only be justly appreciated on a sufficient advertence to the condition in which almost every part of India was placed before our conquest. Invasions of foreign enemies from without; perpetual insurrections of oppressed landholders within; periodical revolts of this Nabob or that Rajah against the imperial authority; or their struggles for supremacy with the Governors sent down to supersede them—left the harassed peasants and artisans a prey to successive parties and plunderers, who respected the persons and properties of friends little more than those of foes. It is true, indeed too true, that under the Company's regime these labouring classes are all steeped in poverty and wretchedness to the lips. The culture of the land even now leaves so little for replacement of stock, remuneration of labour, and repayment of borrowed means, that, as Mr. Henry Colebrooke justly observes, the condition of hired labourers is preferable to that of our ryots, and they are very generally in a state of migration from district to district—bankrupt, and forced to flee from one place to another, yet tempting fortune once more in a new trial somewhere else. All means of bettering their condition are cut off, because every source of accumulation is dried up, where so little remains to the agriculturist; *all* the rest, all the net produce, all the rent, save a trivial percentage to a nominal landholder, being absorbed by the exchequer.

Melancholy, however, as is the condition of the mass of the people, it is what they have been too much and too long accustomed to suffer from our predecessors in conquest. With us they escape the massacres, torturings, and all the horrors and excesses committed by invading or defending soldiery. The limit of our regular exactions is pretty well

determined, and although the inhabitants do not escape the illicit extortions of those set in authority over them, still the utmost amount of all their sufferings by such pillage, or by oppression under colour of law, is as dust in the balance compared with the horrors of military rapine and freebooting. This state of peace and of comparative security has been attained in India solely through our military successes. It is at least the one first great step towards improvement, without which nothing can be done—not the slightest advance made towards the improvement and permanent amelioration of the country. Our conviction of this does, we avow, reconcile us to much that we cannot but dislike, much that we cannot avoid blushing for in the details of all our great political and military operations. In those of the Nepaul and Mahratta wars, as related by Mr. Prinsep, there is certainly *less* that is painful and revolting from its injustice, or bullying and degrading from its meanness and deceit, than we remember to have been struck with in the political and warlike transactions of Clive, Verelst, Warren Hastings, Cornwallis, Teignmouth, and Wellesley. Perhaps we may hazard the consoling remark, that the degree of meanness and violence attendant on the several great military or political revolutions which we have effected in India, have diminished somewhat in every successive transaction. The *intensity* of profligacy, in short, has lessened with the increase of our substantial power, and with our augmenting confidence in our own position, and our own legitimate resources;—may we not add, too, with the increasing influence of philosophy and liberality in England and in India, and with the declining public estimation and power of the Company?

It may be worth while to go over a few of the great events in our Indian history chronologically, to show the reader that there is something of foundation for this belief, that as we become stronger in India we have become less politically profligate. There is something of comfort at least in the notion.

To begin *ab ovo:* who can read, at this day, of Clive's double treachery to the honest Watson and the rogue Omichund, without unqualified detestation? Yes; even *we*—inclined as we fear we are to look complacently on the "*means*" for the sake of the good "*end*," our acquisition of Bengal—can scarcely summon patience to peruse the disgusting details of fraud and forgery on this memorable failure of honesty among thieves! It may be taken as the zero—the lowest point in the scale of public wickedness, as it is one of the remotest in point of time. From this, by slow and imperceptible gradations, we ascend to the complex and shuttlecock treachery which seated, *un*-seated, and *re*-seated, successive phantoms of Nabobs, Surajahs, Jaffiers, and Cossims, on the throne of Bengal. Hence, to the impudent rapacity of the majority in council who waged the unjust and horrible war with Cossim Ally, the origin of our abominable existing monopolies of necessaries of life. With the epoch of Warren Hastings's administration we rise to better things, at least we open a new chapter in our political morality, for we seem to have begun to blush for plain downright fraud and violence; and in commencing a system of intrigue, veiled by more decent pretexts than before, to have paid the sort of homage which hypocrisy is said to tender to virtue on behalf of vice. Of this character was our encouragement to the Vizier of Oude to extirpate the Rohillas, and to vex and despoil his family

and his people: so, the seizure of Salsette, and our ambitious interference in support of the bloody Ragobah, which led to the great Mahratta war; so, the oppression and destruction of the Benares Rajah. Of Lord Cornwallis's first administration we have little or nothing of evil to record; and Lord Teignmouth's is defaced by one solitary sin towards Vizier Ally and his adoptive father—a political treachery, which was fatal in its consequences to this desperate man's victims, and more so to himself. Come we at length to Lord Wellesley's chequered administration, during which, more substantial progress was made towards *the great "end"*—our complete conquest of India,—than at any previous time. His merciless treatment of our own Vizier of Oude was akin to the doings of old Hastings's remoter time; and still more retrograding in the scale was the destruction of our ancient ally of the Carnatic—a deed of darkness, that the elder Clive himself might have been proud of. Those backslidings excepted, however, Lord Wellesley's transactions with almost every other state, whom he compressed in his vigorous grasp, or prepared for that fatal operation, were conducted by means of a *process*—not the less effectual that it was mild and slow—fair without but deadly within—a process pretty well understood now-a-days by the epithet of "SUBSIDIARY"; the potent and gradual effects of which are well described by Mr. Prinsep, vol. ii. p. 417; and more concisely, but with equal naïveté, by the Nepaul General, Umur Sing, vol. i. p. 464. The dishonest abandonment of the Boendee Rajah, and other allies, by Sir G. Barlow, and some vile oppressions in Travancore and Malabar, close this gloomy and eventful catalogue.

Compared with the best of these transactions in this ascending series, Lord Hastings's political and military acts appear to have been bright indeed. If he did not wholly escape the deleterious effects of contagion, living in an atmosphere where political morality was of a low standard, and rather *conventional* in quality, his Lordship has done little towards friends or foes, *in his diplomatic and military*[5] *capacities*, for which his descendants will have to blush. Indeed, it is gratifying to our feelings to remark, that in all his intercourse with dependent princes, (and

[5] It is indeed sincerely to be regretted that his inconsistencies about the press, and abandonment of principles which he had himself set up as to "the salutary control of public scrutiny," hinder us from extending this praise to all of what may be called his political acts. Had he possessed sufficient firmness to withstand the evil counsel that assailed him, his reputation as a statesman would have stood higher at this day; and that honest fame, of which he is a sincere worshipper, would have shed a brighter lustre over his declining years. It is also much to be regretted that he took no steps to redeem the pledge of a Permanent Settlement, given by his predecessors to the ceded and conquered provinces, or to improve the administration of justice by a complete reformation of the judicial system, and the introduction of a regularly digested code of laws suited to the circumstances of the country. His military education, no doubt, rendered him less fitted to reap the laurels which this great field of improvement would yield, and may yet yield to a Canning or a Bentinck, who has the talents and the virtue to achieve so great an enterprise. It was one every way worthy of Lord Hastings; and he, doubtless, would have at least attempted something if his virtue had possessed sufficient vigour to cope with the sordid leaden influence continually striving to weigh him down. But with all his faults and failings, it must be confessed he was the best ruler India ever saw; and while the Company exists, or has any influence in the selection of a Governor-General, it is much to be feared that "we shall never look upon his like again."

who were *not* dependent, more or less, on his favour ?) he appears constantly anxious to sooth their galled and wincing feelings, and to effectuate such measures as he considered necessary, by the gentlest and least offensive methods. This procedure on his Lordship's part, seems to have been at all times sufficiently distasteful to the servants of the Company who were joined with him in the administration, or were employed as diplomatic agents at the different courts. Mr. Adam, Sir C. Metcalfe, Colonel Baillie, doubtless, and Mr. Prinsep, with others of this class, ascribe this unseemly impatience on their part to tenderness for the *people's* welfare; but we shall be pardoned for hesitating to acquiesce in the belief that any such feeling, *alone*, actuates our Indian statesmen and residents: love of power and patronage—ambition, in short, enters, beyond doubt, largely into their professed love of the people; and all these functionaries desire to recommend themselves in higher quarters by extending our revenues and pushing our direct authority. Who, of sane mind, gives credit for pure motives, that is, for desiring only the good of the governed, to men who are universally found hostile to any check *from below* on their authority ?—who issue edicts to forbid obnoxious books, to put down communication of sentiment between man and man, and who will not allow the people the right of publishing and commenting on the proceedings of their judges and courts? Perhaps the following passages from the work under review, may throw greater light on the indecent impatience which some of our Eastern politicians show to get possession of the *direct* authority in all the subsidized states, and to accelerate the progress to that always impending period:

"In the first place, it is to be observed that the revenue of India is, for the most part, if not entirely, an absolute property attaching to the possession of the country. Its amount is not regulated, as in England and most European countries, by any direct reference to the wants of the state. Instead of determining, in the first instance, the amount required for civil and military charges, or for other disbursements of the year, and then settling the ways and means by which this specific amount shall be levied, the finances of India begin at the other end. The revenue is fixed and certain: if the charges can be brought below it, the surplus is net profit to the Company or to the nation.

"Such being the recognised state of landed property in India, one cannot wonder at the avidity with which schemes of conquest have been pursued there in all ages. The subjugation of any European state would give the power, and *perhaps* the right, of imposing contributions and taxes to support the conquering army; but their amount is limited to the pay of the army, or to some other special object; and each requisition for a supply being felt as a new and grievous impost, the yoke which is attended with such a consequence is always galling and insupportable to the conquered. In India, however, the thing is ready done to hand. The displacement of the old government leaves the new in possession of its land rents; these being no one else's property, naturally fall as the conqueror's prize."

If, according to these ideas, a "*revenue*" is to be drawn from each subjugated province, not proportioned to the wants of its administration and defence—not in its only legitimate and honest sense, of a contribution from every man towards the common expenses of the whole state; but in the sense of positive tribute, or rent of land, to the proprietary owner, then it is no wonder the cravings after revenue should be incessant and strong! It signifies little that nothing of net balance may remain after the charges of the new acquisition are defrayed. Expenditure is a

pliable plant of rapid growth, never failing to expand readily to the uttermost limits of *revenue*, especially when the financial system of any unfortunate people is allowed to be modelled on the *inverse method* of adaptation, so ingenuously described in the above extracts. Even when net revenue wholly disappears under increase of establishments, there is always the indirect profit to shoals of the governing and "revenue" extracting party, of patronage abroad and at home—provision for multitudinous friends and followers.

With all this, we must admit in candour, that there is considerable difficulty in the solution of this question so often put in issue between Lord Hastings and the Company's servants, as to the degree and mode of our interference in the internal affairs of a subsidized state. It cannot be concealed, that from the hour a prince ratifies a subsidiary treaty, the death-warrant of his independence is signed; he is politically doomed, and defunct—the final struggles may be more or less spasmodic; the last agonies may be protracted, or may be quickly over; the death-howl may be accelerated or retarded; but the ultimate result is inevitable. As Mr. Henry Russell, in his most eloquent and forcible manner, expresses it:

"An alliance with us upon the subsidiary system, however it may contribute to the advancement of our own power, leads inevitably to the destruction of the state which embraces it. Diversities of national character and political situation will affect the manner and period of its action, but cannot prevent the result itself. The Mahometans have survived the Marhattas; the Nizam is dying comatose; while the Paishwa has expired in convulsions; but the destiny of both originated in the same cause, and tended inevitably to the same termination. If we owe the foundation of our empire in this country to the weakness in which we found the Native Powers, we ought not to complain of the evils which that weakness necessarily produces. If we have reaped the benefits, we must be content to witness the evils which are its inseparable attendants. Yet evils may be palliated which cannot be radically cured. The crisis may be retarded, though it cannot be prevented altogether. And if it be true, that a part of the mischief has arisen from the predominance of our power, it is, for that reason, the more incumbent upon us to endeavour to apply the remedy."[4]

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[4] We cannot refrain, at the same time, from giving in this note another passage from the same admirable document, confirmatory of Mr. Prinsep's remark on the nature and effects of Indian land-revenue. Our readers may contrast the point of view in which this remarkable feature of Oriental society is regarded by two individuals who are evidently of very dissimilar turns of mind. This is from paragraph 6, of the same Appendix:—

"Exaction is the necessary vice of every government which derives its principal revenue from the direct rent of land. It seems to be universally acknowledged that the assessment is too high in every country in India. The government demands too much from the fear of receiving too little. What is exaction in the sovereign becomes extortion in its most oppressive shape under his subordinate officers; and even our own Government, with a system the most elaborate and expensive, has hitherto been unable to afford adequate security to the inferior classes of its subjects. Every Indian government subsists upon its immediate means. It is always from hand to mouth. If ever there is a surplus revenue, it goes into the pocket of the prince, not into the coffers of the state. There is no common feeling between a Mohammedan government and its Hindoo subjects."

Is there a greater sympathy, may we ask, between the said Hindoos and their Christian rulers, removed from them, as they are, far more widely by the combined influence of creed, colour, education, language, and manners? While the

Such then being the state of the princely patient, is it right or decent to urge on the crisis—that event being supposed to bring on a *good end*, in as far as the people are concerned,—the extension of our *direct* dominion, as we have assumed in the early part of this article? The reply is not easy. Every good feeling revolts against the goadings of insolence and brutality towards the dejected prince on whom we tread, and who is presented to our perception in a distinct and palpable form, while his subjects appear rather to the imagination than to the senses, as an *abstract* entity, the collective amount of whose sufferings, under the deferred hope of our blessed rule, we do not so easily measure. But this is not all the difficulty; we do not feel quite *sure* as to the amount of good which the people will derive from the change of masters. *Peace*, security from all foreign and much domestic war, they do clearly gain by getting within our pale. But external peace is the avowed object of our subsidiary alliances, and subsidizing princes and people do always obtain *this* benefit; while, in respect to domestic struggles, it is one of the admitted consequences of the subsidiary system, that it leads blindly our tremendous power to the sanction of all the oppressions of a legitimate despot; thus arming him with a new and unknown strength to oppress; and thus taking from his unfortunate subjects their remedy in his *fears* and his weakness. Peace, then, (or solitude, as Tacitus might have it,) is already gained by subsidizing. What further advantages has our direct rule to offer as the price of incorporation? Not, surely, lighter taxation? Not, surely, immunity from illicit pillage of subaltern extortioners? How much of cheap and ready access to speedy untaxed justice? What compensation for squeezing 1000 per cent. out of the solitary pinch of salt for the labourer's insipid rice? What, for interdicting him the use of his land, or the privilege to sell its most lucrative product, opium, unless to the tax-gatherer? What, in return for forcing our manufactures upon the poor artisan, and barring him from all reciprocity by excluding his sugar and productions? Are we then *sure* that we better the condition of the peasant by the transfer of his allegiance to ourselves; or does his condition approximate to that of the over-worked ass in the fable, who refused to fight or fly from the invader, alleging, that no one could make him toil harder for harder fare than did his old masters?

The answer to these questions is at least not quite so ready and decisive as it were to be wished for the honour of England, which has held the sovereignty of the best and finest part of India for near seventy years. Lord Moira probably looked on these matters with a less partial and prejudiced eye than the *hoc genus omne* of the Civil Service; and to this we may perhaps ascribe, as much as to personal temperament and lofty feeling, his constant resistance against the endeavours of his Adams, and Metcalfes, and Elphinstones, and Baillies, to be allowed to seize the reins and trample on the fallen at Lucknow or Hyderabad. But we are wandering into digressions in an interesting but almost interminable field; let us return to our author.—

In respect to the transactions more immediately brought under public review by this book of Mr. Prinsep's, it may be admitted, we think, that

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first of these only constitutes a material difference between them and the Mohammedans, our hearts are fortified against them with a breast-plate of five-fold strength.

in almost all of them Lord Moira was impelled into the line of conduct he adopted by unquestionable necessity; and if such necessity or fatality, as we have hinted before, urged forward in their own defence the English rulers of India in the earlier periods of our annals, it is not to be doubted but that this same overruling necessity increases every day in urgency and in power, as our position in India becomes more advanced, and as the hazard, not to say impossibility, of retrograding proves more imminent. In truth, his Lordship found all India pretty ripe for explosion, owing to the state in which its barbarous and combustible elements had been left by the miserable and discreditable general peace of Sir G. Barlow, and the long-suffering administration of Lord Minto, during whose reign certainly the fullest and fairest trial took place of the favourite experiment of the Court of Directors, whether peace and security could be obtained for the British possessions, by keeping aloof from meddling in local politics, and making all our neighbours worry and destroy each other to our profit. The whole of the transactions, political and military, that arose successively out of this state of things, in rapid succession, from Lord Moira's arrival till the general peace of 1818, are fully detailed in this book; and if the uninviting style, and the dry annal-like, rather than historical, quality of the compilation, forbid us to rank it with more classical compositions that deeply interest and amuse as well as instruct the general reader, we may at least allow that it contains a great mass of facts, arranged with care and considerable method, constituting it, to say the least, a useful and available book for reference.

Our limits warn us not to go into any lengthened details; but we must redeem our pledge of noticing a few prominent things,—matters rather of opinion than of fact.

The reader of Mr. Prinsep's book, if he has also been a reader of the events of the day, even as detailed in magazines and newspapers, must be struck, we think, with the slender figure which Sir John Malcolm cuts throughout this narrative. Now we have not spared Sir John when we thought his opinions, his acts, *or his speeches*, discreditable to his usual manly straight-forwardness of temper and heart; but we trust we have never shown ourselves unjust to that very respectable officer and able diplomatist, because of any disservice which he may have endeavoured to do to us in our day of need. So far from it, we have endeavoured most zealously to measure out to him the fullest justice, and to do him all honour for his many and singular good qualities, whenever we thought we had an honest occasion so to do. In this spirit of truth and justice, we must now declare ourselves dissatisfied with Mr. Prinsep's treatment of Sir John[5] throughout. We do not think he has brought sufficiently forward on his canvass, the name of this individual, who, of all those employed under the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in the great events, military, political, and administrative, connected with Cen-

[5] It is but just to notice, however, that Mr. Prinsep is, at *almost* all times, cold in his commendations. Even General Ochterlony's masterly and scientific operations in the Nepaul war, fail to extort any warmth of applause from the historian; and Colonel Nicola is scarcely more fortunate. The same coldness to military merit prevails through much of the detail of the Mahratta war. This forbearance might be attributed to a diffidence, (which Mr. Prinsep's book shows to be unnecessary,) were it not that censure for incapacity and failure are expressed with disproportionate, though not always unmerited, severity.

tral India, certainly appears to have acted the most prominent part. The value of his advice and aid to Sir Thomas Hislop in military operations, down to the memorable battle of Mehidpoor, we have heard from those who served on the spot, is perfectly well understood and appreciated; and such was generally believed to be the confidence reposed in Sir John Malcolm's talents by the Marquis, that, in the apprehended case of Sir Thomas Hislop's death, the Deccan divisions were to have been *virtually* directed by Sir John Malcolm, as the Governor's diplomatic confidant. We imagine that the merit of Sir John Malcolm's work on Central India is at least equal to that of Mr. Elphinstone on the 'Statistics and Annals of the Mahratta Territories;' yet a reference to pp. 370, vol. i. and 389, vol. ii., will show how drily the former is spoken of,—how warmly the latter. Mr. Elphinstone is evidently a favourite with our author, and that he is one of the most able and benevolent of those despots described by Mr. Prinsep, (pp. 347, 418, 396, vol. ii.,) we do not question; but we incline to think, from all we have heard, that Sir John Malcolm was quite as able and despotic in his viceroyalty as Mr. Elphinstone or Mr. Malony, who are praised so warmly, (p. 396, vol. ii.,) while not a solitary eulogy is given to Sir John for all that he did to civilize the savages and semi-savages of the untamed regions over which he presided. We have selected Mr. Elphinstone for our chief object of comparison, because his services were of the same description as Sir John's *civil* operations; and we must take leave to say, that we freely prefer the disposition to kindness and good feeling evinced by General Malcolm in the last negotiation with the Paishwah, to the unbending sternness of purpose and awe-inspiring severity of demeanour which marked Mr. Elphinstone's conduct of the earlier negotiations, and were the boast of his admirers.

We recollect that when we were at Calcutta, about the close of this Mahratta war, all these things were matter of common conversation; and we thought, at that time, that there was a strong and somewhat unhandsome disposition to depreciate Sir John Malcolm for his final treaty with the Ex-Paishwah. It is painful to observe considerable indications of this feeling in Mr. Prinsep's book; we are satisfied, however, that the public will come to a very different conclusion, even from the perusal of these ex-parte views. We have never yet conversed with an officer of experience, who had served with the Madras army in 1817, (and there are many now in England of this description,) who did not admit that the pursuing troops were so completely knocked up, man and horse, as to be incapable of any prolonged exertion for that season; and that to surround Bajee Rao, so as to prevent the escape of himself and a large part of his refreshed and recruited followers, was utterly impracticable. Mr. Prinsep falls into the greatest inconsistencies to support a prescribed hypothesis, when he says, (p. 281, vol. ii.,) that Appa Sahib and Bajee Rao, if they had united, could never have made head against a British force of the strength of a battalion of infantry, or a regiment of cavalry; for in the very next page, he admits that the Paishwah brought with him into General Malcolm's camp, eight or nine thousand troops, of which five thousand were horse, and twelve hundred or two thousand of the foot were Arabs: this, too, independent of Trimbukjee's separate large camp, (p. 276,) and the considerable body of irregulars whom Appa Sahib was getting together at this period. One would think we had seen enough

of the ferocious valour of these Arabs in the Persian Gulph expeditions, at Nagpore, and many other places, to know what two thousand such desperadoes could dare and do!

Not only do the motives of Sir John Malcolm appear to us highly honourable to his judgment and his feelings, but we think this very peace to have been by far the greatest thing done during the war. The consequences to us were inestimably important at such a critical moment, when the enemy was somewhat refreshed, and our troops worn out and worried by incessant toil in the hottest season; when the rains were on the very point of setting in; the fugitive Rajah of Nagpore in the neighbourhood, and a strong hostile fortress ready to assist our enemies; and the Paishwah's late territories quite unsettled, and doubting as to the side they should take. For all this, what was the price paid? We do not know the precise money value of the late Paishwah's country, which fell undisputed to us by this treaty, but we observe by the schedules in the financial and closing chapter of this work, that the receipts of revenue at Bombay *suddenly* rose, in the year in question, from 7,428,443 to 11,729,505 rupees; and so increasing every year, till 1822-23, when they stood at no less a sum than 29,822,341 rupees,—quadruple the amount! We are not aware of any other *large* sources whence this surprising augmentation can have arisen. If it comes mainly from the Paishwah's country, then it would seem that for above 2,000,000*l.* sterling of increased revenue, we have pensioned off the lawful owner on an annuity of 80,000*l.*—not 4 per cent. premium—to insure quiet possession! But Sir John Malcolm, we are told, was guided in this amount of pension by the Duke of Wellington's grant of the same, in 1803, to Umrut Rao, whom he drove out of the paishwahship, and persuaded to retire to our dominions, as Bajee Rao has done; and Mr. Prinsep denies the justice of this parallel, because Umrut Rao was powerful, and Bajee Rao helpless. But it does not appear from the Notes on the Mahratta war, or other authentic sources of information, that Umrut Rao was ever possessed of any substantive power of his own. When Holkar did not choose to support a fight for his puppet, he became powerless; and we must say, we think it was a very judicious and natural feeling on General Malcolm's part, to act on this remarkable precedent; for Umrut Rao was but a pretender set up—a great revolted feudatory. We put down Holkar's pageant prince, and reinstated Bajee Rao, giving the brief usurper eight lacs of rupees to retire quietly from the contest. Could we well do less in those days of legitimacy, (1818,) for the *lawful* prince, whom, in his turn, we turned out, and sent to tell his beads and compare notes with his ex-rival on the banks of the Ganges?

On the very decided opinion which Mr Prinsep passes in regard to Colonel Baillie's political and personal services at Lucknow, (p. 219 to 224, vol. i.,) we refrain from saying any thing in this place. The whole of the correspondence is now printed, and ought to be read carefully over, before any final judgment is formed of the conduct of that officer, who, by the whimsical revolution of events, from being a disgraced servant abroad, is firmly seated at home one of the thirty lords and masters of India, in the curule chair of a Director, just as all these amusing stories are coming before the public and the Proprietors!

But we cannot pass over the following very important, though brief and dogmatizing, passage, without a few words of animadversion:—

"Owing his appointment wholly to the British Government, and needing its daily support, he avowedly yielded to the influence and suggestions of the Resident in the management and appropriation of the immense resources which thus came to his disposal; but this, instead of tending to the establishment of a frugal economical system, produced a ruinous accumulation of debt, contracted on most *usurious* terms, to a European mercantile house, established originally at the Residency, and sanctioned, at the Resident's intercession, by the British Government. The whole of this subject has been so recently before the public, that it is quite unnecessary to enter into any particular explanation of its details. In so far as the mischief is attributable to the misconduct of the British functionaries, the public is the judge of their character and actions, and they have not failed to plead their cause before it."

The persons here alluded to, as all the world well knows, are Chundoo Loll, the Nizam's Minister; Mr. Henry Russell, late Resident at Hyderabad; and Messrs. William Palmer and Co. of that city. This passage is one of the improvements since the first edition; and we think it as little creditable to the author's candour and good judgment that it should have appeared in this form, time, and place, as the notions he manifestly entertains of "*usury*" are unworthy of any writer who has, in a very common course of reading, had access to Jeremy Bentham's treatise on that witchcraft-like sin, or the ordinary elementary books on political economy. Can it be, that an Indian Secretary of State, well acquainted with the condition of society, political and mercantile, in the East, is ignorant that usury is at best a relative term, meaning 5 or 6 per cent. in Holland or England, and something beyond 60 or 72 per cent. in the East, as a hundred authorities could tell him? That the rate of rent of money, like the rent of any thing else lent to *use*, is compounded of the demand and supply in the market, and *of the security* for returning that which was borrowed? Is it, or is it not in proof, over and over again, that the utmost rate of interest which their enemies in office accuse Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. of taking, was considerably below the common rates of the place? and that these agents were but the syphons for raising money, at an extremely small profit, from the Natives who would not trust the Government? But, at any rate, of what value to Mr. Prinsep's arguments can any proof or illustration be, which is founded on a matter that, like this celebrated Hyderabad case, has so greatly divided opinions, which has caused six days' debating, and one of balloting, and which every body but Mr. Prinsep knows must, in the end, terminate in the virtual and flagrant defeat of his official brethren, who oppressed and ruined, made bankrupt and banished, within the breathless haste of three days, innocent men, who had done nothing but good to the country, of which he takes this passing opportunity to brand them as bloodsuckers! Surely, of all testimony in such a matter, Mr. Prinsep must be conscious *his* is the worst, as he seems to have been one of the Ministry of that day.[6] It would have better become the historian of the Mahratta war, instead of thus giving a passing kick to those who seem to be down, if he

[6] As the leading party in these transactions has since gone to his long account, ("where the wicked cease from troubling,") he and his friends are precluded from the benefit of whatever defence he might have been able to offer for the merciless and precipitate destruction of these helpless people and their creditors, at the instigation of Sir C. Metcalfe and the Civil party, while Lord Amherst was entering the Ganges, and almost near enough to arrest the cruel work before it could be completed.

would ask himself, by what extraordinary *means* and exertions those Russell brigades and Pitman regiments and reformed horse, &c. &c. were brought into the field, equipped as well as our own regulars, to render us the most effective aid in our day of need? Even if he thought the money which was expended on them too dearly borrowed, he might have stated in candour what were the alleged happy results of the outlay! (Vide Mr. Russell's Letter, p. 33.)

A few desultory remarks on the chapter of financial review, with which Mr. Prinsep closes his book, must conclude our notice of this performance. We cannot highly compliment him on the style or matter of this chapter of finance. It contains nothing particularly clear, nothing novel, except a wire-drawn distinction in the outset between revenue in India and in Europe, which we think more fanciful than accurate—at least in the conclusions which the author seems inclined to deduce from it. We have already adverted to this theory, which amounts to this: that whereas in Europe revenue is a sum raised in various ways to defray the public expenses, in India it is an absolute rental of determinate amount, out of which the sovereign spends no more than he is obliged to spend for the public, and hoards or lavishes the rest. He says:—

"It is to be observed that the revenue of India is for the most part, if not entirely, an absolute property attaching to the possession of the country. Its amount is not regulated, as in England and most European countries, by any direct reference to the wants of the state. Instead of determining, in the first instance, the amount required for civil and military charges, or for other disbursements of the year, and then settling the ways and means by which this specific amount shall be levied, the finance of India begins at the other end. The revenue is fixed and certain; if the charges can be brought below it, the surplus is net profit to the Company or to the nation. If, on the other hand, a war, or other temporary exigency, demands a larger expenditure than the fixed revenue of the year, the Government has not the option of providing for its wants by fresh taxation; the only expedient is to anticipate some of the existing revenue by a loan on the terms of the day.[7] The debt of India is thus

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[7] This is a roundabout way of expressing a fact which might be much more clearly stated as follows:—In India, as every where else under a despotism, the Government does not exist for the benefit of the people; but the people are regarded, like oxen, sheep, and asses, merely as a source of gratification and profit to their rulers. The latter consider themselves entitled by divine right to demand from their subjects as much homage, service, and revenue as it is possible for them to pay; and there being no popular check, as in some European countries, on the amount of exaction, it is consequently kept always at a maximum. This is what Mr. Prinsep means by saying the revenue is "fixed and certain." It is *certain* that the tyrant will never voluntarily allow any remission of taxes; for even if they produce more than is necessary to defray the charges of the state, the tyrant will put the surplus into his own pocket, or invent new modes of squandering it away. New situations will be created; new favourites provided for, and old ones farther enriched; and premiums will be offered for new pleasures. But the thought will never once occur to lighten the burdens of the oppressed people. On the other hand, should the revenue on any particular emergency fall short of the public charges, being already at a maximum it cannot be increased; the Government continually taking all, can extort nothing more. Thus the revenue is fixed, by the unfeeling avarice, profusion and profligacy which are let loose, and prey uncontrolled upon mankind wherever people are taxed without their own consent. But although the screw of the exchequer is never relaxed, the revenue is still liable to defalcation, both temporary and permanent, from public calamities or national decay. At the same time, as this extreme exaction prevents the growth of public wealth, the revenue

a mortgage on the Government income, incurred either for its preservation or improvement, or for the acquisition of further income; and the question, whether any particular measures have been attended with financial benefit, is resolvable by the simple calculation of whether the net revenue produced is worthy the outlay. At the same time, the taxation being always the same, whatsoever may be the expenditure, the debt has nothing of the character of an optional alleviation of the burdens of the present generation, by throwing some additional load on futurity, which is the description given of the public debts of most European states.

"In describing the Indian revenue as fixed and inalienable property attaching to the Government of the country, we by no means meant that the income was certain, and not liable to fluctuation. Putting out of the question its liability to increase or diminish, from the effect of good or bad management, the revenue consists of various items, which, from natural causes, are more or less productive in particular years; and there are some peculiarly variable from their dependence on the course of trade, and the price of articles in foreign markets.

"As the most important, and yielding nearly two-thirds of the total receipts, we have placed the land-revenue first. Every one knows that this item, instead of being like the land-tax in England, a rateable impost on the income derived from the rents of land, is in India the better part, and sometimes nearly the whole, of the rent portion of the produce. The Government does not claim to be proprietor of the soil, but acknowledges this right to be in the possessors, who may do what they please with the land. The *adjustment* of the Government dues, however, is the condition of their possession, and the remainder only of the rents, after these shall be satisfied, is the property of the occupants. Subject to this condition, the land is inherited, sold, mortgaged, or given away; and into *who*soever hands it passes, the Government portion must first be set apart from the produce; for nothing but the act of the Government can alienate its *indefeasible right*[8] thereto. Such being the recognised state of landed property in India, one cannot wonder at the avidity with which schemes of conquest have been pursued there in all ages. The subjugation of any European state would give the *power* and perhaps the *right*[9] of imposing contributions and taxes to support the conquering army; but their amount is limited to the pay of that army, or to some other specific object;[10] and each requisition for a supply being felt as a new and grievous impost, the yoke which is attended with such a consequence is always galling and insupportable to the conquered. In India, however, the thing is already done to our hand. The displacement of the old government leaves the new in possession of its land-rents; these being no one else's property, fall naturally as the conqueror's prize."[11]

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has far less chance of future improvement than if it were more moderate. But the future increase or diminution of the produce of the estate is of little moment to those who are allowed at the present moment to skim off the fat of the land, provided it be not exhausted till the year 1833. If we had not possessed for centuries a House of Commons to protect the national property from the rapacity of the Government, would Great Britain have been at this moment the greatest nation on earth, and, although not one-third the size, able to raise a revenue triple that of India, which is continually overtaxed?

[8] The right of the strongest!—what else?

[9] "Power" and "right," are evidently very nearly synonymous with our author.

[10] And what limits the size of the army, or the amount of its pay, or the extent of the charges for other special objects? God have mercy upon a people who have no better security against excessive exactions! Even the East India Company will never seek more revenue than they can *find* uses for.

[11] That is to say, the people of India having been long inured to a most oppressive exaction of revenue by their former tyrants, are well prepared to suffer its continuance by us. "The thing is done to our hands:" their neck is happily

Now, on the last portion of this extract we may observe, that it would seem, if not to cut away the foundation from under the author's theory of Indian finance, at least to do away with any practical consequences supposed to result from the "*taxation being always the same*," (p. 423.) Income being liable to fluctuation from "various items" *besides the land-tax!* p. 426. In the table immediately following, these "various items" are to the single item of land-revenue almost in the ratio of 3 to 4⅓, the total of the former being near 5 crores,[12] and the latter little more than 7 crores of rupees;—so much for taxation being fixed, and taxation being absolute and attached to the soil. To what then, *in effect*, does the author's distinction avail him? Doubtless in the time of our predecessors they extorted the last fraction they could squeeze from the soil, of which they pocketed the net produce, and thus they kept the country in so impoverished a condition that it could yield little or nothing of indirect taxation. We follow the example with emulous closeness; but for Lord Cornwallis's limitation of the Bengal land-revenue, and the capital and exertions of a handful of scarcely tolerated European traders and planters, our revenue receipts would have little to boast of beyond the "items" of our barbarous predecessors, except our scandalous and rapacious monopolies. But it is needless to refine on the *origin* and priority of taxation and expenditure. In every country, the government takes all that it can extort, by fair means or foul, as the case may be; and, if not prevented, will keep and expend all that it gets, making new charges if the old ones suffice not to exhaust the revenue. In India, whether under the Mogul or the East India Company, the people have no voice—no means of reclamation—no faculty of resistance, but in the last extremity of despair. In the Mogul times, the surplus of revenue beyond expenses went into the coffers of the sovereign, and was (even when hoarded) sooner or later disbursed *in the country*. Under our regimen, unfortunate India, as Colonel Matthew Stewart observes in his truly admirable pamphlet lately reviewed—unfortunate India does not obtain the slender benefit of this return of taxation in fertilizing showers of domestic consumption and expenditure, but the surplus is carried out of the country to a foreign land; then what remains, after paying for supplies, pensions, and *indispensable* charges, is consumed in the inordinate expenses and needless profusion of a double Government well hardened to the yoke! Therefore, those who now keep it on think they have an "indefeasible right" to preserve undiminished its galling weight!

[12] Namely

	Customs	72,08,000	Land Revenue	7,58,41,000
MONOPOLIES!	*Salt!*	2,04,75,000	Out of which, however, deduct sayer and abkaree, something resembling excise or licenses for spirits, abcavalas, and other small duties	45,67,000
	Opium	1,28,70,000		
	General	27,60,000		
	Judicial!!	5,58,000		
	Marine	2,82,000		
	Miscellaneous	5,35,000		
		4,46,88,000	Net drawn from land-rent	7,12,74,000

7,12,74,000 Net land-rent receipts; direct taxation.

4,46,88,000
45,67,000
4,92,55,000 Receipts *not* from land; indirect taxation.

in England to play the farce of checking one another, and so co-operate in the grand work of delusion and mystery in respect to India!

Equally inaccurate appear to us Mr. Prinsep's notions as to the superior attractions, in the sight of conquerors, of a revenue derived from engrossing the rent of land. Elevated characters, we apprehend, of this description are not very likely to trouble themselves greatly as to the *sources* of the revenue of the country they meditate subjugating by the blessing of God. *Amount* is more likely to be the question with them—the quantum rather than the quomodo. If the conquered nation yielded in previous years a certain gross revenue, and had expended it on its own establishments, when "the conquering hero comes," he will, as sure as 2 and 2 do *not* make 4 in the arithmetic of revenue, make the country, by some means or any means, yield at least the same amount, and probably a great deal besides, in the shape of contributions and extras. The only difference in the "arrangements" would be, that the sums levied would go to pay the conquering troops and administration, instead of those of the Indigenes, escaped, killed off, or dismissed; and probably a net surplus might be reserved for the chief himself, or sent to gratify his own loving subjects at home. Of what import then is it whether this revenue came originally from land-rent or poll-tax, or indirect imposts? Certes, an impost on a cultivator's gross produce, especially if it is variable, by a turn of the fiscal screw, according to the humane ryotwarry notions of Colonel T. Munro, patronized by Mr. Prinsep's masters, is just as likely to give dissatisfaction to the *taxee* as an additional anna in the rupee on the old transit duties, or an extra duty on spirits! As to the *taxer*, the barbarian conqueror, what possible preference can *he* have for land-revenue, if the amount in all cases be the same? But from the context, we suspect that in this passage our author not only *supposes* a barbarous Oriental conqueror to prefer land-revenue before any other, but does *himself* think that invaders would gain more by their enterprize in a country where the land-rent alone forms the revenue, than in one where the resources of the state arise from indirect taxation. Land tribute is naturally the first and most ancient object of the primitive financier. In rude times, there is scarcely any other object of taxation than land and *polls*, and if they be too rigorously dealt with *for a continuance*, no other object fit for the taxgatherer can grow up, because society stands still, or advances slowly; all means of accumulating capital being forestalled. If Mr. Prinsep desires to see a lively picture of the comparative wealth, prosperity, and *revenue-capabilities* of a country where the state does *not* levy the rent of land, and of those barbarous polities, where that rude form of revenue prevails to the impoverishment of the country—let him read old Bernier's admirable letter to the Lord Colbert, or the whole of that sagacious traveller's account of the Mogul empire; or let him ask himself, what is the boasted gross revenue of India at this day, compared with that of countries in Europe not approaching to it in size or population? But perhaps he is a believer in the doctrine, that there is something *peculiar* in India which prevents its advancing in the arts and wants of civilized life; that its stationary condition is not the effect of its position under a politico-mercantile monopoly, or of restricting the resort of European intelligence, capital and industry, and keeping the persons and property of those who do resort in insecurity under a government of arbitrary power and con-

sequent passion and caprice! Throughout all this work, the production of an Indian aspirant to the first political employments, there is not one word or allusion to the topic of Colonization—scarcely one generous look forward to a higher and better system — to the development of the resources of the country, and improvement of the people; nothing, at any rate, but the most vague generalities and barren common-places. His indifference as well as inaccuracy in discussing the origin, amount, and effects of the detestable salt monopoly, and the rapacious extension of the opium monopoly among the *too happy* and too rich *new* subjects and allies of the Company in Central India, are remarkable even in a gentleman of their service, well steeled, we presume, by early habit, against liberal and *European* views of the condition of Native society.

THE NORTH-EAST TRADE.

Merrily, merrily, the good ship goes,
Like a sea-bird o'er the sea,
Swift as in spring the young red roes
Go bounding o'er the lea;
As she stoops before the northern wind,
The curling waves are left behind;
But the gallant Albacore,
With dart and bound,
Like a new slipt hound,
Still swims abreast her prore.

Merrily, merrily, the good ship goes,
And the track she leaves astern,
Is dazzling white as mountain snows,
When they cover the mountain fern.
Talk of the southern breeze that breathes
Above the garden's flowery wreathes;
But give *me* the fresh north blast,
The whistling gale
That fills the sail,
And bends the quivering mast.

Merrily, merrily, the good ship goes,
She feels the brave blast now,
Beneath her stern the breakers close,
Which she dashes from her bow.
Through rattling black, and creaking shroud,
The merry wind pipes clear and loud;
And the waves of the glorious sea
Around us pour,
As though they bore
Some ocean deity.

Bernard Wycliffe.

At Sea, Jan. 5, 1824.

BAHAMA ISLANDS—CRUELTY OF SPANIARDS—BLACK BEARD THE PIRATE—NAVAL AND MILITARY HEROISM.

The Bahamas will always be remarkable in the history of the New World, from having been one of the first points in the discoveries of Columbus, on an expedition of the greatest enterprize and importance that was ever undertaken on the seas. At that time they were filled with inhabitants who welcomed his arrival on their humble shores with pleasure and hospitality, but whose race have nearly become extinct, by being dragged from their native shores by the merciless ambition and avarice of their European visitors. It is said, indeed, that on the first arrival of the Spaniards, this unsuspecting but devoted people, were never satisfied with looking at them; they knelt down, lifted up their hands, and gave thanks to God, inviting one another to admire the "heavenly men." But a few years afterwards, these heavenly men found it convenient to transport them by force or artifice to dig in the mines of Hispaniola; a measure, to which the court of Spain was tempted to give its assent by the plausible suggestion, that it would be the most effectual mode of civilizing and instructing them in the Christian religion: a specimen of their manner of doing which may be gathered from the conduct of Pizarro's expedition to Peru.

Under this artful pretence, the whole population of the Bahama islands were transported to Hispaniola. So exalted was the opinion which this simple people entertained of their destroyers, and so strong and universal is the persuasion of the human mind, that a destiny awaits it beyond the miseries and disappointments of its present bounded existence, that many of the Indians were induced with cheerfulness to abandon their homes, under a persuasion that they should meet in a happier country the spirits of their deceased friends, with whom the Spaniards represented themselves as living in a state of society. As the situation of these islands, with respect to each other, invited a continual intercourse amongst the inhabitants, who probably subsisted, in a great measure, on fish, one may justly presume they were principally devoted to a maritime life. Some of their canoes were large enough to carry forty or fifty persons. Indeed, many convincing proofs of their intrepidity and expertness in the water occurred after their transportation to St. Domingo; when, finding the delusion which had been practised to decoy them from their native country, they made every effort to regain it, in which, though some few succeeded, still more were frustrated in their design by the vigilance of their tyrants; by whom it was often their cruel fortune to be carried back again to a country which they so much detested, and where they were doomed to eternal slavery. Indeed, the conduct of the Spaniards had rendered them so odious in the eyes of the Indians, that they considered it an act of justice to use any stratagem for their destruction, and carried their hatred of them to the grave. On the landing of the Spaniards at Cuba, in 1511, a number of those who had escaped from their slavery in St. Domingo, were found in their retreat, under the government of a cacique, named Hatuey, who, with many of his followers, were taken in the woods and condemned to be burned. When he was fastened to the stake, and

waited only for the kindling of the fire, a priest advanced towards him with a crucifix, and proposed the ceremony of baptism, as a means of entering the Christian paradise. "Are there," said the cacique, "any Spaniards in that happy place?" "Yes," replied the priest. "I will not then," returned the Indian, "go to a place where I should be in danger of meeting one of them. Talk to me no more of your religion, but leave me to die in peace!"

Although the island of New Providence was visited by Columbus as early as 1492, yet so much was the public attention engrossed by the valuable countries to which he afterwards directed his course, that the discovery of the island was attributed to an English navigator, Captain William Sayle, driven there in the year 1667 on his passage to Carolina. From the fortunate preservation which on that, or a subsequent voyage, he experienced in this island from shipwreck, Captain Sayle was induced to call it *Providence*. As the same name, however, had been given to a district of country on the coast of our northern settlements in America, this, as the latest discovery, was most probably distinguished by the epithet *New;* or else in contradistinction to the island of *Old Providence*, lying west of the Mosquito shore. From the representation which this gentleman made on his return home, to the proprietors of Carolina, (of which colony he was afterwards made Governor,) New Providence, with the other Bahama islands, was granted by Charles II. to the Duke of Albemarle and five other proprietary lords. Shortly after its location, some emigrants from England and the other colonies in America having settled, or proposing to form a settlement on the island, in the year 1672, Mr. Collingworth was sent out to superintend the infant colony at Nassau. Some misunderstanding, however, taking place, he was afterwards seized by the licentious inhabitants (probably, for the most part, pirates) and transported to Jamaica. Although the proprietary lords, some years after, sent out a successor to Mr. Collingworth, they do not appear to have made any energetic efforts to repress such audacities in future; but the Spaniards, who were more interested to inflict an exemplary vengeance on a colony which, in the neighbourhood of one of their valuable possessions, committed incessant depredations on its commerce, made frequent attempts to exterminate the settlement at Nassau. From this motive, combined with the jealousy they always entertained of the colonization of any other nation, in a part of the globe which they considered as exclusively their own, in one of their descents on Nassau, it is said, they actually *roasted* Mr. Clarke, the Governor. But the pirates, whose loss of property was easily replaced by the means by which it was originally acquired, were no sooner dispersed than they returned to their favourite asylum; and the only permanent effect produced by these efforts was, a more malignant hatred against their invaders—cherished even to this day; for no where in the West Indies are the Spaniards so much detested as in the Bahamas.

In a course of years, several governors were appointed successively, but there is little to be found in their proceedings either interesting or curious. On arriving at this remote government, they were either intimidated by the licentious colonists, or suffered with them the vengeance which the cruel and exasperated Spaniards were invited to inflict upon this settlement, by the symptoms of its growing prosperity. In the last

attack, in the year 1708, the French united with the Spaniards. The negroes were taken off, and the inhabitants, who had secreted themselves in the woods, afterwards retired to Carolina. Previous to this epoch, the settlers amounted to about a thousand in number on the islands; and some promising attempts had been made to cultivate sugar, tobacco, and provisions. Mr. Birch, the succeeding Governor who visited Providence, found it totally uninhabited, and having encamped for some time in the woods, returned to England.

The pirates, however, who had become at this period more numerous and formidable than ever, finding the place deserted, returned, after their successful voyages, to riot at Nassau in every species of debauchery and excess. The history of their lives is replete with those instances of enterprize and ferocity which characterize the actions of brave uneducated men. *Hostes humani generis*, they attacked and plundered the vessels of every nation they met, without excepting even their own. At length the impudence and success of one, amongst other notorious leaders, had so much attracted the public notice, that his Majesty George I., at the solicitation of the merchants of London and Liverpool, was induced to send out a respectable armament under that intrepid navigator, Captain Woodes Rogers, with a determination to reduce the colony to obedience; but before their arrival, John Teach, nick-named *Black Beard*, the leader of the pirates, had met his fate, and his followers were consequently dispersed in their flight for safety.

This extraordinary man, whose name is still familiar to, and whose person is even remembered by, some of the oldest inhabitants of Nassau, had united in his fortunes a desperate and formidable gang of pirates, styling himself their commodore, and assuming the authority of a legitimate chief. Under a wild fig-tree, which was rooted up by a hurricane but a few years since, he used to sit in council amongst his banditti, concerting or promulgating his plans, and exercising the authority of a legitimate chief and despotic sovereign. His piracies were often carried on near the English settlements on the coast of North America, where he met with extraordinary success. In person, as well as disposition, this desperado, who was a native of England, seems to have been qualified for a gang of thieves. The effect of his beard, which gave a natural ferocity to his countenance, he was always solicitous to heighten, by suffering it to grow to an immoderate length, and twisting it about in small tails like a Ramillies wig, whence he derived the name of *Black Beard*. His portrait, in time of action, is described as that of a complete fury: with three brace of pistols in holsters, slung over his shoulders like bandoliers, and lighted matches under his hat sticking out over each of his ears. All authority, as well as admiration among the pirates, was accorded to those who, in outraging humanity, displayed the greatest audacity and extravagance. Black Beard's pretensions to an elevated rank in the estimation of his associates may be conceived from the character of his jokes. Having often exhibited himself before them as a demon, he determined once to show them a hell of his own creation: for this purpose, he collected a quantity of sulphur and combustible materials between the decks of his vessel; when, kindling a flame, and shutting down the hatches upon his crew, he involved himself with them literally in fire and brimstone. With oaths and frantic gestures he then acted

the part of the devil, as little affected by the smoke as if he had been born in the infernal regions, till his companions, nearly suffocated and fainting, compelled him to release them. His convivial humour was of a similar cast: in one of his ecstacies, while heated with liquor, and sitting in his cabin, he took a pistol in each hand, then, cocking them under the table, blew out the candle, and, crossing his hands, fired on each side at his companions, one of whom received a shot which maimed him for life. His gallantry, also, was of the same complexion as this vein of humour; he had fourteen wives, if they may be so called; but his conduct to one of them appears to have been too unfeeling and too unmanly to admit of description, though not to be wondered at from such a character.

The English Government, having determined to clear the sea of these ruffians, directed some ships of war to effect that purpose in the early part of the last century. Black Beard was at that time lurking in a small vessel in the creeks and shallows of an inlet near Cape Hatteras, in North Carolina: but the chief magistrate of that province having long connived at his robberies, the sufferers gave information to the Governor of Virginia and the naval force on that station directed to assist in the extermination of the pirates. The intrepidity displayed in this service by a lieutenant of the name of Maynard, at least equal to that of the rover, and in a better cause, deserves a circumstantial relation.

From the nature of Black Beard's position, in a sloop of little draught of water, on a coast abounding with creeks, and remarkable for the number and intricacy of its shoals, with which he made himself intimately acquainted, it was deemed impossible to approach him in vessels of any force. Two hired sloops were therefore manned from the Pearl and Lime frigates in the Chesapeake bay, and put under command of the gallant officer before named, with instructions to hunt down and destroy this pirate wherever he should be found. On the 17th of November, 1718, this force sailed from James River, and on the evening of the 21st came to an inlet in North Carolina, where Black Beard was discovered at a distance lying in wait for his prey. The sudden appearance of an enemy preparing to attack him occasioned some surprise; but his sloop mounting several guns, and being manned with twenty-five of his desperate followers, he determined to make a resolute defence; and, having prepared his vessel over-night for action, sat down to his bottle, stimulating his spirits to that pitch of phrenzy by which only he could rescue himself in a contest for life. Being in Occracocke inlet, a little to the southward of Cape Hatteras, the navigation of which is extremely difficult, Maynard's sloops were repeatedly grounded in their approach; while the pirate, with his experience of the soundings, possessed considerable advantage in manœuvring, which enabled him to maintain a running fight. His vessel, however, having in her turn grounded, and a close engagement becoming now inevitable, he reserved her guns to pour in a destructive fire on the sloops as they advanced to board him. This he so successfully executed that twenty-nine men of Maynard's small number were either killed or wounded by the first broadside, and one of the sloops for a time disabled. But notwithstanding this severe loss, the Lieutenant persevered in his resolution to grapple with his enemy or perish in the attempt. Observing that his own sloop, which was still fit for action, drew more water than the pirate's, he ordered all her ballast to be thrown

out, and directing his men to conceal themselves between decks, took the helm in person, and steered directly on board of his antagonist, who continued inextricably fixed on the shore. This desperate wretch, previously aware of his danger, and determined never to expiate his crimes in the hands of justice, had posted one of his banditti, with a lighted match over his powder magazine, to blow up his vessel in the last extremity. Luckily, in this design, he was disappointed by his own ardour and want of circumspection; for, as Maynard approached, having begun the encounter at close quarters by throwing upon his antagonist a number of hand-grenadoes, of his own composition, which produced only a thick smoke, and conceiving, from their destructive agency, the sloops' decks had been completely cleared, he leaped over her bows, followed by twelve of his men, and advanced upon the Lieutenant, who was the only person then in view. But the men instantly springing up to the relief of their commander, who was now furiously beset, and in imminent danger of his life, a violent contest ensued. Black Beard, after seeing the greater part of his men destroyed by his side, and receiving himself repeated wounds, at length stepping back to cock a pistol, fainted with the loss of blood, and expired on the spot. Maynard completed his victory by securing the remainder of these desperate wretches, who were compelled to sue for mercy.

From this and other successful efforts of the British navy, as well as his own formidable squadron, Governor Rogers, on his arrival at Providence, found very little resistance to his authority. Vane, one of the pirates, who was then in the harbour, after making some show of resistance, set fire to his ship, and retired in a small vessel with about fifty of his men. The rest of the inhabitants cheerfully united in promoting the Governor's views for the interest and defence of the colony, by surrounding the dilapidated fortress with palisadoes, clearing the public roads, and rebuilding the town, which a few years before had been laid waste. Sensible, however, that persons of the description of these colonists would find their most natural and useful occupation on the sea, he encouraged them to adventure in small vessels on trading voyages. Some of them at first discovered a hankering after their old profession, and in one or two instances ran away with their vessels, but were afterwards constrained to return and submit. Many families were now induced to settle at Nassau, and amongst others, for some time, a body of Germans from the Palatinate. A council of twelve persons was nominated by the Governor to assist in the transaction and arrangement of public concerns, and a regular militia was established for the defence of the island. The population of Nassau was at that time about 1000 souls.

After the departure of Governor Rogers, the history of this island affords nothing but the detail of a variety of local disputes and inquietudes under his successors, which have almost uniformly disfigured the earlier annals of our colonial establishments. In the year 1740, Mr. Bruce was sent out, as engineer, to fortify the town and harbour of Nassau.

During the early part of the American war, the island was taken by a small force under Commodore Hoskins, and abandoned as untenable, But it was retaken afterwards, in the year 1781, by the Spaniards, assisted by the Americans, and retained during the remainder of the war. Previous, however, to the ratification of the treaty, an enterprising

young officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Deveaux, of the South Carolina Militia, had undertaken, with a body of about *fifty* volunteers, to recover the possession of the island, at that time garrisoned by *seven hundred* Spanish regular troops. He sailed on this desperate attempt in two armed brigantines, commanded by Captains Dowd and Fennell, from St. Augustine in East Florida; and, after picking up a few recruits, principally negroes, at Eleuthera, and the adjacent island, appeared off the key which forms the harbour of Nassau, on the east of the town, towards night. The conquest of a fortified island by so disproportionate a body of men could only be effected by consummate ingenuity and address. The men were landed without opposition to the eastward of Fort Montague, which guards the entrance of the harbour in that quarter; and so great was the supineness of the garrison, that when the invaders had reached the ramparts, the sentinel only was awake to defend them. He appeared with a lighted match in his hand, ready to blow up the fortress in case of extremity. But Colonel Devaux, who headed the attack, before he could recover from his surprise, sprang upon him, and, frustrating his intention, made him a prisoner with the sleeping garrison. Having thus easily possessed himself of Fort Montague, Colonel Devaux immediately proceeded to the top of the ridge, and took a position in front of the Governor's house, in the upper part of the town. Every artifice was used to deceive the Spaniards, both as to the number and description of the enemy they had to contend with. A show of boats was made, continually rowing from the vessels filled with men, who apparently landed, but in fact concealed themselves by lying down as they returned to the vessels, and afterwards made their appearance as a fresh supply of troops proceeding to disembark. Men of straw, it is said, were dressed out to increase the apparent number on the heights; and some of the troops, to intimidate the Spaniards, were painted and disguised as their inveterate foes the Indians. One or two galleys in the harbour had been captured; and, trusting to the circumstances in his favour, Colonel Devaux summoned the Governor to surrender, with a pompous description of his formidable force. Some hesitation being discovered, the Colonel seconded his overtures with a well-directed shot at the Governor's house, from a field-piece, during his deliberation, which produced an immediate capitulation. The Spanish troops, in laying down their arms, it is said, could not refrain from expressing the utmost mortification and confusion as they surveyed their conquerors, not only so inferior in point of numbers, but ludicrous in their dress and military appearance. After this period, the island of New Providence being restored to Great Britain, has increased in wealth and consequence, and the proprietary lords have relinquished their title in favour of the crown.

The harbour of New Providence, to which the early settlement and present consequence of the island may be attributed, is formed by a long key or slip of land running in front of the town of Nassau, nearly parallel with its length from E.S.E. to W.N.W. The eastern entrance is extremely shoal and intricate, and will admit only small coasters, droghers, and boats. The western entrance is over a bar of about sixteen feet water, between the western extremity of Hog Island, (the key in front of the town,) and a barren rock, called Silver Key, from an opinion that most of the treasures plundered by the pirates were deposited there, on their abandoning the island. The width of the entrance does not

exceed half a cable's length, and renders the harbour difficult of access with a head wind, as a vessel has but little room to turn to windward, and the prevailing winds being easterly, occasions often a slight current from that direction. It is a remarkable fact, that this, as well as most others of the West India islands, rises perpendicularly out of the sea, for at a very small distance from the shore no soundings can be obtained; and from the whiteness of the rocks below, and the uncommon clearness of the water, the bottom can be seen from the ship's deck as soon as found with the lead. The colour of the water instantly changes from a deep azure to a bright and whitish green, which gives occasion to all the maritime natives to describe soundings by saying the vessel is in white water; and throughout the harbour of New Providence, whose greatest depth is from sixteen to eighteen feet, a dollar might be clearly distinguished at the bottom—the water is so beautifully and purely transparent.

The body of the town of Nassau is on the southern side of the harbour, and ascends on a steep acclivity to the summit of a ridge, which in most of the Bahama islands runs in the direction of the general line of coast. The view of the town, comprehending, on the west, a large fortress and signal-post, with extensive barracks for the troops, overlooking the sea; in the centre, a magnificent government-house; and, in the east, Fort Fincastle, with its signal-post and batteries—all on the same eminence—looking down, as it were, upon the town they were designed to govern and protect,—is extremely striking from the mouth of the harbour; and the general aspect of the whole has in it something fresh, lively, and animating. The town itself is about a mile in length, and longitudinally divided into four streets; the lower one, called the bay, is chiefly occupied by stores and warehouses, fronting the sea, with convenient wharfs of wood built on piles, for landing and shipping goods. From the steep ascent of the hill, each of the principal streets overlook the other, and command a view of the harbour and sea, until they reach the upper one, which is chiefly occupied by the dwellings of the most opulent traders and persons of rank, and certainly possesses superior advantages in every respect. Its elevated situation affords a delightful view of the interior of the island, as well as of the sea, and on all sides is perfectly unintercepted. From this circumstance, the residents there enjoy the breeze from every quarter of the compass, while the town below can receive it only from the northern points; and, even on an average scale, there are from five to ten degrees difference in the thermometer above and below. The streets are regularly disposed, and, in some places, remarkable for their unparalleled smoothness, being nothing more than the solid surface of a stone quarry, which has afforded, of *late*, abundant materials for building on the spot. It is said of *late;* for, singular as it may appear, when spoken of a town as well built as any in the West Indies, and which promises to become distinguished for its beauty, the durable buildings in Nassau were originally formed of stone imported from the Bermudas, at the distance of more than two hundred leagues! But the rock of the native quarry has been found to answer effectually every purpose of masonry, by a wash of lime, which gives both consisteney and beauty to the exterior. A considerable square or quadrangle, susceptible of much future embellishment, now occupies a large space in the western division of the town. The north side of this open space, near the water, is bounded by palisadoes,

enclosing Fort Nassau, from whence the town is named, constructed about the year 1740, by an engineer of the name of Bruce.

The old Government-House, built for and occupied by Lord Dunmore, while Governor of the Bahamas, is on an eminence at a short distance from this square, towards the upper end of one of the streets, and has a pleasing command of view, including the lower part of the town, Hog Island, the harbour intervening, and the more distant sea. The new Government-House, standing on the centre of the ridge that overlooks the town, was built by a sum voted by the House of Assembly from the funds of the Treasury, and cost upwards of 20,000*l*. It is built in the European style of architecture, and is universally considered the best building of the kind throughout the West Indies. Of this character, also, is Fort Charlotte Barracks, which, with its batteries, commands the western entrance of the harbour over Nassau Bar. It is a building of great length, having two side-wings, which leaves before the principal front a fine lawn, used as a military parade. It has two stories: the ground-floor being occupied by the privates, and the upper story, around which is a fine piazza extending all round the building, contains the officer's apartments, and a handsome mess-room, capable of dining 200 persons. The two churches in the town are well adapted to the climate, and remarkably plain in their decorations. St. Matthew's in the East is built with a low flat roof, and without a steeple, to avoid the danger of hurricanes, and being surrounded with trees, has the air of a modern dwelling.

The other public buildings are the Court-House, suite of Public Offices, Jail, and Work-house. The Court-House is a plain square building, containing domestic offices on the ground-floor, and a large hall on the upper floor. In this room are held the courts of civil law. It is also occupied as a Presbyterian place of worship on the Sabbath; and during the winter the assemblies are held there. The suite of Public Offices, though plain buildings, are well adapted to the purposes for which they were intended. One of them contains, on the ground-floor, the Custom-House and Treasury, and on the upper-floor, the Council-Chamber and Withdrawing-Room, which are adorned with some good portraits. In this room the Governor convokes the members of council at the commencement of the session, lays before them the estimates of the year, and receives the address of the House of Assembly on a throne, he being the representative of royalty in the colony. The other building contains, on the ground-floor, the office of the surveyor-general and attorney-general, and on the upper-floor, the House of Assembly, (similar to the House of Commons,) where the members meet with their speaker, and discuss such colonial business as may come before them, frame new laws, and either abrogate or confirm old ones. The Jail is an octangular building of considerable height, having open galleries round it, as walks for the debtors, and other persons not under close confinement. Every attention is certainly paid to the health and cleanliness of all parts of the prison, and as much to the comfort of the prisoners as the necessity of security will possibly allow. The Work-house is a large range of buildings within the walls of the Jail, in which is a rope-walk and sail-loft, and where, under the direction of a foreman, the negroes, who are imprisoned for misconduct, are employed in making sails and cordage, the profits of which, after paying for their maintenance, is applied to the repairs of the

building itself, and the support of its establishment. There is also a market-house and a vendue-house near the shore, in which sales by auction are held almost daily.

Great liberality has been displayed by the small community of this island in the improvement of its metropolis, which, if persisted in, must soon render it highly attractive and ornamental. Indeed, Nassau is at present a very agreeable winter's residence for the valetudinarians of the southern parts of the West Indies, particularly of the Windward Islands, from whence the voyage is short and easy. It affords a medium temperature of climate between the heat of those islands and the keen air of North America; and is, throughout a great portion of the year, extremely healthy.

The wealth of the island is derived from other sources than the soil, for it can scarcely boast of a single plantation, and remains, in a great measure, clothed in its native wood. Many of the principal cotton-planters, however, on the other and surrounding islands, who are concerned in the administration of the government or in trade, have fixed their residence at Nassau. It is also the principal military and naval station in the Bahamas. But the chief source of its wealth is the trade carried on with Great Britain and the ports of America, North and South.

The constitution of the Bahamas, upon the model of all our colonial governments in the West Indies, preserves, in the distribution of the legislative, executive, and judicial powers, an exact resemblance to the system of the parent country. The Governor, as representative of the King, exercises the principal executive authority. He is commander-in-chief of the militia, institutes and determines the sessions of the legislature, and possesses a negative on their proceedings, subject to the approbation of the crown. The council, which consists of twelve members appointed by the crown, and, in case of vacancy during the Governor's administration, usually filled up at his recommendation, constitutes the upper house of the legislature, and participates with him in the judicial powers of the chancery and court of errors.

The House of Assembly consists of about thirty members, returned by the several islands in the government comprehended in districts. The qualifications of a representative, generally speaking, is either property of the value of 2000*l.* currency, or specifically 200 acres of cultivated land. In the choice, every free male white inhabitant, twenty-one years of age, resident twelve months within the government, and having been six months a householder or a freeholder, or having paid duties to the amount of 50*l.*, is entitled to a vote. The judicial branch of the government is composed, in addition to the courts before mentioned, of a general or supreme court for the province, exercising the consolidated powers of the courts of common law in Westminster Hall. The practice of this court is modelled upon that of the King's Bench, under a chief justice and two puisne judges. There is also a court of vice-admiralty for the adjudication of prizes.

An agricultural society has been established under the patronage of the legislature of the Bahamas; an institution from whence the most beneficial consequences may be expected to ensue. The greater part of the island of New Providence yet remains uncultivated. The exceptions to this general description, to be found in the environs of

the town, and along the margin of the coast, consist principally of gardens, pasture-grounds, pineries, and orange-groves. Situated near the line of the tropic, Providence can boast of a climate admitting the cultivation, in the natural ground, of the vegetables of both zones, though perhaps not favourable to the peculiar productions of either. The roads leading some miles along the shore, on each side of the town, are extremely good. In the eastern direction the landscape is picturesque, and embellished with rural improvements and some country houses, particularly a small seat called the Hermitage, formed with considerable labour by one of its late governors, Lord Dunmore.

The general figure of New Providence is that of a parallelogram, with acute angles extending east and west. The diagonal is about twenty-seven miles in length. Though situated without the line of the tropic, it is subject to hurricanes, and some have occurred there committing inconceivable ravages.

The population of the island is not correctly ascertained; but the town of Nassau is supposed to contain about 2000 white individuals, 1000 free people of colour, and 5000 slaves. Of the general character of the inhabitants, a short residence among them has left the most favourable impression. The minute shades of difference which characterize the British settlers in the different latitudes on this side of the Atlantic, are scarcely perceptible, or worthy of description. Local causes have not as yet had a sufficient influence on their native customs or manners, to produce any very striking peculiarities; but thus much may be said, that in every class of society there exists an amiable and beneficent disposition, which strikingly displays itself in their hospitality to strangers. Their persons are well formed, and their features pleasing, uniting the softness of European delicacy with all the charm of tropical vivacity and expression.

BLACK GANG CHINE, ISLE OF WIGHT.

Hail soul-subduing Solitude!—all hail!
Hail ye wild cliffs and melancholy caves!
Against whose storm-scarr'd fronts the southern gale
Drives his fierce squadrons of a thousand waves!
Hail, too, dark Ocean! though so late[1] the tomb
Of youth and beauty by too hard a doom.—
Here Desolation fix thy dreary throne:
For banners o'er thee will the night-clouds wave;
Around, there seems to lie a world o'erthrown;
Beneath, the sullen billows ever rave.
The storm will do thee homage; while the wreck
Will thy stern presence-chamber grimly deck.
Then take thy state, and Satan shall repine,
To see his own dark glories dimm'd by thine.

H. M. P.

Aug. 31, 1825.

[1] This alludes to an event as recent as it is melancholy and afflicting: the loss of the Shirley family, while sailing for pleasure.

ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN BRITISH INDIA, AND INTRODUCTION OF NATIVE JURIES IN CEYLON.

No. III.

It was a principle of the *Jesuits* to prevent, as far as they could, all intercourse between their people and the Spanish Americans. No such policy has been attempted here; (at the British settlement of Sierra Leone;) and the good which has been done, has been effected in spite of the bad example of the disbanded soldiers and other settlers. To seclude them (the native Africans) from the danger of that example, would not have been possible, nor, if practicable, would it have been wise; the object being, not to keep these negroes (as the Jesuits did the Indians) in perpetual pupilage, but to train them in civilization, and bring them forward as an intellectual Christian and Protestant people, to take their part as British subjects in a British colony. This they are already beginning to do, some of them having already acted as jurors in Freetown.—QUARTERLY REVIEW, No LXIII., p. 35, June 1825.

In the second paper of this series, published last month, we made a transient allusion to the fact, that it is the object and tendency of the British *Colonial* system in Africa, as well as in Asia, to improve and elevate the population; while that of the East India Company is only calculated to demoralize and degrade. We propose now to illustrate this in detail, by presenting the contrast formed by the mode of administrating justice in a King's colony, with that before described as existing in the Company's territories. In considering this subject, it is impossible not to be struck with the remarkable resemblance between the Company's pernicious policy and that of the Jesuits, as portrayed in the foregoing passage, from a work which will not be objected to as favouring rash innovation, or "Utopian schemes". Like the Jesuits, the Company professes to see great danger to the morals of the Indians, from exposing them to the contagion of "herds" of European settlers and disbanded soldiers; and even British officers, of whatever rank, whenever they resign its service, are by law banishable from the country. Like the Jesuits, the Company's advocates wish to keep the natives of India, as babes and sucklings, in a state of "perpetual pupilage." "We must not," says Serjeant Spankie, "administer to infancy that food which the adult manhood of a free government could hardly bear. If they are infants, (which he assumes,) they must be treated as infants: you cannot grant them, all at once, the benefits of that civilization which Europe enjoyed, but which Asia is many thousand years behind!"[1] Even the Jesuits would have been satisfied to stipulate for a minority of *only* some thousand years, on the condition of agreeing to release their victims from their intellectual swaddling clothes at the end of that time. Our commercial Jesuits, with their quondam-democratic lawyers, contend that *their* subjects would require almost as long a period to arrive at mental manhood, as, according to our accounts, the world has existed altogether. They are consequently held to be in a more backward and hopeless state than Englishmen were when this island emerged from the waters of the deluge.

The authors of such doctrines would, no doubt, urge arguments equally strong against allowing natives of India to sit on juries, as against permit-

[1] Debate before the Privy Council. *Oriental Herald*, (June 1825,) Vol. V. p. 743.

ting them to enjoy the legal freedom of the press. Serj. Spankie would say: "It is absurd to give these 'infantile' beings, these antediluvians, —these pre-Adamites—the power of trying causes, or to expect sense or judgment from a people yet in the same state of intellectual chaos in which England was '*many* thousand years ago,'"—

> —Ere the infant sun
> Was roll'd together, or had tried his beams
> Athwart the gloom profound.

Serjeant Bosanquet, again, would speak of them as Laputians, Lunarians, or beings of some other planet, wearing their heads below their shoulders, and having as little mental as bodily resemblance to Europeans. "It is quite in vain," he exclaims, "to apply our notions, maxims, and ideas, to the people of India! Their moral feelings and sentiments are as unlike ours as their persons! A cargo of European clothing, sent out for the use of the sepoys, would no more fit their persons than our laws and maxims would suit the moral, political, and religious opinions of the people of India."[2] Just so did the Jesuits reason about the red inhabitants of South America, whom, under the operation of such principles, a few centuries have almost exterminated from the face of the earth. Just so the patrons of the negro slavery reason respecting the black and woolly-headed African, that, because Nature has formed his body after a peculiar pattern differing considerably from ours, therefore he is incapable of exercising the rights of an independent, rational, and moral being. But the free state of Hayti is a triumphant refutation of this insolent assumption; it proves to the world that the capacity for enjoying freedom is not restricted to any particular cast of features or colour of skin; and, though many would fain deny it, while this Black Republic raises its head in the very heart of the great mart of slavery, the traders in human flesh must "believe and tremble." Among such a people, too, our Colonial Government has not hesitated to introduce "our notions, our ideas, our laws, our maxims," at Sierra Leone; among other things, the right of sitting on juries; and how have these "British garments" suited the sable Africans? "One proof," says the publication from which we have taken our motto, "how well these people have profited by the lessons they have received, and, it may be added, one proof also of their kind disposition, is seen in their conduct towards their fellow-negroes who are newly landed from the captured slave-ships: they vie with each other who shall clothe them, and take them to their houses as guests." Again, the rapid introduction of European ideas and education among them, by free intercourse with missionaries and settlers, (from which the Company has been so solicitous to guard its subjects,) is thus described. Yet the people so improved, would (according to Serjeant Spankie's scale) be at least *ten* thousand years from "adult manhood," being at least as far behind the Hindoos, as the Hindoos are behind the English at this day. But witness the following picture of rapid amelioration:

"By the official returns in August 1822, it appears that the population of Sierra Leone consisted of 16,671 souls, of whom more than 11,000 were negroes, rescued by our cruisers from slavery. Perhaps so much happiness and un-

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[2] Debate before the Privy Council. *Oriental Herald*, Vol. V. p. 735.

mingled good were never before produced by the employment of a naval force. Eleven thousand human beings had been rescued from the horrors of the middle passage, (horrors, be it remembered, which have been aggravated by the abolition of the slave-trade, such is the remorseless villainy of those who still carry on that infamous traffic,) though the mortality among them when they are first landed, arising from their treatment on board the slave-ships, has been dreadful. They are settled in villages, under the superintendence of missionaries, or schoolmasters, sent out from this country, and of Native teachers and assistants, whom the settlement now begins to supply. The effect of this training has been such, that, though when the population of the colony was only 4000, there had been forty cases in the calendar for trial; ten years after, when the population was upwards of 16,000, there were only six, and not a single one from any village under the management of a missionary or schoolmaster."

So much for the bad consequences of introducing, *as rapidly as possible*, our "ideas, laws, and maxims," among a people differing more widely from us than the Hindoos in knowledge and civilization, and even (to which Mr. Bosanquet attaches great importance) in the very form of their bodies. In reference to the largest assemblage of them at Regent's Town, Captain Sabine, of the Engineers, has testified, from a personal examination of the colony for six weeks, that "their spirit and conduct are such, that he is persuaded there is not to be seen on earth a community of equal size so truly exemplary;" and Sir Charles M'Carthy declares, that they have been raised already to a common level "with other civilized people." They have been raised to this from being in the most debased condition of humanity—confined, like beasts of burden, in the hold of a slave-ship, to act as jurors, and take their part as British subjects in a British colony! and this change wrought in the short space of ten years;—not in "many thousands," the period for which the Company's orators declare that its subjects must be kept in the house of mental bondage.

But as to juries, we are, happily, able to silence these advocates of Indian degradation and despotism, by a precedent which neither legal nor jesuitical sophistry can resist; a precedent, not drawn from England, at the top, or from Africa, near the bottom, of the scale of civilization, but from the island of Ceylon, a country as similar as possible in all respects to that in which we urge this judicial reform. In that island, inhabited by a people of the same origin and character, of similar manners and religious distinctions with the natives of the adjacent continent, the experiment of Native juries has been tried with a success exceeding, we believe, the most sanguine expectations of its author. Such an experiment is vastly important, not only for its own sake and its immediate consequences in promoting the happiness and moral improvement of a large body of British subjects, but as the source from which we believe its blessings are destined to be extended to the whole of India. We propose, therefore, to give in this place a particular account of the origin and progress of trial by jury in Ceylon.

It was while Sir Alexander Johnston was Chief Justice and First Member of Council at Ceylon, (to which office he was appointed in 1806,) that this great judicial reformation was effected. This gentleman had, for five or six years previous, held the situation of Advocate Fiscal for the island, and had thus an opportunity of witnessing the defects of the judicial system then existing, as well as of becoming well acquainted with the character and circumstances of the people. His

distinguished talents and industry soon enabled him to acquire an intimate knowledge of their laws and customs, habits and prejudices; and the local Government had such proofs of his abilities and qualifications, that he was represented to his Majesty's Ministers as the only person every way fitted to compile a code of laws for Ceylon. He was, therefore, deputed to Europe in 1808, as the person who, from his general knowledge of the island, and particular acquaintance with the constitution and defects of the Supreme Court, was, in all respects, best qualified to point out the remedies applicable to the evils then existing. For these reforms he had fortunately sufficient influence with the ministers of that day to procure their consent and sanction. Hence the happy introduction of trial by jury, and the extension of the right of sitting upon juries to every half-caste Native, as well as to every other Native of the country, to whatever caste or religious persuasion he might belong.

The reasons for proposing and adopting this plan were very similar to those which have been so often urged for a reform of the same kind on the continent of India. The complaints against the former system of administering justice in Ceylon were, that it was dilatory, expensive, and unpopular. The defects of that system arose from the little value which the Natives of the country attached to a character for veracity; from the total want of interest which they manifested for a system, in the administration of which they themselves had no share; from the difficulty which *European judges* (who were not only judges of law, but also judges of fact) experienced in ascertaining *the degree of credit which they ought to give to Native testimony*; and finally, from the delay in the proceedings of the court, which was productive of great inconvenience to the witnesses who attended the sessions, and great expense to the Government, which defrayed their costs. The most obvious mode of remedying these evils in the system of administering justice was, first, to give the Natives a direct interest in that system, by imparting to them a considerable share in its administration; secondly, to make them set a proper value on a character for veracity, by rendering such character the condition on which they were to look for respect from their countrymen, and hope for promotion in the service of Government; thirdly, to make the Natives themselves, who, from their knowledge of their countrymen, can decide at once upon the degree of credit which ought to be given to Native testimony, judges of fact, and thereby shorten the duration of trials, relieve witnesses from a protracted attendance on the courts, and materially diminish the expense of the Government.

The only method for attaining these objects appeared to be jury-trial, with the extension of the right of sitting on juries, under proper modifications, to every Native of the island. In planning this measure, the feelings of the people were consulted through the chief priests of the Budhoo religion, in as far as regards the Cingalese in the southern part of the island, and the Brahmins of Ramisseram, Madura, and Jaffna, as to the Hindoos of the northern parts. Sir T. Maitland, the Governor, as well as all the other Members of Council, thinking the plan proposed by Sir Alexander Johnston an object of great importance to the prosperity of the colony, and fearing that objections might be urged against it in England from the novelty of the measure, no such privilege having ever before been granted by the British Government to any native of India, it was resolved, in December 1808, that the author of the plan should be sent officially as

First Member of Council, to England, with full authority to urge, in the strongest manner, the adoption of the measure. After the matter had been maturely considered in England, a charter passed the Great Seal, extending the right of sitting upon juries, in criminal cases, to every native of Ceylon, in the manner proposed; and this measure was accordingly carried into effect on the return of Sir Alexander Johnston to Ceylon, in 1811.

In describing the manner of introducing jury-trial among the natives of Ceylon, we have to consider, first, the qualifications of a Native juryman; secondly, how the jurymen are summoned at each session; thirdly, how they are chosen at each trial; and fourthly, how they receive the evidence and deliver the verdict. First, as to the qualification: every native of Ceylon, provided he be a freeman, who has attained the age of twenty-one years, and is a permanent resident in the island, is qualified to sit on juries. Secondly, as to the mode of summoning: the fiscal, or sheriff of the province, as soon as a criminal session is fixed for his province, summons a considerable number of jurymen of each caste, taking particular care that no juryman is summoned out of his turn, or so as to interfere with any agricultural or manufacturing pursuits in which he may be engaged, or with any religious ceremony at which his caste may require his attendance. Thirdly, on the first day of the sessions, the names of all the jurymen who are summoned, are called over, and the jurymen, as well as the magistrates and police-officers, attend in court, and hear the charge delivered by the judge. The prisoners being then arraigned, every one has a right to be tried by thirteen jurymen of his own caste, unless some reason why the prisoner should not be tried by men of his own caste can be urged to the satisfaction of the court by the Advocate Fiscal, (who, in Ceylon, is a legal functionary, nearly similar to the Lord Advocate in Scotland;) or unless the prisoner himself, from believing the people of his own caste to be prejudiced against him, should apply to be tried by thirteen jurymen of another caste, or by a jury composed of half castes and Europeans. As soon as it is decided of what caste the jury is to be composed, the registrar of the court puts into an urn (which stands in a conspicuous part of the court) the names of a very considerable number of jurymen of the class prescribed. He then begins to draw the names out of the urn, the prisoner having a right to object to five peremptorily, and to any number for cause assigned; and this is continued until as many as thirteen jurymen, not objected to, be drawn. These thirteen are then sworn, agreeably to the forms of their respective religions, to decide upon the case according to the evidence, and without partiality.

The Advocate Fiscal then opens the case for the prosecution (through an interpreter, if necessary,) to the jury, and proceeds to call all the witnesses for the prosecution, whose evidence is taken down by the judge (also through an interpreter, if necessary,) in the hearing of the jury, who have, besides, the right to examine, and the prisoner to cross-examine, any of the above witnesses. When the case for the prosecution is closed, the prisoner states what he has to urge in self-defence, and calls his witnesses, the jury having a right to examine, and the prosecutor to cross-examine them. The evidence for the defence being taken down by the judge, the prosecutor is seldom or ever, except in very particular cases, allowed to reply, or to adduce any additional evidence. The case

for the prosecution and for the prisoner being closed, the judge (through an interpreter, when necessary,) recapitulates the evidence to the jury from his notes, adding such observations from himself as may occur to him on the occasion. The jury, after deliberating upon the case, either in the jury-box, or, if they wish to retire, in a room close to the court, deliver their verdict, through their foreman, in open court, that verdict being the opinion of the *majority* of them. By this wise rule they escape the irrational and unnatural dogma of English law, which, by confinement and coercion, insists that, in every case, twelve men shall be of one opinion.

The most scrupulous care is taken that the jurymen never separate nor communicate with any person from the moment they are sworn, until their verdict, having been delivered as aforesaid, has been publicly recorded by the registrar. The number of Native jurymen, of every caste, in Ceylon is so great, and a knowledge beforehand what persons may compose a jury in any particular case, is so unattainable, that it is almost impossible for any person, whatever be his influence in the country, either to bias or to corrupt a jury. The great number of persons returned by the fiscal, or sheriff, to serve at each session; the impartial manner in which the names of the jurymen are drawn out by ballot; the right which the prisoner and prosecutor may exercise, of objecting to each juryman as his name is drawn; the strictness which is observed by the court, in preventing all communication between the jurymen when once sworn, and every other person whatever, till they have delivered their verdict,—are so many effectual checks against any thing like corruption, and so many securities for impartial justice, as altogether to give great weight to their decision.

The Native jurymen being judges of the fact, leaving to the European judges merely the duty of determining the law as applicable to it, only one European judge is now necessary where formerly two, and sometimes three, were required, when they were judges of both law and fact. The Native jurymen, from knowing exactly the different degrees of credit due to the testimony of their countrymen, decide upon questions of fact with so much more promptitude than Europeans could do, that since the introduction of Native juries no trial lasts above a day, and no session above a week or ten days at the farthest; whereas, formerly, a single trial used sometimes to last six weeks or two months, and a single session not unfrequently for three months. In addition to this saving of time and expense, the judicial proceedings which were, under the former dilatory and defective system, the source of so much loss, vexation, and discontent, now tend greatly to the improvement of the people. All the Natives, who attend the courts as jurymen, obtain so much information during their attendance relative to the modes of proceeding and the rules of evidence, that, since the establishment of jury-trial, the Government have been enabled to find among the half-caste and Native jurymen some of the most efficient and respectable Native magistrates in the country, who, under the control of the Supreme Court, at little or no expense to Government, administer justice as to minor offences among the Native inhabitants. The advantages of this measure to the Government and the people are mutual: the despatch and efficiency of courts being increased, both prisoners and witnesses are relieved of the hardships formerly incurred from the protracted duration of the criminal ses-

sions; and the Government, besides the immediate reduction effected at the commencement, have since been enabled to effect a permanent saving of ten thousand pounds a year in the judicial department of the island! This is an argument in favour of judicial reform, to which even the East India Company may not disdain to lend an ear.

A most judicious mode has been adopted of rendering the Native jury system a direct instrument of improving the morals of the people. No man, whose character for honesty or veracity is impeached, can be enrolled on the list of jurymen. Hence the circumstance of a man's name being in the jury-roll is a test of unexceptionable character, to which he appeals if his reputation is called in question in a court of justice, or in the event of his soliciting promotion in the public service. As the rolls of jurymen are revised by the Supreme Court at every session, they operate as a powerful engine of moral amelioration.[3] This could not but result from the simple fact of their being now the judges of each other; consequently, every one must feel that the least deviation from rectitude, or loss of character, will infallibly operate against him should he ever happen to come before the bar of his countrymen as a prisoner, or even as a witness. The right of sitting upon juries, we are assured, has given the natives of Ceylon a value for character which they never felt before, and has, in a very short period, raised in a remarkable manner the standard of moral feeling among them.

The advantages of this measure, in a political point of view, are no less striking, and cannot fail to make a deep impression on those who are desirous of securing the permanency of our Indian empire, now held by so precarious a tenure, while all the Natives of the country are rigidly excluded from every valuable right or privilege, and from every respectable public office of trust or emolument; in a word, debarred from any participation whatever in the administration of government, which should attach them, or any considerable portion of them, to the present order of things. Hence, as Sir John Malcolm confesses, they are at all times ready to rise, whenever an opportunity may offer, to cut the throats of their foreign masters, as was also formerly the case in Ceylon. But now all the Natives of that island, who are enrolled as jurymen, conceive themselves to be as much a part of the rulers of the country as the European judges themselves; and, therefore, feel an interest they never felt before in upholding the British Government of Ceylon. This was strongly exemplified by the difference between their conduct in the Kandyan war of 1803 and in that of 1816. During the former, which was before the

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[3] Our inquiries do not enable us to state at present, with precision, what methods are used to ascertain who are fit and who are unfit to be enrolled as jurymen. In Mr. Peel's new Jury Act it is provided, that lists of jurymen, prepared by the churchwardens and overseers before the 1st of September in each year, shall be placed on the church-doors for the three first Sundays of that month; and in the last week of September the justices are to hold petty sessions, at which these lists shall be given on oath, when the justices may make alterations in them; after which the amended lists are delivered to the high constables to be returned to the next sessions. In order to bring trial by jury to perfection, the qualifications for, and the grounds of exemption or exclusion from, the office of juror, the amount of evidence which is to substantiate, and the tribunal which is to determine his admissibility or inadmissibility, must all be exactly defined. But where so much has been done, we should perhaps be considered as being "too curious" if we were to require the last degree of perfection.

introduction of trial by jury, the Native inhabitants of the British settlements were, for the most part, in a state of rebellion; eager to hasten our overthrow, and promote the success of our Kandyan enemies. But in the war with the same people in 1816, which was five years after the introduction of trial by jury, the inhabitants of the British settlements, so far from manifesting the least symptom of disaffection, were, in the very heat of the war, testifying their gratitude to the British Government for the invaluable right of jury-trial conferred upon them, by public addresses presented to Sir Alexander Johnston, expressive of their regard to the founder of this system in that part of the world. The generality of this feeling may be judged of from the unanimous expression of it by the various classes in the island: the Dutch inhabitants and burghers of Colombo, and of the province of Jaffnapatam; the Europeans, and decendants of Europeans, and burghers, in the province of Galle; the chiefs of the Chalias, or cultivators of cinnamon, who amount to twenty or thirty thousand persons; the native inhabitants of Jaffnapatam; the Wesleyan Methodist missionaries; the priests and Catholic population; and lastly, the chiefs and all the subordinate priests of Budhoo, on behalf of themselves and that of all the inhabitants of Ceylon who profess their religion; people of every caste and creed, of every "kindred and tongue," uniting in their grateful acknowledgments to that great benefactor, who had been the means of procuring them the inestimable blessing of trial by jury,—on which they dwell with delight and exultation, as if a precious boon from heaven, too great to have been hoped for—too valuable for language to express.

Sir Hardinge Gifford, the present Chief Justice of Ceylon, in his charge to the jury, in March 1820, after mentioning the remarkable change from revolt and disaffection in the former war to attachment and loyalty in the latter, declared that it must be attributed to the introduction of trial by jury. "To this happy system," said he, "now, I may venture to say, deeply cherished in the affections of the people, and revered as much as any of their oldest and dearest institutions, I do confidently ascribe this pleasing alteration; and it may be boldly asserted that, while it continues to be administered with firmness and integrity, the British Government will hold an interest in the hearts of its Cingalese subjects, which the Portuguese and Dutch possessors of the island were never able to establish." The learned Judge also quoted a report of the Advocate Fiscal, dated in June, 1817, testifying, that in the seventh year of the operation of the jury system, it had already become a great favourite with the inhabitants, to whose circumstances, feelings, and even prejudices, it was so well adapted, that they had become attached to it before even they were aware of all its advantages. And he adds: "Armies may waste away from climate or disease, and seasons and circumstances may baffle the utmost exercise of human foresight; but, fixed on the attachment of the people to our jurisprudence, I look upon the security of the British interests in Ceylon to be impregnable."*

As in colonizing a country with settlers in a superior state of civilization to the Native inhabitants, a salutary change is wrought on the latter by their being brought into close contact with the colonists, whose

* Asiatic Journal, September 1820, Vol. X. p. 268.

example is a constant stimulus to improvement in all around them; so the institution of trial by jury, which opens a direct communication between the British judges and the great body of the people, enables the former to exercise a most beneficial influence on the public mind. As every Native juryman, whatever his caste or religion may be, or in whatever part of the country he may reside, appears before the Supreme Court once at least in every two years; and, as the judge who presides, delivers a charge at the opening of each session to all the jurymen who are in attendance, they have an opportunity of hearing whatever observations he may make respecting the administration of justice, or the state of society or morals in any part of the country. Sentiments proceeding from so high a quarter are sure of commanding great attention, and the judge can thus diffuse, in the most effectual manner, whatever opinions he considers to be for the benefit of the community or of any particular class; the happy consequences of which, received a signal proof in the difference which was observed between the conduct of all the proprietors of slaves in Ceylon in 1806, which was five years before the introduction of trial by jury, and in 1816, which was five years after that event. As, by the capitulation under which the Dutch possessions had been surrendered to the British arms in 1798, the right of every proprietor of slaves to continue to hold them in Ceylon was guaranteed, the hands of the British Government were tied up from abolishing slavery there by a legislative act. In 1806, however, a proposition was made to the proprietors of slaves, by Sir Alexander Johnston on the part of Government, urging them to adopt some measure of their own accord for the gradual abolition of slavery; but this proposition they at that time unanimously rejected. The right of sitting on juries was thereafter granted to the inhabitants in 1811; and from that period, Sir Alexander, as Chief Justice, availed himself of the opportunities which every session afforded in his charge to the jurymen, most of whom were considerable proprietors of slaves, to inform them of what was doing in England upon the subject of the abolition of slavery, and to point out to them the difficulties which they themselves must frequently experience in discharging with impartiality their duties as jurymen in all cases where slaves were concerned. In consequence of these frequent admonitions and appeals to their humanity, a change of opinion on the subject of slavery became gradually perceptible among them; and in 1816, after they had been five years under the salutary influence of the jury system, the proprietors of slaves of all castes and religious persuasions in Ceylon, tendered to the Chief Justice, to be publicly recorded in court, their unanimous resolution, declaring that all the children born of their slaves after the 12th of August that year, should henceforth be free! By this great act of philanthropy, which will be recorded in history to the eternal honour of the people of Ceylon, and of the British Judge whose exertions secured such a triumph to humanity and justice, slavery, which had existed in the island for more than three centuries, will now, in a very few years, entirely disappear,—it is to be hoped for ever.

It is impossible to erect a prouder trophy to the inestimable merits of trial by jury than has here been raised, [illegible] where, at the present moment, such an exa[illegible] portance to mankind. England possesses do[illegible] human beings on the Indian continent, whom she has hitherto suffered to be governed by *chance*, or by the caprice of individuals, and the most

crude, defective and heterogeneous mass of laws that ever afflicted an unfortunate people—drawn partly from the Hindoo Shasters, partly from the Koran, from the edicts of Mohammedan despots, acts of British Parliaments, orders of Boards of Control, Courts of Directors, and Company's Governors! Although the administration of justice is laden with all the lumber of ages, the present system is robbed of the most valuable parts of those of which it is composed: the ancient *punchayet*, or Indian jury, being done away, and the English jury not admitted at all, except in a bastard form, which renders it to Natives no trial by their peers, and even in this form it is restricted to only three cities out of the whole empire. While the greatest evils are experienced from this state of things—while some of the judges candidly confess the impossibility of dispensing justice under the present system, and declare the existing laws so little adapted to the purpose, that it would be better to have no laws at all[5] —others conceive it would be an improvement to decide cases by a cast of the dice[6]; and while this sentence of the judges is confirmed by a corresponding verdict of the people, who declare that justice is become a perfect lottery[7]; it is also judicially proved that "justice is set up at auction, and sold to the highest bidder;"[8]—at the same time, the genuine trial by jury is introduced in an island, adjacent fortunately to the Indian peninsula, and inhabited by a people every way similarly circumstanced. This experiment having been crowned with the most signal success, what reason can be assigned for confining its happy effects within the limits of that island? We have the testimony of Sir Alexander Johnston, in his reply to the inhabitants of Jaffnapatam, that "although the right of sitting upon juries was never extended to the Hindoo inhabitants of any other part of India, a long and careful examination of the manners and feelings of the Hindoo inhabitants of the province of Jaffna, had convinced him that there was nothing in their character which could prevent the trial by jury from becoming amongst them (the Hindoos) what it is amongst all the European inhabitants of Great Britain—*the best mode of trial that ever was invented by human wisdom*—one which is so *congenial to the constitution of all human beings of whatever caste they may be*, that the establishment of it in any country must inevitably improve the state of civilization and the moral feelings of the people."

With this high and merited eulogium we shall bring our observations on this subject to a close. The just praise here awarded belongs to trial by jury in common with the liberty of the press, and every valuable political institution, founded on no casual circumstance of creed, or colour, or country, but on the grand principles of human nature, with which accordingly, wherever established, their benefits must be co-extensive and coeval. If these blessings, which Great Britain has conferred upon the colony of Ceylon, be still denied to the rest of India, no reason for so great a cruelty can be discovered, except that this unfortunate country labours under the curse of being governed by a Company of Monopolists. If more has been done for Ceylon in a dozen years than for the rest of India in half a century,[9] is it because in the latter, among the numerous

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5 *Oriental Herald*, October, Vol. VII. p. 26. 6 Vide Col. Stewart.

7 Letter of certain Natives of India, *Oriental Herald*, October, Vol. VII. p. 194.

8 Speech of Mr. Fergusson in the Supreme Court of Calcutta, on the Poorneah Bribery Cases prosecuted by Charles Reed, Esq.

9 The English Supreme Court of judicature was introduced in 1773, more than

men of talent and learning who have sat on the bench, none had the capacity to conceive, or the virtue to recommend, a judicial system worthy of British rulers? This cannot be; in a body necessarily comprising so much worth and intelligence, there must have been many who would have aspired to the honour of doing such a service to their country as has been done in Ceylon. But to them we may apply the funeral oration of Mark Anthony—

> The evil that men do lives after them;
> The good is oft interred with their bones.

Their suggestions of reform for the benefit of the Indian people, addressed to their honourable masters in England, would soon be buried in the recesses of the India House, under accounts of tea sales and schemes of lucrative monopolies, and lost for ever, unless a parliamentary investigation should happen to drag them to the light. But although the Company has hitherto succeeded so admirably as an extinguisher on the spirit of public improvement, there are now grounds of hope that a new and better era is about to dawn in the East; that Indian judges will no longer, as has been the case from Judge Impey to Judge Macnaghten, acquire distinction by assisting to oppress or forge heavier chains for the people whom it was their duty to protect. They have before them, in Ceylon, a noble example, which will not be left like a solitary plant in the desert to waste its fragrance on the barren waste. If reliance may be placed on the intimation given by Ministers of their intentions, nothing is wanting to secure to India the blessing of trial by jury but the advice and co-operation of the judicial authorities there. A more glorious opportunity could never occur for retrieving the character of British judges—sullied by the aid and countenance they have hitherto but too often given to Asiatic despotism; and if there be one, at the present moment, who aspires to true fame, he cannot wish to deserve a nobler epitaph than that of being "one of the founders of trial by jury in the East." Among these, Sir Alexander Johnston will ever hold the first and highest place; and, if fame be awarded in proportion to the benefits conferred on mankind, his memory will be long cherished in India after the names of Clive and Wellesley are forgotten. When the false splendour of victory and conquest has faded away, the institution of Native juries will be the only monument of British power in the East *yet* erected, on which a Briton can look with honest pride; and if this system be wisely extended to the rest of India, then, in the words of the Ceylon report above quoted, "Armies may waste away from famine or disease, and seasons and circumstances may baffle all human foresight; but, fixed on the attachment of the people to our jurisprudence, British interests must become impregnable."

fifty years ago. But of the three spots where it now exists, such as it is, the first, Madras, was acquired by the Company in 1640; Bombay in 1668; Calcutta in 1698; while the extensive territory of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, has been in British possession since 1765. So long has the Company reaped the fruits of the finest countries of Asia, while it has done nothing, or worse than nothing, to secure the people the fruits of a good system of jurisprudence.

THE STORM.

Stanzas, written during the great Storm of November 1824, on the South Coast of England.

THE mighty wind is sweeping
The fierce and foaming sea;
The forest boughs are weeping
Where the leaves were wont to be,—
Which the wind and rain in their wild war
Have scatter'd wide and far.

The clouds with thunder laden,
Are toss'd and whirl'd on high;
Heaven pity now the maiden
Who looks upon that sky,
And hath a lover on the sea
Where the storm rules furiously.

The giant surge, now breaking
Upon the dreary shore,
Is like the sullen waking
Of the signal cannon's roar,
When the dim wreck drifts upon the wave
Towards its foaming grave.

In such a night, how sadly
Do men upon the sea
Recall the home where gladly
They sheltered then would be,
And think upon the native shore
They ne'er may visit more.

Around them the great billows,
Like mountain cataracts break;
Far off, on silent pillows,
The friends they love, partake
A calm repose, unbroken by
The wind's scarce heeded sigh.

The gusts that, unregarded,
Moan round the vine-clad walls,—
The showers, by strong roofs warded
From soft and silken halls,
All dismally and sadly sweep
Across the midnight deep.

And heaven guard the lone bark
That meets upon her way
Those tyrants of the drear dark,
For terrible are they,
When in their fearful strength they roam,
And grind the waves to foam.

Then think upon poor mariners,
Ye, in whose fragrant bowers
The night wind's breathing scarcely stirs
The rich and sleeping flowers,—
That very breeze may be the last
That o'er the drown'd ship pass'd.

BERNARD WYCLIFFE.

ON THE SPIRIT OF MONACHISM.

—'Tis most true,
That musing meditation most affects
The pensive secrecy of desert cell,
Far from the cheerful haunt of men and herds,
And sits as safe as in a senate house;
For who would rob a hermit of his weeds,
His few books, or his beads, or maple dish,
Or do his grey hairs any violence?

MILTON.

ACCORDING to the present face of things in the Christian world, it seems not at all extravagant to expect the revival of a taste for monachism, which philosophers some time ago suspected to be verging towards extinction. In the excess of our liberality, we throw the mantle of refinement over the most absurd prejudices, and that which prudence might consent to tolerate, in pity to the weakness of mankind, is now actually decked out in the garb of wisdom, and held up as an object of supreme veneration. Such things having frequently happened before, the thinking mind is not surprised; but we cannot help smiling very often to observe with what zest and earnestness mankind rush back to their old notions. Every reformer of human opinions is sure to undergo the fate of Moses in the wilderness; for no sooner shall he have led men out of the gorgeous appearances and rich delusions of superstition, into the bare still champaign of truth, than their minds grow uneasy at the uniformity and barrenness of the landscape, and long to turn back to the "flesh-pots" of their intellectual Egypt. Among the delights of those good old times, the middle ages, which rose up like alpine ridges of darkness between the civilization of the ancient and the modern world, we must undoubtedly reckon the institutions of monachism; institutions which Dr. Lingard, Mr. Cobbett, and many other equally philosophical people, regard as especial blessings, of which the Protestant Reformation has robbed us. It being now a good while since these *blessings* were enjoyed in England, it may not be amiss to look back upon them, as they stand in history; and if we shall discover any thing very desirable in their aspect, we may easily invite them to reside amongst us; for they are not any of those shy good things, which, being once rejected, never present themselves again; but, like the devil, are ever at our elbow, ready to introduce themselves at a moment's notice; and in case we should resolve to rebuild the monasteries, and deal once more in friars' copes and chasubles, perhaps we might prevail on Mr. Cobbett to accept of a good fat abbacy, from which he might issue histories of the Reformation much more amusing and untrue than the one he has already put before the world.

We by no means intend to write a regular dissertation on monastical institutions, for that would demand more time and space than we can at present afford the friars; our object is to make a few slight observations on monks and monachism, calculated to give a true idea of what they were, and are yet in those countries where "the religion of our ancestors," as Mr. Cobbett calls it, is still encouraged. It would not be difficult to demonstrate, in spite of Dr. Lingard and his followers, that the institutions of monachism, those chaste and beautiful efforts of the priestly genius, instead of diffusing over the world the spirit of purity

and virtue, tended invincibly to corrupt and brutify the human heart; and were more unholy, debasing, and destructive of happiness, than those abominable rites that were introduced by the votaries of Isis into ancient Italy. On some other occasion we may do this; though Dr. Lingard may be sure that no modern pen will ever defile itself by tracing, in their true colours, the unspeakable impurities of the Catholic friars.

Whoever meditates at all on the peculiarities of modern nations, must frequently be struck with these monastical institutions, by which men have been shut up, like Ghouls, in tombs and cemeteries, as if they feasted on the bodies of the dead. It was in the catacombs of Egypt, in the caverns of Lybia, in the dreary solitudes of the desert, that the spirit of monachism first appeared. As Christianity found its way over the world, monachism followed in its footsteps; and the extent and duration of its influence, and the very ordinary spectacle of men and women who have for ever renounced all proper relation to their species, instead of solving the difficulty, only tend to make it more entirely extraordinary. According to common experience, the world affords not too many enjoyments at best: a surplus of delight is what we never hear of. On the contrary, health, riches, and successful ambition, with the sweet fillings-up, if we may use the phrase, of domestic enjoyments, are found insufficient, in almost all cases, to constitute perfect happiness. What then shall we say of men who, rejecting all ordinary aids, rely solely upon the effervescence of their enthusiasm for felicity?—who, by dint of seclusion and self-denial, become as dry clouds, darkening the surface of society, without fertilizing it? Are they virtuous? Are they happy? Our notions of virtue and happiness must change materially if they are. By putting an imaginary case, that could never happen, Montaigne has shown that he agrees in opinion on this subject with us. "He *that can really* and *constantly*," says he, "inflame his soul with the ardour of his lively faith and hope, does erect for himself in this solitude, a more voluptuous and delicious life than any other sort of life whatever." But who can *really* and *constantly* do this? The transports of the imagination are short in proportion as they are vivid; languor follows upon the heels of ecstacy; and a life of inaction, not being congruous with the natural faculties of man, the monk must often find his tranquillity disturbed by doubts and scruples. So high indeed does the "*tædium vitæ*" mount sometimes in the cloister, that many resort to suicide, as the only means left them of escape from the horrors of their vow; and when the energy or weakness of their character is not equal to this, their chief employment, when not engaged in religious duties, is watching the progress of the sun,[1] and anticipating the hour when sleep shall deliver them from the consciousness of life!

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[1] Cassian, from his own experience, describes the acedia, or listlessness of mind and body, to which a monk was exposed, when he sighed to find himself alone. "Sæpius que egreditur et ingreditur cellam, et Solem velut ad occasum tardius properantem crebrius intuetur." (Institut. x. i.) GIBBON.

It may be observed, that certain Oriental monks, more pious or more insane than the generality, betook themselves, on quitting society, to grazing, like the beasts of the field. Being ambitious of resembling man as little as possible, they commonly went on all fours, and in that manner fled away on the approach of any of their species, hiding themselves, like beasts of prey, from society and observa-

It must be owned this does not apply to the monastical institutions of later times; the modern monks having been much more ingenious than their predecessors in contriving methods of passing time agreeably. Among these, the business of confessing nuns and other fair sinners, is understood to be the favourite with young and middle-aged friars. Indeed, in order the more easily to edify themselves by listening to the sins of young ladies, the fashion of double monasteries was very early introduced into Catholic countries by the monks. In these the nuns and friars lived in a neighbourly, charitable way; the former sinning, and the latter (who of course never sinned) giving them absolution. Being desirous of acquiring a more than ordinary degree of sanctity, and, for that purpose, of approaching and overcoming the greatest temptations, many monks were in the habit of sharing the beds of the most beautiful nuns, that they might convince the devil, by their abstinence in such situations, it was to no purpose he would torment them with any further snares. Among those who put their virtue to this awful trial, was "le bienheureux Robert d'Arbrissel," Abbot of Fontevraud; and it is said that after this the devil gave him up in despair. William of Malmsbury relates a similar story of Aldhelm, one of our English saints; and he adds, that the practice never once brought the holy man into suspicion with the honest people of those days. As for the devil, he thought himself made quite ridiculous, as well he might, "cernens adhærentem faminam virumque alias avocato animo insistentem cantando psalterio!"[3]

The same St. Aldhelm used sometimes a less dangerous method of cooling his passions: he plunged himself in winter up to the neck in snow, and in summer passed whole days in the well of the monastery. This must have been a much more pleasant and effectual remedy. We perceive, however, by all this, that nature is not to be quenched by putting on a piece of hair-cloth, and calling oneself a monk. In fact, whoever reads attentively the lives of the primitive saints and hermits, will often have his pity very strongly excited by the recital of their temptations, real and visionary. The poor men, it is said, were very frequently haunted by devils, generally in a female shape; what their imaginations chiefly dwelt upon may, therefore, be clearly seen. In spite of their piety, they felt that they had no domestic hearth; that they could not say,—

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tion." "Their very shapes," says Bayle, "were changed, and so were their sentiments."

3 Wilhelmus Malmesbur. in Vita Aldhelmi.

The fashion of double monasteries gave rise to practices too grave and criminal for ridicule—to horrible prostitution, and infanticide. In the Edinburgh Review, No. [illegible], the reader will find some useful information on this topic, as connected with English history. Had not the design of the Reviewer been merely to correct the false statements of Dr. Lingard, he would, perhaps, have extended his researches, and brought together facts illustrating the monastical history on the Continent. Dr. Lingard's History of the Anglo Saxon church, the work in which he treats of double monasteries, is very learned, and not destitute of instruction; but it is a book that should be read with caution, being the picture drawn of the priesthood by a priest. *He* has sometimes the air of doubting the legends he relates; but this appearance of scepticism is the effect of art, and tends to impress the reader with the notion that, where the author does not doubt, what he reads is true. We refer not to the main body of the work, but to such relations as that of the disinterment of St. Cuthbert, &c.

> 'Tis sweet to hear the watch-dog's honest bark
> Bay deep-mouthed welcome as we draw near home;
> 'Tis sweet to know there is an eye will mark
> Our coming, and look brighter when we come.

No! they had no home, and knew of no eye that ever brightened at their approach. The only one that affected them on earth was that of the fierce abbot, which, instead of brightening as they drew near, lowered with dark cruelty, and never seemed clear or sparkling but when it feasted on their sufferings. It was the custom in many monasteries, before the time of Charlemagne, for the abbot to amuse himself with maiming and mutilating the monks, stabbing their limbs, or pulling out their eyes. Afterwards, a still more dreadful practice prevailed; when a monk had offended the abbot, or committed some breach of discipline, the superior, putting on a face of piety, bade him "go in peace!" and forthwith he was conveyed to perish in the subterraneous vaults or caverns that extended beneath the monastery.

One cause of this hard ferocity in the monkish character, was their solitary celibacy. Many writers, and, among the rest, Mr. Cobbett, have however supposed the single life of the Romish clergy to be an advantage to mankind. This must proceed from a love of paradox, or from want of information: for though it should be admitted, as it is admitted by Lord Bacon, that in one respect a single life "doth well with churchmen, for charity will hardly water the ground where it must first fill a pool;" yet it will also, we apprehend, be allowed, that single men are "more cruel (than married men) and hard-hearted, (good to make severe inquisitors,) because their tenderness is not so often called in question." The reason assigned in the latter portion of this sentence for the cruelty of monks, is not the only one which Bacon might have given, had he thought many reasons necessary. His large observation and experience of mankind had taught him, that as virtue is a habit, it can only be induced and maintained by practice. He must also have known, for what did he not know? that men never really sympathize with sufferings from which they believe themselves entirely exempt. It is, for example, well known that single men, in general, think very lightly of adultery and seduction; change their position, give them wives and daughters, and you alter their ideas. Husbands and fathers have "given hostages to fortune;" they are liable to suffer, not only for their own weaknesses and errors, but for those also of the various branches of their family; of individuals who, however dear, may not be guided by their views and principles. On the other hand, the votary of celibacy, having all his faculties of enjoyment and suffering bound up within himself, (which the married man has not,) presents but one point, as it were, to the arrows of fortune. He perhaps finds the cloak of dissimulation and hypocrisy broad enough to cover his own indiscretions; but who shall answer for the miscarriages of others? The monk, therefore, feels that all is safe when he himself is so; and, as he trusts to his own capacity for immunity from suffering, is reckless of inflicting tortures to which he believes he is no way liable. In this manner, by mere honest *à priori* reasoning, any one might be convinced that an unmarried clergy, as well as all monks and friars, would necessarily be cruel; but unfortunately there is no occasion to resort to reasoning to establish this posi-

tion; history abounds with terrible proofs of it, with proofs that pain the heart and trouble the imagination.

If the value of the Roman Catholic religion were to be estimated by the character of its devotees, whether saints or not, it would appear to be inferior to that of Paganism. No mode of faith ever inundated the earth with so many vicious practices, or rites more impure, unnatural, and absurd. To look back upon it from amidst the light in which Protestantism has now placed us, may induee false views, favourable to the object contemplated; as the most naked and fearful precipices look beautiful and charming in a distant landscape. In saying this, we speak without intolerance; for it seems to us that the character of a religion, however disagreeable and absurd, ought not to subject it to any kind of persecution. We only mean to say, that *per se* Catholicism has always been a vicious and unamiable superstition; and that the mode of thinking by which some men are led to depreciate Protestantism, in order to promote the emancipation of the Catholics, however liberal and philosophical it may appear, is neither more nor less than the result of ignorance of the history of the two religions. With one single difference, Catholicism is to Protestantism, in this country, what Christianity was to Paganism in the empire of Rome; and that difference consists in its being a decaying, not a rising faith. The single question to be considered, therefore, in treating of Catholic emancipation, is, not whether it be a good or a bad religion, but whether, being an old decaying faith, it is at all likely it could ever supplant Protestantism in this country. The latter, the nearest approach religion has ever yet made to reason, appears to be too well guarded by common sense to fear any thing from popery; and therefore we would willingly see the Irish Catholics *emancipated*, as they term it. In former times, it might have been political to manacle this terrible superstition, as men manacle a madman, to keep it from perpetrating its accustomed horrors; but now that its paroxysms seem no longer mischievous, we may remove its chains, and suffer it to roam at large.

But to return to monachism. Persons living in Protestant countries, and under tolerable governments, experience some difficulty to conceive how the monasteries are filled; since they observe no desire either in themselves or in their acquaintances to quit the world for a life of solitude. To say nothing of the influence of superstition, there are, however, many reasons why certain dispositions should prefer a monastery to the world. Among the poor of all countries, men of haughty tempers and devouring ambition arise, who know neither how to submit to the hardships of their condition, nor how to steal a march on fortune, and escape from them. Being determined from the first to move upwards in society, they toil, like Sisyphus, up the steep of life, with the weight of their misfortunes before them; and this too often rolling back upon them, baffles their energy, and carries them down headlong to the foot of the hill. Then they begin again, again toil and strain against the slope of their fate, and again are thrown exhausted to the ground. In the lassitude superinduced by this successless labour, the door of a monastery, opening calmly by their side, appears like the entrance to heaven; they step in, and are at least delivered from the storms and showers that beat upon them in the highway of the world.

The first celebrated Christian monk was the victim of injustice. This was the famous Paul, of Thebes in Upper Egypt. He was the elder son

of a very rich man, who, on dying, left him the principal heir to his immense wealth. He had a brother, however, a Pagan, who had, it seems, a great desire to enjoy the whole inheritance. Therefore, knowing Paul to be a Christian, and likewise believing him to be timid and averse to martyrdom, he hit upon a method of possessing himself of the entire patrimony without open violence. Paul was informed that his brother was about to denounce him to the emperor, who happened to be a furious persecutor; and this sufficed to make him abandon Thebes, and betake himself to the desert. The description given by ancient ecclesiastical writers of the retreat which this primitive hermit there discovered, is very fanciful and pleasing: it was a rude cavern, situated in a perfect solitude, with a spring of limpid water, and a palm-tree or two before the entrance. Here he lived ninety years, during which period he subsisted on bread and water: the former supplied to him daily, half a loaf at a time, by a very pious raven, and the latter procured from the spring before his cave. His dress consisted of a tunic, composed of the leaves of the palm-tree; and this precious relic descended at his death to Saint Anthony, who was fortunate enough to visit him the day previous to his decease.[3]

Others feel from their birth a bias towards ease and retirement, and cheat themselves into the persuasion that virtue is sure to be found basking in woodland and pastoral scenes:

> Hail, mildly-pleasing Solitude!
> Companion of the wise and good,
> But from whose holy, piercing eye
> The herd of fools and villains fly.

So sung the indolent Thomson, who would doubtless have made a very excellent abbot. But perhaps Tiberius and Louis XI. loved solitude, of a certain kind, much more heartily than the Scotch poet; and although Mr. Landor says he is of opinion that the former retired to the rocks of Capreæ, merely to indulge his grief for the loss of his wife, we find it very hard to set aside the testimony of Tacitus and Suetonius in deference to the author of 'Imaginary Conversations.' Now these historians inform us, that the solitude of Tiberius was witness of more horrible vices than could have been perpetrated in society with impunity; and the history of those religious orders, of which we are now speaking, confirms, if any thing were wanting to confirm the position, that solitude and virtue are not necessarily companions. However, it is always a point of faith with meditative, poetical minds, that retirement is favourable to innocence:

> ——— To grottos and to groves they run,
> To ease and silence, every Muse's son.

Certainly, every mind that is intent upon any great or meritorious design, will naturally desire to have some time to itself, undisturbed by the calls of business, or even of friendship:

> ——— And Wisdom's self
> Oft seeks to sweet retired solitude,
> Where with her best nurse, Contemplation,

[3] Helyot, Hist. des Ordres Monastiques, t. i.

She plumes her feathers, and lets grow her wings,
That in the various bustle of resort
Were all too ruffled, and sometimes impaired.

But this kind of seclusion is not to be found in a monastery, though warm and youthful fancies might hope to meet with it there. "I have thought nothing so severe," says Montaigne, "in the austerity of life which our friars affect, as what I see in some of their fraternities; namely, to have a perpetual society of place by rule, and numerous assistants among them in every action whatever; and I think it somewhat more tolerable to be always alone, than never to be so." The reason why the founders of monastic institutions made it incumbent on the friars to be for ever together in crowds, though forbidden, in many cases, to utter a word to each other, was to prevent them from tasting the sweets of sleep, which were grudged them as too great a blessing. Contrivances were thought of to keep them from enjoying their natural rest, even during the night; for no sooner, perhaps, had the monk relapsed into slumber, and slided, in fancy, out of the noose of his vow, than the infernal clatter of bells scared away his dreams, and called him up, drowsy, angry, and unrefreshed, to mutter over, for the thousandth time, the jargon of his breviary. It is true, this practice of nocturnal devotion was dispensed with in some convents, though the bell still continued to be tolled for the edification of the people.

In despotic countries, however, there is frequently less suffering within the walls of a monastery than in the world; and to many, the severity of the monastic discipline appeared light in comparison of the great advantages it led to. Bishops, archbishops, and abbots, with almost sovereign authority, were chosen from among the wretched friars; and the gradual introduction of luxury and magnificence into their cells, at length wore away the asperity of the monkish life, and made it highly desirable. The description a French bishop gives of the mode of life of an abbot and his monks, within his own diocese, will convey a pretty correct notion of the general manners of the friars in all the rich establishments of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Abbot of St. Sulpicius, it appears, was a very military personage, for he was honoured with the government of a citadel, and the command of a body of troops, in addition to his spiritual charge; and being, like the younger Cyrus, a great lover of horses, he possessed a most magnificent stud. Not having, at his monastery, convenient stabling for his Spanish and German stallions, his mares of Bresse, and large asses of Auvergne, it occurred to him that the abbey church, being a fine structure, and nearly as large as a cathedral, would accommodate his stud most admirably. Into the church, therefore, the noble animals were led, and the pillared aisles, and "high embowed roofs" echoed to the snorting and neighing of steeds, the braying of asses, and the songs of grooms. The dusky old saints, that stood carved in the walls, and had heard nothing but masses for centuries, looked at each other with astonishment, as some wanton stallion whisked his long tail in their faces, or went prancing down the aisles. The portion of the church that the horses did not occupy, was filled with hay and straw, which at length encroached so near upon the grand altar, that when the monks took it into their heads to chaunt the mass, they appeared, says the Bishop, like so many rats in a barn!

However, the Abbot's straw did not very often interfere with their devotions; for, as soon as it was day, you might see the jolly friars issue out of the monastery with their fowling-pieces on their shoulders; and, mounted on fine steeds, hastening away to the chase. The Abbot himself always went armed with sword and pistol; and sometimes carried a great carabine swung across his back.

A little colony of nuns occupied an edifice at the foot of the hill, about a bow-shot from the monastery; and thither the monks were used to repair for amusement, when the weather was unfavourable to the chase. The friars called themselves the *fathers* of these nuns; and, in reality, says the Bishop, *were fathers* to some of them. The path between the nunnery and the monastery was crowded with passengers, like the road to a fair; and the charity of the lady Abbess threw the door of the convent open to all comers, of every age and condition: "Bref le desordre y estoit, et les ulceres tellement inveterez, par faute de jugement et de discretion, que la licence y estoit prise pour une liberté honneste, et ce libertinage y tenoit lieu de franchise."[4]

We have chosen the example of this monastery, as one of the least disgusting that could be fixed upon; it illustrates, however, the spirit of monachism, which is nothing more than voluptuous, indolent, ignorant superstition; as we flatter ourselves the reader will have concluded from the whole of what we have said above.

[4] L'Anti-Basilic de J. P. Camus, Evêque de Belley.

PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE.

By what a charm is life attended,
Led from activity to rest,
The past, the future, sweetly blended,
To make the present blest!

The memories of the times departed,
The hopes that light the days to come,
Life—busy, brief, and eager-hearted;
And death—a quiet home.

Yet, in its earthly course, the spirit
Through all creation's orbit flies,
And its expansive powers inherit
Two vast eternities:

The eternity unroll'd before us
The volumes of recorded time;
The light of ages beaming o'er us,
Instructive and sublime.

And that eternity, whose portal
Is opened by the [illegible] of truth,
Wh[illegible] man and vir[illegible] are immortal,
[illegible] wear immo[illegible] youth.

ABZENDEGANI; OR, THE WATER OF LIFE.

(An Eastern Legend.)

I.

Hail, Ormuzd, hail! Furuhers bend,
And from the realms above descend!—
Ye sacred mists that clothe the streams
Where bright Poetic Fancy dreams!
Ye Peri-trains, and awful spells,
Ye cloud-wrapt founts, and hallow'd cells,
Ye elves that o'er the moon-beam soar,
Ye charms that waked the dead of yore,
Ye various forms, and sylphic choir,
Who tremble round th' immortal lyre
And quiver to the notes of Love,—
Descend from yon blest orbs above,
And summon'd by the magic power,
Avert the horrors of this hour.

II.

Descend!—Ye hoary mountains shake!
Your cloud-framed cars, ye Spirits, take!
O fount of day! O fire, divine!
What profanation must be thine!
Ye deserts wild, where demons prowl,
Bid all your fiends in anguish howl!
Zerdusht, reveal thine awful head,
And burst the confines of the dead;
Disperse the Moslem-host, whose arm
Aherman's spells securely charm;
Nor e'er let Jemshid's mighty throne
A line of kings apostate own;
Or Istakhar in ruins lie,
Or Ormuzd's fire neglected die!

III.

Some Avenger descends—some Genius appears,
He rides in the rapid-borne chariot of years;
Dread Spirit, all hail!
The flowery dale
Breathes round thee with fragrance divine;
The winged hours the myrtles twine,
And rich libations pour;
The ether flames, the lightnings glare,
The thunder rattles in the air,
And sounds the vengeful hour.

IV.

Yet, ah! again the thunders roll,
The flashing lightnings cleave the pole;
The forests shake, the whirlwinds roar,
The wond'ring tide o'erflows the shore;
Contending peals pervade the skies,—
A tempest with a tempest vies;

Thick clouds on clouds obscurely creep,
Hoarse winds the sacred concave sweep;—
But lo! a silent stillness falls,
A terror every breast appals;—
At length a glimmering radiance shines,
And now augments, and now declines,
Till the full light the conquer'd Genius shows,
And dire Mohammed, cause of future woes.

V.

Of old, had a prophet foretold the sad day
When, Iraûn, thy altars should sink to decay!
He spake of destruction and rivers of blood,
And thy sons who should sink in that murderous flood.[1]
Whilst the spirits who, of yore, ruled the zodiac's throne,
Made the firmament oft resound with their groan.
The holy fire then shortly died,
The Sawan Lake itself was dried,
And a city was built on its sand.
The sun sent forth a sickly light,
And phantoms revell'd in the night,
Whilst earthquakes gaped in every land.
The heavens and earth by awful signs of power,
Declared to wond'ring man the baleful hour.

VI.

O, Persia! thy Gabers no more shalt thou view;
Ye fairies, ye scenes of enchantment, adieu!
Thy priests shall no more with their worshipping eyes
Behold the bright sun in the firmament rise,
Thy Mughan no more!—How thy glory is flown!
How little remains of what erst was thy own!
Thy Mubid forgets (once the great and the wise)
His devotions to wing on flames to the skies!—
Those days are gone by, and oblivion is spread
O'er the names of thy chiefs and the names of thy dead.

VII.

Thy hearths are o'erturn'd, and those caverns explored,
Where Mihr by the mystic alone was adored;
The Atishkadah's fire
Has been left to expire;
Each mansion of state,
Each work of the great—
Defiled, defaced by these barbarians vile—
Now stands a lonely and a ruin'd pile.
New rites possess the desolated land,
And hostile legions wait their chief's command.
Arabian tribes by hopes of plunder fired,
And idle dreams of Paradise inspired,
As waves on waves in quick succession flow,
Complete the sum of Iraûn's destined woe.

VIII.

Mothanna bares his sword: wide o'er the plain
Destruction stalks, and counts her num'rous slain;

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[1] Portents fabled to have taken place at Mohammed's birth.

Spear strikes on spear,—with pandæmoniac yell
The mighty ether rings, and discord fell.
Fight follows fight: the Persian star declines,
And victory hails the Arabs' conquering lines;
The race of kings is lost; and Jemshid's hall
Attests the dreadful ruin of their fall.
Yet, many a tale of olden days
Survives, and vigorous force displays;
Many a Peri escaped the bann,
Of Musulman in Mazenderàn;
And many a Ghul reveal'd his might
In the tempestuous hours of night.

IX.

Deep in a dale which woods o'erbend,
Which mists from human eyes defend,
To which no bird can fly,
And which few mortals' skill has known,
Where serpents hiss, and demons moan,
And fiends enraged sigh:
In this unknown mysterious place,
Though life and heavenly beauty grace
Its shady banks, a fountain flows,
And Spring immortal round it blows.

X.

From Abzendegáni's brink,
Genii, life immortal drink;
Thence proceed the mystic strains,
Murm'ring near the sacred fanes;
For there, at first, the secret spell
Which governs Inspiration, fell:
Thence the streams of Eastern lore
Flow'd to mortal men of yore;
Dreams poetic flit around,
On this hallow'd fairy-ground;
Forms aerial, robed in light,
Hover there in legions bright.—
Mighty Spirits, guide my eyes,
Where its magic waters rise!

XI.

Far in the East, around them lower
The awful mist and Peri's power.
Tremendous sounds their barriers form,
Raised by the Spirits of the storm:
Within, bright angels hold their choir,
And sweetly strike th' immortal lyre:
Within, those puny forms are seen
Which riot on the dew-deck'd green.
Meanwhile, without, at set of day,
Nimjezehs lurk in search of prey,
And hostile Devs approach deny,
Where these sequester'd waters lie.
Around, the dusky Night directs her car,
And wages with the Sun eternal war.

XII.

But, ah! some mortal man draws near,
With step that mocks each cause of fear.
Protecting Genii, near him stand,
And dare the whole infernal band:
Meanwhile, terrific shades arise,
And thickly cloud the frighten'd skies;
And from the deeply-groaning earth,
Labouring with some direful birth,
Tumultuous hosts of rising foes,
In fierce array, his steps oppose.

XIII.

Mystic fount! what mortal eye
Shall to thy recesses pry!
Who that rides in middle air,
Shall the secret pass declare?
Who shall on thy margin tread?
Man? or Spirit of the dead?
Who shall pass the glitt'ring rows,
Which its fateful streams enclose?
Who attack the fancy tribe,
Hosts, that in these haunts abide?
Who shall burst the spell-bound night,
Bars of death and wild affright?
Who the ghosts which round thee prowl?
Who shall brave that tempest's howl?

XIV.

From Kâf's infernal window burst
Nimjezehs, Devs, and Demons curst:
No longer summon'd to obey,
They break Tahmuras' potent sway;
Aherman's hosts obscure the sky,
And the Genii's force defy;
Aād, Thamud there, a ghostly band,
With arms of hellish vengeance stand;
And there Jàn Ben Jàn fiercely raves,
And God and man to combat braves,
He shakes in ire that massive shield,
Which not th' immortal tribes can wield;
Kâf's Inka-Queen on high precedes,
And leads her troops to valiant deeds.

XV.

What though shades obscure thy sight,
They shall yield to heavenly light;—
Mortal, grasp thine armour,—dare
Every art thy foes prepare.
Soon th' eternal trump of Fame
Shall sound forth thy glorious name,
Whilst the Kirām's notes shall raise
Tuneful tributes to thy praise!
Mark the Sp'rits which round thee fly;—
In their aid lies victory.

XVI.

When to daring man 'tis given
That his spirit mount to heaven,
Say, harp divine, can fears destroy
His warlike zest, or zeal alloy?
Or can they shake that purpose true,
Which seeks the prize it bears in view?
Can he, who like a god began,
Degenerate into mortal man?
Yet Nature shrinks, and terrors rise
Before th' adventurer's awe-struck eyes;—
He dreads the Jins who meet his glance,
He shudders at Dev Siah's lance;
And agonized, thus repines,
As on the earth his frame reclines:—

XVII.

"I walk in gloom: no friendly star
Directs me from its lofty car;
No Peri helps me on my way;
Amidst th' infernal gates I stray,
I wander 'midst the silent dead,
I leave the world,—on visions tread;
The friendly Pow'rs grant no redress;
Though near, they aid not my distress.
The earth, from its fell entrails sends
The inmates of Jihinnam's dens;
Afar, the loud-resounding flood
Appals my heart,—congeals my blood;
And here, the poison-tainted air
Now bids me for my fate prepare."

XVIII.

The Dev's spell is past by, and a Genius bends down
From her chariot of light, with a magical crown,
Form'd to break every charm, quench those whirlpools of fire
Which the Suham emits, e'er ebullient with ire;
On his brow it is placed: in effulgence of light
Fraught with glory divine, she retires from his sight.
Lo! bursting from the bonds of fear,
The valiant hero shakes his spear!
He laughs at death, and dares his foes,
And to the direful conflict goes.

XIX.

Serpents hiss and monsters roar,
Furies on the warrior pour;
Angry torrents near him roll,
Murm'ring music to his soul;
The earth contends, the valleys shake,
The distant hills in horror quake;
The elements the battle raise,
The lightning 'round his temples plays;
Jàn Ben Jàn[8] shouts: the rocks reply,

[8] Although, historically speaking, Jàn Ben Jàn was Jèmshid; yet in the fairy tales he is identified with the Preadamite Sultans, and often metamorphosed into an evil genius.

The hosts of Kâf with Peris vie;
The trees before the monarch fall,
The vengeful elves obey his call;
Th' alarmed islands round him dance,—
Hell bends before his couched lance.

XX.

Flash fights with flash, and bolt with bolt contends,
The firmament in pealing horror bends;
Winds fight with winds; again the orb of day
Leaves his bright seat, and flees in wild dismay.
The stars are clothed in black; the lamp of night
Averts her beams from this tremendous sight.
An awful gloom the mighty concave shrouds;
Th' insulting deep bedews the blackened clouds;
Creation shakes, its massive hinges rend,
The fabric doubts if such can be its end.
Behold! in dazzling flames of light
The ardent heroes fiercely fight.
Behold! huge waves of liquid fire
Jàn's lungs in series quick respire.

XXI.

The scorched air rolls mounts of flame,
The gaping earth evolves the same;
Within his eyes volcanoes rage,
And with the sacred crown engage;
Tornadoes play upon his breath;
His Ghùls prepare the car of death;
The vast artillery of the skies
Upon the patient hero plies;
Yet well he whirls his long-tried blade,
And well he trusts the Peri's aid.

XXII.

In vain th' infernal chariots bear
Fresh Spirits through the darken'd air!
In vain the Tacwîn's powerful breath
Brings back the giant-race from death,
And imps from Badyat-Ghùldàr hie,
And on the wings of malice fly!
And Ben Jàn's[a] sword, as diamonds bright,
Hurls from its blade whole worlds of light!
They fight,—they rage,—the charmed shield
Can scarce support the doubtful field.
They cling,—they fall,—the thunders roll,
And demons sweep the shuddering pole;
The fiery dragons cleave the air,
And to the trembling Kâf repair.

XXIII.

Again they rise, again contend,
They now attack, they now defend.

The sacred cuirass views the dart
And arrow from its plates depart.
The Suham flees, Jàn Ben Jàn tottering falls,
Unearthly dread his Genii-troop appals.
Rejoicing Peris skim the brighten'd skies,
And hurl destruction from their potent eyes.
Jàn Ben Jàn fallen, no more his imps attend;
Such succour demons give to demons' friend!
Whilst thunders growl, and vivid lightnings glare,
The boist'rous storms the hostile legions bear
To Kàf's infernal mouth: huge mountains rise
And close it, piling to the joyful skies.

XXIV.

Strike your lyres, ye sons of air,
Strike! the loudest notes prepare!
Still the earth astonish'd gapes
And shakes before the warrior's spear;
Still, the many-formed shapes
Of agonized demons fear.
He goes down the hill, he reaches the vale,
Which monsters beset and villainy pale.
O Son of the Great,
Thou hast conquer'd triumphant the armies of Fate!

XXV.

How sweetly smiles the modest Spring
When the rattling storm is gone!
Then the tuneful warblers bring
All their choicest gifts of song.
How gently breathes the tepid gale,
Whilst the opening blossoms peep!
Then the bulbul sings his tale,
Whilst the neighb'ring willows weep.
How sweetly, after deeds of arms,
Does the hearth of friendship smile!
Then the nymph reveals her charms
Which his former cares beguile.
Then the warrior lives to love,
Nor envies all the joys above.

XXVI.

Again, within th' expanding flower,
The lovely fairies build the bower;
Again the forest rears its head;
Again the azure sky is spread;
The placid ocean meets the gale,
And greets the gently-swelling sail;
The humming bee enjoys repose
Within the bosom of the rose;
Once more the blooming nymphs are seen
To dance upon the fragrant green;
Once more the zephyrs, blythe and gay,
Amidst the fields of ether play;
Once more the rippling rivlets glide
In an unruffled silver tide.

XXVII.

Amidst this scene of gay delight,
Khod'her greets the hero's sight.
Near the sacred fount he sleeps,
Whilst year on year successive creeps;
But waken'd from his trance, he hails
The Moslem with a prophet's joy,
Guides him within those blissful pales,
Where exiled cares no more annoy;
And sings in Inspiration's strain
To those who form his glittering train:

XXVIII.

Happy Moslem, hither come,
Lo! thou hast the vict'ry won!
Starry cups, which none can count,
Flame around the sacred fount;
And here the [4] wondrous bowl portrays
All that the busy world displays:
Tilting Genii couch the lance,
Houris weave th' eternal dance;
Wearied stranger, do not faint!
Mortal, rise from earth's complaint!
Soon shall streams immortal roll
Within thine exhausted soul;
Soon shall bliss consign to rest
Each emotion of thy breast!

XXIX.

Here Peristân's tribes repair,
Sporting in the lightsome air;
Here they oft delight to dwell
In the lily's slender cell,
Or within the blushing rose
Quaff the joys of brief repose;
Tuba's gifts their wants supply,
Israfil's strains around them fly;
And the Hezar, full of love,
Emulates the notes above.
Kawthar's nectar here they sip,
Formed for the immortal lip;
All that's found in yonder sphere,
Moslem, is combined here.

XXX.

Hither, Nymphs, the bumper bring,
Bring it from the hallow'd spring;
Drink it, stranger, drink it dry,
And dissolve in ecstasy.
Peris, ye who view'd the fray,
Tune, oh! tune your sweetest lay,
Whilst his spice-wrapt [5] body sleeps,
Till that awful moment creeps,

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[4] The جام جهان نما.

[5] He who drinks of Abzendegâni will sleep until the last trumpet.—*Mohammedan Tradition.*

When the trump the sky shall rend,
And the silent dead ascend.

XXXI.

What, though sleep thy frame control,
Joys shall rule thy waking soul,
  One continual heavenly dream
  Shall within thy fancy gleam.
Upon the jasmine-scented plain,
Ye brilliant showers of tulips rain;
Zephyrs, on wings of music speed,
And mount the wild Æolian steed;
Upon his body spices pour,
And shed the lily's modest flower,
Whilst, glorious in its lofty flight,
His dreaming soul from yonder height,
    Hovers o'er the sacred cell,
    Where his body 's doom'd to dwell.

XXXII.

Let th' unchanging Graces spread
Fragrant awnings o'er his head!
Whene'er ye range up to the sky,
Drawn by the gaily-painted fly,
From the lofty twinkling stars
By webs of gold suspend your cars,
And from the turrets of each sphere
Bid angels view the warrior here.
Valiant hero! sleep awhile!
    The living water round thee plays,
On thee hosts celestial smile,
    And thine are heaven's immortal bays.
Gently sleep, till years and time pass by,
And thy soul awakes to mount the sky!

XXXIII.

Yet, lo! the hour is come! no zephyr blows;
The spring recedes, the swelling fountain flows
Through the creation, rising to the pole,
        And dreadfully terrific sounds
        Mark what were once its fated bounds.
The trumpet peals, and the last thunders roll,—
Moslem! awake! thy spell-bound sleep is o'er!
And thou art landed on life's endless shore.
Thy sleep was once where Khod'her's [6] waters rise,
But Khod'her's streams were streams of Paradise.

حبيب المشرق

[6] Abzendegâni is called by Khosrav and other poets, the water of Khizr; or, as the Arabs pronounce the name, of Khod'her.

EXISTING STATE OF THE AGRICULTURAL AND COMMERCIAL RESOURCES OF EGYPT, UNDER ITS PRESENT RULER, MOHAMMED ALI PASHA.

THERE are few pursuits of greater interest or importance than that of tracing the revolutions of commerce through successive ages, marking the causes which have contributed to its rise and decline in different countries of the world, and delineating with accuracy the effects which have resulted from its flourishing or decaying condition in those nations where it has been most successfully cultivated. The materials for forming a complete historical view of this description, are at present scattered through a multitude of works in different languages, originally published in France, in Italy, in Holland, and in Great Britain; but in no one of these separate works is to be found any series of accurate and connected details, combined with just and comprehensive views on the subjects of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. In England, where the practical importance of these several branches of human industry is so great, the deficiency in this department of knowledge is remarkable. 'Anderson's History of Commerce,' (published in 1763,) contains much curious and useful matter, but this is mixed with many trifling details, as well as tedious and inaccurate disquisitions; and though Macpherson's 'Annals of Commerce,' (published in 1805,) contains a collection of facts, which renders his book an excellent and authentic source of information; yet both of these works want those sound views as to population, trade, and political economy, which are necessary to give interest to any history of commercial revolutions. Our best books of geography are extremely deficient in this department of knowledge; and our most important books of travels have been, until very lately, surprisingly barren of information on the commercial state and capabilities of the countries they describe. The French writers, although often inaccurate, affected, and visionary, are much more philosophical and instructive in this branch of history than the writers of our own country.

On the subject of Egypt, the French have been more especially desirous of distinguishing themselves. Their most considerable works, indeed, are principally devoted to military and political details, and the descriptions of the innumerable remains of art, which have attracted so many travellers into that country. But several of them contain much information as to the statistics of Egypt, which could only be acquired by a long residence, and by a close observation of the occupations and resources of the people. When France lost St. Domingo and her other transatlantic colonies, the genius of Talleyrand directed her attention to the fertile and extensive valley of the Nile; and if the vast exertions, military and naval, which Great Britain made to defeat her schemes, had not [illegible] successful, there is reason to believe that the land of the Ptolemies [illegible] have become a colony of Buonaparte, and the dilapidated cit[illegible] Memphis and Thebes have been converted into French factories. [illegible] granary of the ancient world might then have become a French plantation of sugar, coffee, cotton, and other tropical products, and the power and influence of the French would have been consequently extended to other countries of the East.

Their visions of glory in this quarter have passed away; but a Turkish Pasha, sprung from a low rank, has profited by their lessons, and seems likely to realise their views, at least to a considerable extent. Mohammed Ali, now about fifty-five years of age, was the son of a tax-collector in Egypt, and pursued the trade of a tobacco merchant till the French arrived there. He was then intrusted with the command of a small force against them, under an officer who allowed him to follow his own military genius. After much intrigue and adventure, he was elevated to a post of rank in the army of the Governor. His courage and talents secured to him the favour of the soldiery; and, when the French were finally expelled from the country, he consolidated his power by a most consummate act of treachery. In 1811, he invited, under hospitable pretexts, all the Mamelukes then in Egypt to come to visit him in Cairo; and while partaking of his pretended hospitality, he most treacherously caused them to be massacred; at the same time, he ordered the leading men of the same class to be destroyed in the provinces. He then pursued his conquests into Arabia, where he subdued the Wahabees. In 1815, he returned, and made some efforts to introduce European tactics into his army, which caused serious revolts. He sent his son to complete his conquests in Arabia, whilst he himself accomplished the subjugation of the tribes of Upper Egypt as far as Sennaar, on the confines of Nubia, where he added to the force of his army by embodying about 15,000 blacks of that country. His present army is represented as being well provided, disciplined, and liberally paid. It consists of nearly 40,000 men; and he has lately added to their comforts by providing them with shoes made after the European fashion, and improved their appearance and discipline by the assistance and advice of the French officers whom he consults and employs.

The history of this extraordinary man's career, of his intrigues, his cruelties, his industry, and his success, occupies more than one half of two large volumes, published by Mons. A. Mengin in 1823, intitled 'Histoire de l'Egypte;' the remainder of the work is composed of geographical and statistical details. The author resided nearly twenty years in the country, and his descriptions and tables are considered to be as accurate as they are minute. Malte Brun's account of Egypt in his recently published work of 'General Geography,' contains also many interesting details as to the present condition of Egypt. The descriptions of the state of the country by Denon, Savary, Volney, Sonnini, and the other French writers, are scanty and sometimes very contradictory. In the numerous travels of our own countrymen, which have appeared during the last twenty years, much is to be gleaned that throws light on the subject of its agriculture, and the condition and character of the people; but it is surprising how little can be learned on these points from any one of them, so much was their attention directed to the remnants of ancient art and the great outlines of natural scenery. This is the more remarkable, as Egypt appears to be the connecting link between civilization and barbarism, and the natural channel through which cultivation should flow into the uncultivated nations that people the interior of Africa. The late travellers into those central kingdoms give us a favourable impression of the disposition of their inhabitants, and their capabilities of improvement; and if our intercourse with Egypt shall become, by the aid of commerce, extensive and intimate, we may hope to see the arts of

civilized life introduced, not only into Nubia, Sennaar, Abyssinia, and the countries immediately bordering the Nile, but spreading by degrees into Bornou, Nigritia, Houssa, and the other kingdoms that lie to the north of the great chain of mountains generally known by the name of the Mountains of the Moon, which divide the north of Africa from the south.

At the present moment, therefore, whilst the enterprise of our merchants and manufacturers is laying the best foundation for the accomplishment of these results, it is particularly interesting to examine what is the present state of Egypt as to its agricultural and commercial resources, as well as the character of its government and people.

Wonderful accounts have been handed down to us by ancient writers respecting this country, which has been represented by almost all of them as being, in the earliest ages, not only the cradle of the arts and sciences, and the great emporium of commerce, but as almost surpassing modern Europe in civilization and refinement; later writers have, however, shown that these accounts are, to say the least, greatly exaggerated. That its population and wealth was very great no doubt can be entertained;[1] but though an extensive commerce was once car-

[1] The population of Egypt is stated by Diodorus Siculus at only three millions when he wrote, though he says they *had* been seven millions. Josephus says they were nearly eight millions in the reign of Nero, (including the city of Alexandria,) and this number may easily have existed if we judge from the number, extent, and reported population of the cities now entirely reduced to a mass of ruins. Huet, in his book on the 'Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients,' speaks of

elephants, and 2000 armed chariots, with a fleet of 1500 galleys, 2000 light vessels, and 800 large pleasure ships. Strabo, Herodotus, Tacitus, and other historians, may be quoted to prove the extensive commerce of Egypt, its wise and reasonable laws, its unbounded fertility, and the industry by which these advantages were preserved and improved. The canals and dykes which they formed for extending and conveying the fructifying waters of the Nile over their land, are particularly described by ancient as well as later writers; and the remains of these, as well as of the magnificent temples, innumerable grottoes and subterranean mummy-pits, obelisks, sphinxes, and pyramids, all show that this country was once rich, populous, and civilized to a great extent. Major Rennel is of opinion, "that the ancient Egyptians extended their navigation to the extreme point of the Indian continent, and even sailed up the Ganges as far as Patna;" and Robertson, in his 'Disquisition concerning India,' informs us, on the authority of Strabo and others, that the kings of Egypt, by their attention to maritime affairs and great commercial enterprise, had formed a powerful fleet, which gave them the command of the sea and all the valuable trade to India for 250 years, until it was reduced to a Roman province. The Romans continued this commerce with increased ardour. Pliny describes the length of the journey and voyage from Alexandria to India: 12 days to Coptos, about 300 miles up the Nile, opposite to Berenice, on the Red Sea; 12 days across the country to that port; 30 days from Berenice to the mouth of the Persian Gulf; and 40 days to Musiris, the first emporium in India, (a port on the coast of Malabar). The voyage out and home was completed in about a year. The commodities which were brought from India were principally—1st. *Spices and Aromatics*, of which the piety, but still more the vanity, of the Romans, Egyptians, and other nations, caused an almost incredible consumption. Nero burned a greater quantity of cinnamon and cassia at the funeral of Pappea than India supplied in one year.—2d. *Precious Stones*, and especially *pearls*, which were so esteemed by the Romans, that the dresses of all persons of rank were covered with them. Pliny informs us the ear-rings of Cleopatra were of the value of 161,458*l.*; and Julius Cæsar presented Servilia with

ried on at Alexandria, (the population of which was stated by Pliny to be 300,000 in his time,) and in other parts in Egypt—though this nation had some good laws and institutions, and had made some progress in the sciences and fine arts,—it must be admitted that their character has been estimated too highly. There is no good evidence that they ever attained a very high degree of learning, refinement, or perfection in either; their morality appears to have been of a very low order; their religion was a compound of superstition and idolatry; their government was always despotic; and the human mind never appears to have made much more progress with them than it has done with the Chinese or the Hindoos.[2]

The actual extent of Egypt cannot easily be defined. Some writers state it at 14,000, others at 20,000 square miles; and the portion of the surface which is easily susceptible of cultivation, is still more difficult to ascertain, owing to the moveable seas of sand which embrace it on both sides, particularly to the west. These are continually making encroachments on the fertile lands, if not prevented by the industrious exertions of the inhabitants, who may, by availing themselves of the annual inundations of the Nile, and by clearing out the ancient canals, or opening new cuts, not only preserve the land which is now cultivated, but, no doubt, bring extensive portions into tillage which had been covered by sand in the lapse of ages. In reading the accounts of Belzoni, Norden, Salt, and other travellers in Egypt, we frequently find them pointing out plains and elevations covered with light sand, where good soil was found underneath, which parts have the appearance of having been formerly cultivated, and probably might be reclaimed by an industrious people.

Mons. Mengin estimates the length of Upper and Lower Egypt at about 600 English miles, of which nearly 500 are in Upper Egypt. The breadth of this narrow valley it is impossible to state with accuracy; in many parts it is so narrow, owing to precipitous hills and rocks which come close to the river on both sides, that scarcely fifty yards could be cultivated on each bank; whilst in other parts the lands extend to twenty miles or more on each side, (of which, however, a large part do not appear to be cultivated;) and there are many defiles between the hills on each side of the river which may be cultivated, and actually maintain a feeble vegetation from the influence of the winter rains. The banks of the river are also represented as declining on each side from the level of the stream towards the mountains, (which is observed frequently to be the case with other large rivers flowing through alluvial beds,) whereby the facility of irrigation and cultivation is much increased:[3] extensive stripes of this land, that are now desert, contain indications of having

one pearl for which he paid 48,457*l.*—3d. *Silk and Silk Stuffs*, which were as much esteemed by the Roman ladies of those times as by the French and English of our own day. To purchase these valuable commodities, the outward cargoes consisted of woollen and linen cloths, glass, wine, money, brass, tin, lead, &c. &c. In later ages, the Genoese and the Venetians revived this traffic through Egypt with India, which continued until the Portuguese got possession of it in consequence of the discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope. See Dr. Vincent's work on the 'Navigation of the Ancients.'

[2] See on this subject Adam Smith's 'Essay on Astronomy'; Goguet's 'Sur l'Origine de Loix'; and Mill in his 'History of India.'

[3] The villages, even in Upper Egypt, are not raised above the level of ordinary inundations, and depend for their protection on artificial fences.

formerly been cultivated. The plains of the Delta, extending from Cairo to the sea, about 100 miles in length, and as many miles along the coast, appear to be a great bed of sand covered with the rich mud of the Nile, and are particularly adapted to the cultivation of all kinds of pulse, flax-seed, tobacco, rice, and sugar. If we reckon the whole of Egypt at 15,000 square miles, and that half of this is capable of easy cultivation, (which computation is below that of Mengin, Savary, Malte Brun, and others of the French writers,) it would give a total of about five million acres of arable land, a quantity amply sufficient to support twice the number of the present population, and produce a vastly greater amount of exportable commodities than the country now grows. The quantity of land at present under cultivation appears to be only about two millions of acres.

The soil of Upper Egypt is generally a light argillaceous earth, and easy to cultivate; the mud of the river is considered a sufficient manure. In the 'Memoire sur l'Egypte,' we are informed, that this mud consists generally of about one-half argillaceous earth, one-fourth carbonate of lime, and the remainder of water, oxide of iron, and carbonate of magnesia.[4] Though Upper Egypt contains a larger superfices of land than Lower Egypt, (the French writers generally reckon the former at 11,000, and the latter at 8,000 square miles,) it is probable the cultivated land and the population of Lower exceeds that of Upper Egypt. By Mengin's History of the provinces, and the population of each, (Vol. II. p. 315,) it appears that there are above a million of inhabitants in the Delta.

The reports of travellers differ very much as to the climate of Egypt. Dr. Clarke, Volney, and others, represent the climate, country, and inhabitants, as detestable; whilst Savary, and other lively writers, describe the climate as very fine, and the valley of the Nile as a paradise. The truth appears to be, that, in our winter months, the whole of this country is a rich garden, the thermometer ranging, in general, from fifty-five to sixty degrees; the nights are then cool, while heavy dews refresh the ground and the springing vegetation. From April to October or November, the weather is hot, and the ground parched, the thermometer ranging from eighty-four to ninety-three degrees. There is but little rain during the whole year, especially in the parts most remote from the sea. In June, the winds begin to blow regularly from the north and north-east, and continue for about three months, carrying with them the vapours raised from the Mediterranean, but without forming regular clouds, over the valley and low ranges of the Egyptian hills, to the lofty and extensive ranges of mountains in Abyssinia and Darfour, where, becoming refrigerated and condensed, they are deposited in rains, and flow back to the Mediterranean in the periodical inundations of the Nile. The overflowing begins generally at the end of June, sometimes not till the end of July, and continues for above two months.[5]

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[4] Browne, in his 'Travels in Africa,' 4to. page 546, gives the following as the component parts of the mud of the Nile, according to the analysis of Regnault: In 100 parts there are 11 water, 9 carboue, 6 oxide of iron, 4 silex, 18 carbonate of lime, and 48 alumine.

[5] The Nile rises from fifteen to twenty-three feet; and the volume of water which it carries to the sea is computed, by some writers, to be twenty times greater in the height of the inundation than when it is in its ordinary state. A French mathematician has computed, that 14,000 French metres are discharged

As the fertility of Egypt depends so much upon the overflowing of the Nile, and the artificial conveyance of its waters by canals, we may here remark, that the extent of these is very great even now, though some of the largest have been suffered to go to decay, or fall into disuse. The large ones, of which there are probably ninety or a hundred, (and of which above one-half are in the Delta,) are under the care of government, and the small ones, which are very numerous, (they have been rated by some at 6000,) are cut and kept up by the peasants themselves. In the lands that lie above the bed of the river, they raise the water by buckets and wheels, (turned by cattle and men,) with very great labour, surrounding the fields with small dykes to confine the channels of the water, and thus carry it over extensive portions of the land. The Pasha has cleared and extended some of the larger canals, to the great benefit of the country, and with a degree of expedition which is almost incredible. Mengin states, that the canal of Mahmoudiah, running from Alexandria to one of the branches of the Nile, about fifty miles in length and nine feet wide, was finished in six weeks: the number of men employed on this work is stated to have been 250,000, during a part of this period of time, and many of them perished from fatigue. This work was completed in order to save the expense and risk of communication by a coasting voyage from Alexandria to the mouth of the Nile, which falls into the sea at Rosetta.[6]

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in every second of time (equal to 490,000 cubic feet English). This immense discharge is carried off by only two mouths, though there were formerly seven, so much has the Delta been changed in the progress of time. The ordinary discharge of the Ganges is about 80,000, and, when swollen, 400,000 cubic feet each second. As soon as the overflowing of the Nile subsides, the sowing of the fields commences; and if the overflow has been abundant, the harvest is considered as secure. Sometimes it is deficient, and then the greatest apprehensions of scarcity are entertained.

[6] The Pasha is said to contemplate cutting or re-opening an ancient canal, to facilitate the communication between the Arsinoe and the province of Faioum and Cairo. This district, in which the lake Mœris is situated, is represented by the ancients as surpassing the rest of Egypt in beauty and fertility, though, by the neglect of the canals, and the gradual encroachment of the sands of the desert, the arable land is reduced to about one-third of its ancient extent. The soil, however, is still fertile. Groves of fruit-trees and rose-bushes line the banks of the river; and it is from this province that the immense consumption of rose-water by the Egyptians is supplied. Vide Leyden's Description.

Norden, who travelled into Egypt and Nubia about eighty years since, informs us, that although in the Delta the contrivance for raising and distributing the water to the different canals, are only a number of simple wheels, they have many sorts of hydraulic machines in Upper Egypt when the operation is more difficult. He particularly mentions the chaplet wheels, with a chain of pitchers worked by oxen, and that leathern vessels are frequently used to raise the water. These latter are referred to by Belzoni and other travellers, and must be very laborious in their application. Sometimes they appear to be raised and emptied into the channels in the grounds to be watered, by means of a perpendicular wheel turned by an ox or ass, and frequently by two men, who, by means of two ropes (made from the bark of the date or palm-trees) fixed on each side of the bucket, and running eight to ten feet in length on each side, lift the water out of the river, and throw it over the bank into the canals in the upper land with considerable dexterity. Norden speaks, as other later travellers do, of the great neglect and decay of the dykes and canals. But though the modern inhabitants do not keep up the industrious contrivances of their ancestors for distributing the waters, they celebrate the annual jubilee of the overflow by every kind of excess in their rejoicing. They watch the rising of the water with the greatest anxiety, and from its height form their judgment of the fruitfulness of the succeeding season.

The population of Egypt is stated by Mengin at 2,514,400, which he ascertained from the returns made under the house-tax. Of this population, from 170,000 to 200,000 are Copts, the descendants of the ancient Egyptians and Greeks; the rest are chiefly Fellahs, a mixture of Arabs, Persians, Syrians, and Egyptians. They cultivate the fields, but live mostly in villages, where they keep bazaars, and pursue various handicraft trades. The number of villages is 3475; of these, nearly one-half are in Lower Egypt, where the population is very dense. Cairo he estimates as containing 200,000 inhabitants; Alexandria, from 12,000 to 13,000, though it once was rated at 300,000. He reckons four inhabitants to each house in the provinces, and eight in Cairo and other towns. Langles states the population of this city to have been, in 1810—263,700.

In a country so finely situated for agriculture and commerce, the population ought to be comfortable and happy, and would increase considerably if well governed, encouraged in their industry, and instructed in the arts of social life. But we are informed by Mengin, Sonnini, and many other writers, that, although the Fellahs (who compose the bulk of the population) are sober, quiet, and decent in their manners, they have a wretched appearance;[7] and though they live mostly in villages, have little industry, and few of the comforts of more civilized society. Their clothing is scanty; their houses are damp, ill constructed, and so dirty, that they are often afflicted with the plague and other diseases, brought on by the stagnant waters and vapours of the flat lands, as well as by the malignant influence of periodical winds from the south, called *khamsyn*.[8] Mengin considers the Copts, and other labouring classes of Egypt, as so feeble and inefficient, that he recommends the importation of a supply of persons from Nubia and Syria; by which, he says, the cultivation of the soil would be raised from its present languishing state. He advises also the importation of negroes from the countries of Sennaar, Darfour, &c., to recruit and improve the population of Egypt, in which, he says, the females greatly preponderate.

Belzoni, who employed considerable numbers of the peasants in removing masses of sand, and raising heavy blocks of stone and massy fragments in different parts of Egypt, gives us a discouraging account, on the whole, of their character; yet he found them soon willing to work when they understood the value of money, and were assured of being rewarded. He paid them twopence, threepence, or fourpence per day in general; and there is, indeed, great reason to think they are a people very capable of improvement, if well governed and better instructed. They are obliged to labour regularly in order to raise the dates, maize,

[7] The following is Sonnini's description of the Copt, or native of Egypt: "His person is short and heavy; his head is big, but empty; his face is broad and flat; his complexion sallow and dark; and his countenance is mean. His disposition is gloomy and melancholy; sedentary, and without vivacity, he has neither curiosity nor desire for knowledge; lazy and slovenly, ignorant, unfeeling, and superstitious, he no longer retains either any remembrance or any trace of the greatness of his ancestors."—*Travels in Greece*, &c.

[8] The Egyptians in the country are generally clothed with a cotton shirt, and a loose kind of robe that hangs from the shoulders, made of coarse woollen. Their houses are built of unburnt bricks hardened in the sun, and are damp in the rainy season and after the period of the inundation, at which time the inhabitants are obliged to fence them round with dykes and reeds, to keep out the water as well as they can.

dourra, and lentils, which constitute their principal food at present, as it probably did that of their ancestors in earlier ages;[9] but the fruits of their labour are not secured to them, and little encouragement is given to ingenuity or industry in any department of production. The Pasha, not satisfied with the ancient land-tax, (called the miri,) has taken a large portion of the lands into his own possession, giving only a small pension, for their lives, to the Mamelouks, their Beys, and other proprietors, from whom he took them, and who had long held them as fiefs of the Grand Signior. Nor can any landowner offer any land for sale, until the agents of the Government have taken what it wants, at its own prices. Under such a tyrannical system, without any security for property, the peasants, and even proprietors, must be comparatively poor and miserable. The produce of the land is heavily taxed,[10] and cultivation is carried on in but a slovenly manner. The crops are poor, compared with those of Europe, at least those of wheat, which only returns, on the average, five or six bushels for one sown; yet such is the fertility and extent of good soil, and the sobriety of the cultivators, that this country produces a large quantity of grain, pulse, dates, flax, sugar, cotton, hides, bees'-wax, and other articles, of which, after supplying the home-consumption, a considerable portion is disposed of to the nations of Africa, beyond the limits of Egypt, and even into Arabia; and a great quantity is exported to Turkey, the Ionian Isles, Syria, Italy, and other parts of Europe, as will be particularized hereafter.[11]

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[9] That these grains and pulse are not, however, the only food of the common people, is evident from the report of Belzoni, who frequently mentions his having partaken with them of mutton and other meat, prepared with boiled maize, rice, &c. The large number of sheep, cattle, and buffaloes reared in Egypt, will appear, from the number of hides and skins brought to Cairo (in the table of the exports). Many travellers have described the Egyptian ovens for hatching eggs, from which they produce an immense quantity of fowls, of which the consumption is very great, especially at their feasts. The quantity of fish also produced, by depositing the spawn in the sluices and canals, is represented to be considerable; and the care bestowed on these artificial methods of increasing the supply of fish and fowl, is very remarkable.

[10] Mengin (page 343, Vol. II.) gives us the amount of land-tax paid by each of the fourteen provinces. The contribution varies, according to the quality of the soil, from eighteen to thirty-eight piastres per feddâh. The number of feddâhs of land is 1,942,000, (equal to about 2,000,000 acres,) and the contributions sixty-six millions of piastres, equal to twenty millions of francs, or about 850,000*l.* sterling.

[11] The dourra, or maize, (*holcus durra* of Linnæus,) which is the common food of the Fellahs, or peasants, and is consequently produced in all parts of Egypt, is frequently sown and produces a crop (without any preparation of the soil) by merely scattering the seed on the moist surface, as soon as the waters have subsided after the inundation, the seed sinking sufficiently into the soft mud to be covered. For the wheat, the soil is worked (as soon as it is sufficiently dry) merely to cover well the seed; and, in Lower Egypt, the soil is worked before sowing, as well as afterwards, to make it more productive. The seeds of the corn are seldom cleaned, so that the crops are much injured by weeds and a mixture of other seeds. The best soils produce eight for one; the inferior, three or four, and sometimes as small a return as two only. The account given by Mengin of of the cultivation of dourra, beans, lentils, and other eatables, is minute and interesting, but would be too long for insertion. The alkaline earths* with which

* There are in 100 parts of natron 32 dry subcarbonate of soda, 20 sulphurate of soda, 15 muriate of soda; remainder, water. Some curious particulars respecting the Natron Lakes may be found in Dr. Leyden's very interesting 'Descriptions of Egypt,' Murray's enlarged edition, Vol. II. page 129.

That the Fellahs, or cultivators, are not so indolent as has been frequently represented, may be inferred from what M. Mengin says (Vol. II. p. 371): "Les terres fecondées par le limon des eaux du Nil produisent une végetation continuelle. Aussi les fellahs ne les laissent jamais reposer; ils se bornent à alterner les cultures. Les épis de blé sont remplacés par des épis d'orge, par des fèves, du doura, ou des lentilles: on sement *l'orge* dans les endroits les moins humides; les terres sèches ne nuisent pas à la croissance des plantes. Les fellahs font succeder le blé au tréfle, parceque la terre des prairies artificielles acquiert de la force par le sejour de trois mois qu'y font les hestraire; on alterne le carthame avec le tabac, quelquefois avec les lupins, le hellien, et les pois chiques: ces legumes croissent indistinctement partout où on les seme. La culture des cannes-à-sucre est suivi de celle du doura ou du mais, celle-ci par le lin, et le lin par l'indigo, dont le plante couvre la terre pendant trois ans."

The crops of Egypt are not only easily produced and gathered, but they appear to be seldom or little injured by the storms, floods, or droughts, which so frequently damage them in other warm climates; and although the locust and other insects sometimes occasion injury, it is but of small amount on the whole of the country.

The total produce of grain and pulse, in 1821, is given by M. Mengin at 4,320,000 ardebs, (equal to nearly as many quarters,) *viz.*: Of wheat, 1,200,000, of which about one-third is exported to Europe, the Archipelago, and Turkey; the rest used in the towns, and sold to the Arabians, &c. Beans, 1,200,000, of which about one-third is exported to Turkey and the Ionian Isles, and the remainder chiefly consumed by the camels, asses, and cattle. In winter, it also forms part of the food of the poorest classes. Barley, 600,000, all consumed in the country, chiefly by horses and cattle. Maize, 150,000, one-third sometimes exported, but chiefly used in the country. Dourra, 800,000, all consumed in the country. Chiquepease, 80,000, nearly one-half exported to the Ionian Isles, Syria, &c. Lupins, 40,000, about one-third exported to ditto. Helbeh, 130,000, all consumed in the country.

The industry of the people in other employments than agriculture, has been checked by the heavy taxes and exactions of the Government, who appear anxious, at all events, to make a large surplus produce for export. Thus the weaving of cotton and linen cloths, silks, and gold thread, dressing skins, making indigo, rose-water, &c., have been abandoned in many parts by the tradesmen, who, rather than submit to the enormous tax levied on the labour, have turned cultivators of the soil. The Government pays a fixed price for the manufactures that are produced, as well as the corn and cotton, and, consequently, the artificers are careless as to the quality of them. The government-agent weighs out to the workmen

the country abounds, are frequently strewed upon the surface, after sowing, to force the growth; and the patience and ingenuity with which the water is drawn from the river, canals, and wells, is remarkable. The date-trees, from which so large a quantity of fruit is gathered, and transported up and down the river for the use of the inhabitants, appear also to require considerable care and attention in the cultivation. Their importance is very great, not only as furnishing a general supply of food, but as supplying many of their common household utensils. From the leaves are made baskets, brushes, bags, &c.; from the fibres, thread, ropes, &c.; from the branches, fences, cages for fowls, &c.; from the sap, a spirituous liquor; and from the trunks, their principal stock of fuel.

the raw materials, pays a fixed low price for the labour, and gets all the profit on the sale; and the monopoly of the sale of cloths thus enforced, is most vexatious, complicated, and expensive.

But the Pasha is not content with being the only manufacturer in his own country; he endeavours to rival the Europeans in producing articles for which his climate and other circumstances are unfavourable. He has established sugar-refineries, and spinning-mills for silk and cotton, under the direction of French and English engineers: French, Italian, and Swiss workmen conduct the most important parts of the work. In two mills at Cairo and Boulak, 800 natives are thus employed; and though the experiment is a costly and unprofitable one, the Pasha is determined to have more, as M. Mengin states. But it is impossible they can succeed; the heat and dust would ruin the machinery, if other circumstances were favourable.

The length of this article compels us to reserve its conclusion for the succeeding Number.

THE VILLAGE WELL.

Can I forget the jests and smiles
Oft witness'd by thy waters bright;
Or ever tell
The village maiden's keen delight,
Beside thee listening to love's wiles,
Thou beauteous well!

Oft have I at the peep of dawn
Gazed on thy time-worn, rocky bed,
While ceaseless fell,
From small cold crannies overhead,
Thy sources, from earth's bosom drawn,
Thou lovely well!

And as the pearly crystal dropt
Upon thy bubbling breast below,
I scarce could quell
The thought that, tripping light and slow,
With pausing foot that often stopt,
My love, sweet well,

Came doubting down the sunny walk
That led her steps to thee and me!
And who can tell
My joy to see her 'neath the tree,
Steal from the other maidens' talk,
To us, loved well!

Oh, be thy waters ever clear,
And haunted still by village maids;
A long farewell
I bid the rocks and warbling shades
Enjoyed near thee for many a year,
Romantic well!

Bion.

GRETNA GREEN.

Most of our readers—far and near—must, we imagine, have some curiosity to gratify respecting this celebrated scene of the romance of real life. Various are the lights in which we may conceive it to be regarded by the several classes of the community, according to their relative position in the social or domestic circle. To the eyes of parental prudence, or jealous guardians of rich heiresses, Gretna must appear a place full of man-traps, from whose tenacious gripe no female can escape who unwarily allows herself to be decoyed thither. But, to the keen-eyed fortune-hunter, it is the smiling goal of hope, which, if he can reach with a rich inamorata, he will think himself more happy than those who of old collected Olympic dust with glowing wheels; to him it is the very garden of Hesperia, whose trees are teeming with golden fruit, if he can only elude the vigilance of the dragons that guard it. The parsons again—"the fat oily men of God," who in England enjoy a monopoly of the trade of marriage-making, see, in Gretna, a refuge for contraband dealers, or a horde of pirates who capture all vessels that come within their reach, embarked on the voyage of matrimony. But in the dreams of youthful lovers, thwarted by the cold prudence of age, Gretna is painted as an Arcadia of bliss—where stands a spacious temple erected to Hymen, with doors ever open to receive the devoted worshippers who resort thither from the south—where the altar is ever smoking with the pure incense of affection, and there is no cruel guardian, or frowning parent, to forbid the nuptial rite that is to link fond hearts together by a sacred and indissoluble tie.

A place holding, apparently, so wonderful a pre-eminence among all other spots in this favoured isle, might be supposed to enjoy such peculiar privileges from having been the shrine of some ancient oracle, or at least as possessing the miracle-working relics of St. George, St. Patrick, or St. Andrew; in deference to which, and "the wisdom of our ancestors," we, the most thinking people of Europe, piously revere, even in these graceless days, the ancient and venerable practice of celebrating marriages at Gretna Green. But to no such cause does this famous matrimonial mart owe its celebrity. No fumes of inspiration ever rose here, except it were the fumes of liquor; nor, as far as we can learn, did any saint ever bless it with his bones, although relics enough of marauding borderers must have, no doubt, been left in a place lying on the very frontier between two (long) hostile kingdoms. Gretna Green, then, is a small parish situated immediately on the north side of the small river Sark, which forms the boundary between Scotland and England. It is also close upon the main road leading to the North, through Preston, Penrith, and Carlisle; hence, as the frontier takes an east and northerly direction from this to the other side of the island, Gretna is the nearest and most easily-accessible point in Scotland to those from the sister kingdom; and to this Gretna owes its present greatness! For the Scotch law, with more liberality than wisdom, being satisfied with the consent of parties declared before witnesses; whereas, in England, the entrance into the state of matrimony is hedged round with sundry legal obstacles, such as the necessity of obtaining the consent of parents, or other near

connexions, procuring a license, or the publication of banns; the parties, if thwarted by friends, or impatient of the law's delay, (and the impatience of lovers is proverbial,) may say to themselves,—"We'll get rid of these difficulties at once by stepping across the Border; let us off to Gretna—the nearest land in sight, and leave all our fears and troubles behind us"! The temptation is too strong to be resisted: a post-chaise is secretly prepared, and the lovers decamp together, probably under cloud of night. When the discovery of their flight is made, friends may pursue; and, after a long chase of perhaps some hundred miles, overtake the fugitives a few hours after their arrival at Gretna. But then it is all in vain—the rescue is too late; for, to use the common newspaper phrase, the happy pair have already been "indissolubly united,"—married past redemption!

How is this sudden transformation effected? For it is not to be supposed that the mere crossing of a certain stream, and the simple declaration of their intentions before witnesses, although it satisfies the law, would satisfy the lady's mind, that from being a simple spinster she had now become entitled to the honourable rank and privileges of a wife.—With all her southern prejudices fresh upon her fancy; accustomed to the formal solemnity of the church-nuptial ceremony; the absence of all this "pomp and circumstance" would leave a fearful chasm in her imagination. For, like Naaman the Syrian, what can she see in that stream more than in any other stream, that it should possess such healing virtues? Without some outward visible sign to satisfy her maiden scruples that she is really and truly married, she might, like the tinker in the play who found himself transformed into a lord, doubt whether or not it was actually so. It is worth while explaining how they manage these things at Gretna.

The whole world have heard of the "blacksmith"; but how he got this title it is hard to say, unless, figuratively, from his office of *forging* matrimonial chains, or, possibly, as in the case of other great dynasties, the first of the race may have transmitted his name to his successors. Be this as it may, the persons in question have not actually belonged to that profession for at least three generations; or, in other words, time immemorial. Nor does it appear that they are confined to any particular calling: a cobler, a tailor, or even a tinker, or any other "operative," being there considered perfectly competent to tack persons together in the hands of wedlock. History does not trace the origin of this order of priesthood; nor does it clearly appear whether it be Jewish or Christian. That it is not the former may be argued, since it is not strictly hereditary; but still the levitical office has a tendency, it is said, to remain in the same family or tribe, notwithstanding, as in the British monarchy, there have been frequent violations of the order of succession. How this is determined it is difficult to explain, as the mode of their election and ordination is involved in a certain degree of mystery. According to some authorities, on the occurrence of a vacancy, a candidate starts for the office, conceiving himself to have received a divine "call," that is, believing himself to have the best title, or to be the best qualified of any in the village. He forthwith commences marrying every body who will let him. But this volunteering of his services would avail little, unless others were to acquiesce in his elevation to the sacerdotal dignity. The persons whose vote and interest he requires in this affair are the inhabitants of the village;

and, above all, the neighbouring innkeepers, since on these he must rely for directing customers to his marriage shop, as without the aid of such finger-posts, the wise men and women from the south could not find out where it was. Not Gretna, but a small village in the immediate neighbourhood, unknown to fame, called Springfield, is the place where custom has decreed that these prophets shall appear; and here all the marriages are made. In finding out the person on whom the prophetic mantle has descended, the said publicans are guided by no other spirit than the quantity which the man is conceived capable of swallowing, or inducing others to swallow, for what is called the "good of the house." But as several persons may at the same time have great and nearly equal powers in that way, or one may have exerted them more to the advantage of one house than another, it must sometimes happen that a difference of opinion will exist as to the merits of different candidates. Hence a rival—an anti-pope starts up, as at present: one supported by the "King's Arms," another by the "Bush." Of the two priests now existing, one called Lang, (alias dubbed "the Bishop,") is understood to enjoy the principal patronage of "Gretna Hall," the head inn; the other, Elliot, who has started in opposition to him, is supported by the influence of other taverns. As a specimen of their character and conduct, we give the following anecdote:

A traveller, lately passing that way, stopped at Gretna Hall about six o'clock in the morning. Soon after, Parson Elliot came into the public-room, having been sent for by a gentleman who had a desire to see the famous "blacksmith," and was willing to gratify his curiosity at the expense of a pint of wine. Such a call the Parson could not, of course, but accept "for the good of the house." The only symptom of his sacred calling was a shabby black coat, in which he had clothed his outward man. His undoubted title to the clerical office he proved, on the principles before laid down, by readily swallowing large draughts of wine, although he had already got more than enough, being very tipsy—before seven o'clock in the morning. When unable to do more, he called in the waiter to assist him in finishing what had been called for. Notwithstanding that he was thus done up, still true to his trade, he did not fail to ask another traveller present also to treat him with a pint of wine. This the stranger consented to do, possibly conceiving this to be according to the customs of the country—the indefeasible right or dues of the Gretna church, equivalent to the tithes on the other side of the Border. For this purpose, the Parson was to return after breakfast, but he was found to be too far gone to keep his appointment. According to his account, he had made about 120 marriages in the first eight months of the present year, or at the rate of fifteen per mensem. If his colleague, or superior, or rather rival, styled "the Bishop," celebrate only the same number, it altogether nearly averages one a day, or three hundred and sixty-five in the year. This is a much larger number than would have been supposed; but it is to be considered, that although the Gretna matches we hear of are comparatively few, and mostly of the higher classes of society, there are many of an humbler rank, especially among those living near the Scottish Border, who avail themselves of the same privilege of coupling themselves together "without benefit of clergy."—Of such obscure as well as clandestine matches, the public of course take no note.

Having now given some account of the place where, and the persons by whom, these marriages are celebrated, it only remains to say something of the manner in which it is done. The form gone through is described as very brief and simple: the Parson (Bishop or Blacksmith, or whatever title may best become him) asks the parties whence they come, and what parish they belong to, for the purpose, we believe, of being entered in his register. Then the ceremony proceeds in a rude style, aping somewhat the forms of the English church; this being best calculated to have an imposing effect on the minds of persons from the south. They are asked if they be willing to receive each other for better, for worse, &c. This being ascertained, and a wedding-ring passed between them, they are declared to be married persons. Being pronounced man and wife *de jure* by *so high* an authority, most of them immediately become so *de facto*, unless the relatives of one of the parties arrive just in the nick of time, and snatch away the cup of hope as it is about to reach their lips. The fees paid to the Parson are said to be sometimes very handsome, so much as a hundred pounds being occasionally paid him for his five minutes' work,—high wages for a common labourer to receive by merely putting on a black coat! On such occasions house-rents are equally extravagant—a couple of guineas being unblushingly asked for the use of a private room for the space of five minutes after the ceremony. But perhaps we have gone quite enough into the details of a system which, on near inspection, appears as disgusting as it is irrational.

Perhaps nothing could show more strikingly the small quantity of common sense contained in the "Collective Wisdom" of the nation, than the history of the marriage-laws. Smollett says, that, in the year 1753, "the practice of solemnizing clandestine marriages, so prejudicial to the peace of families, and so often productive of misery to the parties themselves thus united, was an evil that prevailed to such a degree as claimed the attention of the legislature. The sons and daughters of great and opulent families, before they had acquired knowledge and experience, or attained to the years of discretion, were every day seduced in their affections, and inveigled into matches big with infamy and ruin; and these were greatly facilitated by the opportunities that occurred of being united instantaneously, by the ceremony of marriage, in the first transport of passion, before the destined victim had time to cool or deliberate on the subject. For this pernicious purpose, there was a band of profligate miscreants, the refuse of the clergy, dead to every sentiment of virtue, abandoned to all sense of decency and decorum, for the most part prisoners for debt or delinquency, and indeed the very outcasts of human society, who hovered about the verge of the Fleet Prison to intercept customers; plying, like porters, for employment, and performed the ceremony of marriage without license or question, in cellars, garrets, or alehouses, to the scandal of religion, and the disgrace of that order which they professed. The ease with which this ecclesiastical sanction was obtained, and the vicious disposition of those wretches, open to the practices of fraud and corruption, were productive of polygamy, indigence, conjugal infidelity, prostitution, and every curse that could embitter the married state." For these grievous mischiefs, painted surely in very strong colours, the House of Lords undertook to provide a remedy, by a bill framed by the united wisdom of the twelve Judges and the Lord High Chancellor of England. By this it was enacted, that, in order to anticipate the bad

effects of clandestine marriages, the banns should be regularly published, three successive Sundays, in the parish church where the parties dwell; that no license should be granted to marry in any place where one of the parties has not dwelt at least a month, except a special license by the Archbishop; that if any marriage should be solemnized in any other place than a church or a chapel, without a special license; or in a public chapel, without having published the banns or obtained a license of some person properly qualified, the marriage should be void, and the person who solemnized transported for seven years. These and other provisions, respecting the consent of parents or guardians for parties under age, were settled and agreed upon, after much violent discussion and many amendments. "At length," says the historian, "the bill was floated through both Houses, on the tide of a great majority, and steered into the safe harbour of royal approbation. After all," he adds, (notwithstanding the evil might easily have been remedied on much easier terms than were imposed on the subject by this bill,) "it hath been found ineffectual, as it may easily be eluded by a short voyage to the continent, or a moderate journey to North Britain, where the indissoluble knot may be tied without scruple or interruption." So the final result of the mature deliberations of the "Collective Wisdom," aided by the advice of the twelve Judges and the Lord Chancellor of England, was a law which might be evaded by any school-boy who had just sense enough to convey himself across the Scottish Border! Such was "the wisdom of our ancestors;" and seventy years have since elapsed, without any appearance of greater rationality in their posterity.

Of those who admire English law as the perfection of human reason, we would ask—If it be for the public interest to prevent clandestine marriages on the one side of the Tweed, is it not equally so on the other? You take infinite pains to guard against the rashness and folly of youth, so apt to be led away by their headlong passions; but if they choose to pass over a small stream, you leave them to do as they please. On this side of the Tweed, you will not allow dissenters to escape the church ceremony, although it be contrary to their conscience to submit to it; but if they choose to step over to the other side, the same persons may marry without any ceremony at all. Here the marriage must be solemnized by a regular clergyman of the church; there it may be done by a tinker. This system is so remote from reason, that it resembles more the laws attributed to witchcraft. The relations of the parties, if they should pursue them with a view to preventing the marriage, are verily placed somewhat in the situation of those professing that mysterious art, as described in the following lines of a well-known Scottish legend:—

> Now do thy speedy utmost, Meg,
> And win the keystane o' the brig;
> There thou at them thy tail may toss,
> A running stream they darena cross.

In this ludicrous state of things, so long tolerated, or rather maintained by the clerico-aristocratical body, whose influence reigns paramount in this country, "the prostration of the understanding and the will" before the idol of established custom, is very remarkable; since it is least of all the interest of the nobility, or privileged orders, in a word, the lawmakers and chief possessors of the wealth as well as honours of the state,

to expose their children to the risk of being seduced into those improvident alliances which are the natural fruit of the present facilities afforded to clandestine marriages. As to the question of how far restrictions are proper and useful, we think it will be granted, in the first place, that a contract which is to last for life, ought not to be formed without much previous deliberation, and the advice of friends or relatives, for the sake of the happiness of the parties themselves; and that it is therefore a duty to save inexperienced youth from the consequences of taking suddenly a rash step which cannot be recalled, when carried along blindly by the fury of passion. To guard against this, it is expedient to have a public declaration of the intended match, a considerable time previous, to afford friends and relatives an opportunity of interposing their advice. The Gretna Green and Scotch system does away with all this; leaving youth to take care of themselves where they are most of all liable to err. Secondly, for the purpose of insuring matrimonial harmony, as the affections are sometimes fickle, it is advisable that a proposal of marriage be formally announced at least several weeks before it be carried into effect; that love may be compelled to perform a *quarantine* to purge it of the plague of inconstancy. For want of this salutary ordeal, it is probable that no marriages are productive of so much domestic misery as those of Gretna Green. Thirdly, in the eye of reason, marriage is no doubt merely a civil contract, and in so far the Scotch system is rational. But in order to prevent confusion in families, and disputes about legitimacy and succession of property, it is highly expedient that a marriage should be solemnized in the most public manner possible, in a church, or other public place of resort, and, if on a Sabbath or other public day, the better, that the act may be so notorious, and the witnesses so numerous, as to preclude any chance of doubt, and leave no room for litigation. With the same view, the event ought to be carefully recorded in a register, well attested by witnesses, and placed in the most confidential hands. In Scotland, however, the parties have merely to go into a shop, or warehouse, or wherever they may happen to find a magistrate, intimate to him their intentions, and they are instantly married in so sudden and summary a way, that persons standing close by at the time do not know what has happened! This is absurd and irrational enough; but still here is some security for the person before whom it is done being a man of some respectability. When we come to Gretna, however, we find that this solemn contract, as it ought to be, (since every performance of it involves the future happiness and repute of several families,) is left in the hands of any worthless vagabond—in all probability the most drunken, dissolute, and abandoned character in the place! What can be more disgraceful to "the Collective Wisdom" of the nation—more unworthy of the most thinking people of Europe? If this part of the laws is to continue unaltered, (and be considered also as the "perfection of human reason"!) it would at least be advisable to appoint a magistrate, or other public officer of respectability, at Gretna, to see these rash runaway marriages properly solemnized, and keep an exact register of them, which might afterwards be received as evidence in a court of justice. For as these things are now conducted, such of the Gretna marriages as may not have been solemnized again, could only be established by the few friends (if any) or servants of the parties who accompanied them in their flight; and, when these witnesses happen to die, there is no other living

evidence. For the "blacksmith," or tinker, or whatever he is, even if not usually in a state of brutal intoxication, cannot be supposed to recollect any thing about the hundreds who resort to him every year, so as to be able to identify them again. Consequently, the services of such a self-constituted functionary, are as worthless as they are disgraceful to the nation. It is said, that the clergyman of Gretna parish, being scandalised at the existence of such disreputable proceedings in his vicinity, and among his own parishioners, the Scotch church was very desirous of putting a stop to them, but found that its authority was quite incompetent. This foul blot on our system of marriage laws must therefore continue, unless the legislature, in its wisdom, be pleased to remove it. Among the most obvious modes of doing this, would be to extend to marriage the principle of the Scotch law, which requires a person to be domiciled for forty days in a place before he becomes entitled to all the legal privileges of his locality. But of those whose peculiar duty it is to provide a remedy—who have the power and the means,—the aristocracy is too much the slave of custom to venture on innovation. The church is only intent on making Unitarians, and other dissenters, swallow its doctrines along with the ceremony. Provided it gain this triumph over the consciences of sincere Christians, and prevent them from being married by their own clergy, the church does not concern itself, although they, as well as its own flock, get themselves married by the most "profligate miscreants," (as Smollet says,) "abandoned to every sense of decency and decorum."

FREEDOM.

THE foaming billows madly roar,
The fierce terrific tempests rave;
Yet mark those rocks along the shore
Defy the whirlwind and the wave!

Behold yon Eagle soaring high,
With dauntless spirit brave the storm,
And through the dark and troubled sky
Exulting raise its regal form!

And thus Oppression's furious gales
May howl with unregarded might;
For vainly every blast assails
Proud Freedom on her rocky height.

With eagle's strength she 'll nobly rise,
Triumphant on the wings of time,
And float above life's clouded skies
In fearless majesty sublime.

Camberwell. J. J.

UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS OF A TRAVELLER IN THE EAST.

No. V.

Early History of Malta—Manners and Customs—Fanatical act of Canabalism—Non-Contagiousness of Plague.

THE most ancient author who mentions Malta is Homer, in his Odyssey, where it is called Hyperia, which, according to fabulous history, was originally inhabited by the Phæacians. The Phenicians, to whom the navigation of the Mediterranean almost entirely belonged, landed in Hyperia about 1519 years before Christ; and finding the island of great importance to their trade, they seized upon it, and established a colony, which soon became powerful and considerable. It was also named Ogygia, and under that name is described by Ulysses, in a relation of his shipwreck to Arete and Alcinous, at the court of the latter:—

> ————— An island lies
> Beyond these tracts, and under other skies,
> Ogygia named, in Ocean's watery arms,
> Where dwells Calypso, dreadful in her charms;
> Remote from gods or men she holds her reign
> Amid the terrors of the rolling main;
> Me, only me, the hand of fortune bore,
> Unblest! to tread that interdicted shore. ODYSSEY, Book 7.

When the Greeks extended themselves, and founded colonies in Italy and Sicily, they drove the Phenicians from Ogygia, took possession of it themselves 736 years before Christ, and called it *Melitaion*, either on account of the excellent honey it produced, or in honour of the nymph Melita, the daughter of Nereus and Doris, among their deities.

About 528 years before the Christian era, the Carthaginians disputed the possession of Melita with the Greeks, and for some time divided it between them; but the Greeks were in the end obliged to yield up their power to the Carthaginians. The inhabitants, however, neither abandoned their dwellings nor their goods; and both the Greek and the Punic languages were equally spoken in Melita.

The riches of Carthage flowed to Malta, and rendering its situation still more important, made it an object so interesting to the ambition and cupidity of the Romans, that it engaged their attention in the first Punic war. It was, therefore, plundered by Attilius Regulus, and seized upon by Cornelius. The Romans, however, lost it soon afterwards, and never recovered it till the naval victory, gained by C. Lutatius 242 years before Christ, had produced a peace, which was granted to the Carthaginians on condition of their giving up to the Romans all the islands in their possession between Africa and Italy.

The possession of Melita was of too great importance to a power which aspired to universal empire over the Mediterranean, for the Romans to neglect any possible means of preserving it. They had driven away the Carthaginians, but they wished to gain the friendship of the Greeks, who composed a considerable part of the inhabitants; they therefore permitted them to continue their ancient customs, and still

called the island Melita; they made it a municipium, allowing the inhabitants to be governed by their own laws, though they sent a propraetor, who depended on the praetorship of Sicily, and in whose name they struck some medals.

The Romans particularly encouraged commerce and manufactures; their cotton and linen cloths were so famed for fineness, and the nicety with which they were finished, that they were regarded at Rome as an article of luxury.

The greatest attention was paid to improving and beautifying those temples which were esteemed the pride of Melita, and to which both sailors and merchants repaired to offer incense to the protecting gods of their island and their trade. The altars of these gods continued long to be respected, but they were too rich to escape the rapacious hands of different depredators. A general officer belonging to Massinissa, king of Numidia, arrived at Melita with a fleet, and stripped the temple of Juno of some curious works in ivory, which he presented to his sovereign. No sooner was that prince informed from whence they came, than he hastened to restore them; but the less scrupulous Verres seized upon them afterwards, and they contributed not a little to adorn his magnificent gallery.

On the division of the Roman empire, the island of Malta fell to the lot of Constantine; religious disputes arose and engaged the attention of all parties. The energy which distinguished the ancient masters of the universe was destroyed, and they were unable to resist the swarms of barbarians who, in the beginning of the fifth century, issued from the north, ravaged the empire, and subdued the greatest part of it. The empire being thus dismembered, the Vandals seized upon Sicily in 454, and next took possession of Malta, from which they were driven ten years afterwards by the Goths. The island, whilst under the oppressive rod of these barbarians, could not possibly flourish or preserve its trade.

It appeared once more to raise its head under the reign of Justinian, who sent Belisarius to wrest Africa from the Vandals. This general landed in Malta in 553, and took possession of the island, which he re-united to the empire, and thus again made it of very essential use to all commercial nations. The fate of Goza was always the same with that of Malta.

These islands became afterwards still more rich, but the emperors not allowing them the same privileges they enjoyed under the ancient Romans, they never entirely recovered their former splendour.

The Greeks, who still remained to defend Malta, and to share its commerce, unfortunately possessed nothing in common with their ancestors but their name, except, indeed, their pride; but being devoid of all their ancient virtues, they soon contrived to draw upon themselves the enmity of the other inhabitants, who at last sacrificed them to the Arabs.

According to the 'Cambridge Chronicle,' the Arabs seized upon Malta in 870. They were resisted in the bravest manner by the Greeks; three hundred of whom being shut up in the city were burned to death by the rest of the inhabitants. The Arabs then made their entry into that town, not as conquerors, but as friends and brothers; they, however, were driven from thence in the same year, and the Greeks remained masters of the island for upwards of thirty-four years.

The Arabs took possession of Malta and Goza a second time, when

they exterminated all the Greeks, though they acted with great clemency towards the rest of the inhabitants. The wives and children of the Greeks were even sold by them for slaves, and thus reduced to obey those whom they were born to command. Their land was likewise divided among the Arabs, who established a government dependent upon the Emir of Sicily. During the time they inhabited Malta they treated the Christian religion and its ministers with proper respect, and were humane and just in their conduct towards the inhabitants, upon whom they laid no taxes. To supply the want of that resource, they armed cruising vessels every year, which brought them in very considerable prizes.

This perilous manner of gaining riches naturally pleased the Maltese, a brave and active people, who were at that period deprived of a large portion of their land by foreigners, and were unable to supply their wants by commerce. The Arabs, having thus instructed them in piracy, their own experience perfected them; and they, to this day, continue to be the most expert corsairs in the Mediterranean.

The Normans took possession of Malta in 1090, and permitted those Arabs, who chose to quit the island, to carry away the whole of their property. Those who remained were allowed the free exercise of their religion, on condition of paying an annual tribute to the prince, and of restoring to liberty all Christian slaves captured at sea by their cruisers.

The Normans gave up the island to the Germans, on account of the marriage between Constance, heiress of Sicily, and Henry VI., son of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. Malta was then erected into a county and marquisate, but it was depopulated by the havoc of war, and its trade entirely ruined, which reduced it to a state of the greatest misery. For a considerable length of time it was inhabited by soldiers alone, and had no other capital than the fortress which defended the port: when Frederick II., having taken possession of Calabria in 1224, sent to Malta the unfortunate inhabitants of that place, who, by dint of industry, both by land and sea, once more, in some degree, enriched the island.

Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX., King of France, who was King of Sicily, made himself master of Malta; and it was in this island that John Prouda formed the conspiracy which was followed by the well-known affair of the Sicilian vespers.

The island of Malta had long suffered from the discord which reigned between its successive sovereigns; and it groaned still longer afterwards under the tyranny of different individuals, to whom its monarchs occasionally ceded it in title of fief: it thus became either the appanage of some illegitimate son of their prince, the reward of one of his favourites, or the price of personal services rendered to the sovereign, rather than of those undertaken for the crown.

Such were the changes that had taken place in the government of these two islands of Malta and Goza, when Charles V. added them to his vast domains. This politic prince, whose prudence equalled his activity, considered these possessions in a very different light from his predecessors, who had ever regarded them as of small importance to their dominions. To command the Mediterranean—to secure the coast of Sicily—to threaten that of Africa—and to interrupt at pleasure all commercial intercourse between the two seas, in the centre of which they were placed, were objects of sufficient importance, in the mind of Charles, to attach a value

to them. His policy alone would have induced him to profit by such a circumstance; but his foresight extended still farther, for, fearing these important places might in future be taken from his successors, who, being obliged to attend to the centre of their dominions, or to the opposite confines, might not be able to keep a sufficient force for the defence of Malta and Goza; and, at the same time, reflecting of what importance such a conquest would be to his enemies, in the political balance of Europe, he determined to place them in the hands of some Power which would be particularly interested in preserving them, and which, without being able to annoy any other state, would be respected by all. He, in consequence, made choice of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, which, having been driven from its principal place of residence, had been wandering on the coast of Italy; and, in the year 1530, he established the knights as perpetual sovereigns of the islands of Goza and Malta, and the city of Tripoly.

Its history, from that period until their expulsion by the French, will be found at large in the memoirs of the Order; and its distressing siege by the English, and subsequent capitulation in the year 1800, forms so prominent a part of the history of our own times, as to be fresh in the recollection of every one.

Its geographical situation, climate, soil, and natural productions, are all so fully and faithfully described in almost every modern Gazetteer, as to render recapitulation unnecessary; particularly as these are circumstances more permanent than manners, and but little influenced even by change of possessors. A sketch of the ancient customs and present habits of the Maltese will, however, be worth attempting.

The Maltese, though continually subject to different nations, have always preserved much of their original character; sufficient, indeed, to indicate their descent, and at the same time to show that they have mixed very little with any of the people who have by turns governed their country.

Their countenances announce an African origin. They are short, strong, plump, with curled hair, flat noses, turned-up lips; and the colour of their skins is the same as that of the inhabitants of the states of Barbary; their language is also so nearly the same, that they perfectly understand each other.

It is, perhaps, as much owing to the situation of Malta, as to the different strangers who have visited and conquered the island, that the Maltese have become very industrious, active, economical, courageous, and the best sailors in the Mediterranean. But, notwithstanding these good qualities, they still retain some of the defects generally attributed to the Africans, and are mercenary, passionate, jealous, vindictive, and addicted to thieving. They have likewise sometimes recalled the idea of the *Punica Fides*. They are fantastical and superstitious to the highest degree.

The Maltese costume (excepting that of the ecclesiastics, lawyers, and tradespeople, who dress in the French style, and are few, compared to the people at large,) consists of a large cotton shirt, and a waistcoat likewise very large, with silver, and sometimes gold buttons; to these are added a caban and cloak, reaching rather below the small of the back, and a very long girdle twisted several times round the waist, in which they constantly carry a knife in a sheath. They also wear long and full trowsers, with a sort of shoe called korch; but they do not often make

use of the latter, having almost always both legs and feet entirely naked. This korch is merely a wooden or leathern sole, with strings to fasten it round the leg like a sandal. They never wear hats, but either blue, red, white, or striped caps. People of easy fortunes usually carry fans in their hands, and wear green spectacles; for such is the excessive heat occasioned by the reverberation of the sun's rays from the stones, that, notwithstanding this precaution, most of the inhabitants are weak-sighted.

The Maltese are remarkably temperate and sober, a clove of garlic or an onion, anchovies dipped in oil, and salt fish, being their usual diet; for it is only on great festivals that they indulge in the use of much animal food; and of wine they are by no means great consumers.

There are no people in the world more attached to their country than the Maltese; and their constant hope is to end their days in what they dignify with the title of Fiore del Mondo, or the Flower of the World.

The Maltese women are small in stature, and have beautiful hands and feet. They have fine black eyes, though they sometimes appear to squint, owing to their always looking out of the same eye, half of the face being covered with a sort of veil made of black silk, called faldetta, which they twist about gracefully. The women even of the highest rank, unlike their husbands, constantly preserve their costume; and any one who should adopt the French fashion, would render herself very ridiculous. They are extremely fond of gold and silver ornaments; and it is not uncommon to see even the peasants loaded with trinkets of those two metals. Their hair, which is smooth, and well powdered and pomatumed, is dressed in front in the form of a sugar-loaf, much in the style of the toupées à la Grecque, so long worn by the men. They ornament their necks with gold and silver chains, sometimes, indeed, with necklaces of precious stones; their arms are loaded with bracelets, and their ear-rings are, in general, more expensive than elegant. Their shoe-buckles are extremely large, and always either of gold or silver.

The morals of the women in the country retain all their original purity; and if libertinism is to be remarked any where, it is among those women only who inhabit cities, and who, having no other resource but obtaining some office for their relations, are sometimes obliged to dispose of their favours in order to procure it.

To complete the portrait of the inhabitants of Malta, and to give a still better idea of their character, it will be necessary to enter into some particulars relative to their ancient and modern customs and ceremonies.

The Maltese, either from a wish to imitate the Oriental manners, the severity of which they had witnessed in the Arabs, or from the example of the jealous Spaniards, formerly kept their wives in the strictest retirement. The prudent inhabitants of the country constantly repeated to their children, "that women should never appear but twice in public: the day they were married, and the day they were buried." They were, therefore, always employed within doors, and never went out, except at a very early hour to church, when they were entirely covered by a long and large mantle. This costume came originally from Sicily, and reached from the head to the feet, the eyes and forehead being the only parts visible.

Some time afterward, when the females were allowed a greater degree of liberty, and the desire of pleasing increased with the opportunity of

inspiring admiration, they threw off this heavy garment, which not only kept them concealed, but was extremely burthensome; they, however, constantly wore veils, which, they conceived, decency required to be black, and the only colour they could wear with propriety when absent from their own homes.

Marriages in Malta were always entirely arranged by the parents, who consulted their own interests, and the advantage to be reaped from the connexion, without regarding the inclinations of their children. The articles of the contract settled, and the portion ascertained, the young man sent his intended bride a present, consisting of certain fish, ornamented with garlands of ribbon, and in the mouth of the finest among them a ring. The first interview was then fixed to take place in presence of the parents and their particular friends, who were regaled with sweetmeats and other refreshments; but just before this meeting, the two mothers of the young people retired, either into an arbour in the garden, or some separate apartment, where they prepared a mixture of aniseed, aromatic plants, salt, and honey, with which they rubbed the bride's lips, with the idea of rendering her affable and prudent. She was then conducted to the room where her future husband waited her arrival, who presented her a ring, on which were engraved two hands united, the emblem of mutual faith, together with bracelets, necklaces, and a gold chain; she giving him, in her turn, a handkerchief trimmed with lace and beaus of ribbon.

On the day appointed for the celebration of the nuptials, the relatives of the husband threw a veil of fine white gauze over the bride. Musicians, singers, incense-burners, and others, headed the procession, and the bride and bridegroom followed under a canopy of crimson velvet, festooned, carried by four of the principal persons who attended the wedding; and the relatives of both parties brought up the rear.

The arrival of the procession at the church was announced by the ringing of bells; and they returned in the same order as they went, the whole of the procession and ceremony occupying five or six hours. There was a reigning belief in those days among the Maltese, that if the wife, on her return from church, put her foot first on the threshold of the door, she would undoubtedly govern her husband; on those occasions, therefore, politeness gave way to the established order of precedency.

The nuptial feast took place immediately afterwards; but the bride either ate in a separate apartment, or in a corner of the hall, which was properly prepared, and covered with linen cloth, to conceal her from public view. The repast over, she was seated next her husband, and drank out of the same cup.

The bride always passed the first week in her father's house; after which she was received, with great pomp, by her husband, whose relations gave a grand feast and ball; and until the beginning of the eighteenth century, all balls were in the Spanish style, the persons dancing with castanets in their hands.

The Maltese never married during the month of May; indeed, they carried their prejudice so far, as to think it impossible for any thing to succeed which was begun at that time. This superstition calls to remembrance the manner in which the Romans divided the year into fortunate and unfortunate days; indeed, it is easy to perceive a great

resemblance between the old Maltese customs, and those of various ancient nations.

Their funeral ceremonies were equally singular; and persons were even hired to augment the show of extravagant grief, though the relations themselves always followed the body in mourning. When the corpse was interred, a pillow, filled with orange and laurel, (the latter, according to the notions of the pagans, being regarded as expiatory,) was placed under the head, and a carpet spread over the tomb, which was suffered to remain some days, to show that, during that time, it was forbidden to walk over it. The mourning lasted one or two years, according to the degree of relationship.

The disinclination felt by the Maltese to associate with the different powers which successively reigned over their island, ceased on the introduction of the order of St. John of Jerusalem. A most important event soon gave the sovereign and his subjects an opportunity of forming an opinion of each other. This was the absolute necessity of uniting their forces to repulse the common enemy. The examples of valour given by the knights excited the admiration of the natives, who, in their turn, displayed such activity and fidelity, as gave them a just claim to the esteem of the former. The renewal of commerce, which afterwards took place, together with the encouragement given to agriculture; the riches of the Order, which circulated throughout the island by the purchase of different articles of consumption; the pay of the troops, joined to salaries annexed to employments which were multiplied beyond imagination; softened the Maltese by degrees. Their dispositions had become soured by misfortunes; but they at last became so reconciled to their situation, that they gradually abandoned their ancient customs, in order to connect themselves more closely with their governors.

The marriage ceremony is now performed in the same manner as in other parts of Christendom, with this only difference, that the bride's first visit to her parents is celebrated by a festival called Hargia, which consists merely in a grand conversazione in the Italian style, at which refreshments of every kind are distributed.

The ancient ceremonies practised at funerals are likewise abolished; the neuicha, or hired mourners, no longer make a part of the procession, being represented by two women in black cloaks, who carry dishes of perfumes on their heads.

The only custom peculiar to Malta still subsisting, and which, indeed, is retained among none but people of fortune, is the cuccilia, or an assembly given by parents on their children's first birth-day. The company being met in the great hall, which is always much more ornamented than any other part of the house, the child is brought in, and, if it be a boy, he is presented with two baskets, the one containing corn and sweetmeats, the other, trinkets, coins, an inkstand, sword, &c. The choice he makes on this occasion, will, according to their notions, determine the mode of life he will embrace, and give a just idea of his future dispositions. Should he choose the corn, it is a sign of a liberal character; if he prefers the inkstand, he is to be brought up either to trade or to the bar; and if he chooses the sword, the greatest hopes are entertained of his courage. Achilles thus, by a choice of the same nature, discovered to the court of Lycomedes that his female habiliments concealed a hero.

While Malta remained under the government of the knights, their

numerous festivals were all celebrated with great gaiety and splendour; and so universal was the desire of participating in the general festivity, that all young women married in the country, insisted, before the completion of their nuptials, on its being particularly stipulated in the contract, that their husbands should take them every year to the city La Valetta on St. John's Day, to the old city on St. Peter's, and to the casal Teritun, on St. Gregory's. One might consider this as a proof of their having no great idea of the complaisance of their intended bridegrooms; and as they were very anxious to exhibit their persons, and to gratify an ardent curiosity, they had recourse to this method to prevent the possibility of a refusal.

The grand festival on St. John's Day brought a great concourse of people to the city Valetta. The church of the Order was entirely filled; all the troops were under arms, and lined the streets during the general procession, at which the grand master, the council, and the whole body of knights, constantly assisted. After the religious services were over, races were performed, both on foot and on horseback, by young boys, who rode without bridle or saddle, and which furnished as fine subjects for applause as the heroes of Pindar in the Olympic Games.

St. Peter's day was the festival of the metropolitan church of the island. The old city was twice illuminated on this occasion, and the same races took place as on St. John's day. The crowd even assembled the evening before, to dance in the dawn; and it being a necessary compliment to the feast to appear in their wedding clothes, the greatest possible variety was displayed. The lively sound of the fiddles invited every one to dance, so that the whole surrounding scene presented nothing but joy and pleasure; but to those whose ears were unaccustomed to the Maltese manner of expressing delight, it must have been extremely fatiguing, for these people continually shouted in the sharpest tones, and he who screamed the loudest was esteemed the happiest of the party. This noise was termed tikbar, from the word kabbar, signifying shout of joy. On returning from this *fête champêtre*, which, from the excessive heat of the place, between two burning rocks, no foreigner could possibly enjoy, the Maltese ornamented their calashes and horses with boughs of trees, in memory of a custom subsisting among the inhabitants of the island during their state of paganism, who at the feast of Hercules carried branches of poplars in their hands, this tree being particularly consecrated to that deity.

These festivals, in which it appears devotion had some share, were not the only ones in Malta, for besides the celebration of Ascension and St. Lawrence's day, by parties on the water, boat races, &c., it was usual, on the first of May, to deck the grand master's balcony, and the doors of those who were dignified with the grand cross, with branches of trees; and it appears that this sign of a holiday, which was introduced into Malta by the families from the island of Rhodes, was a remnant of the worship of the sun, formerly adored by the Rhodians.

The carnival was also a great source of amusement to the Maltese: the public masked balls began on twelfth day, but no one was permitted to appear in the streets with a mask, (in the Italian style,) except on the last three days of the carnival;—on the last Sunday of which it was the custom for a number of peasants to go at an early hour under the grand master's balcony, and there to wait until he granted them Il Carnavale.

A knight of the grand cross made known their request, and the moment it was complied with, the companies of Battilo ranged through the city; these were Maltese, dressed in white, covered with ribbands, and armed with swords and small shields. These men, to the sound of music, performed mock fights, (probably a remnant of the gladiatorial spectacles of Rome,) which they finished by lifting up a child, who was placed on their arms twisted together, and who waved a flag as a sign of peace.

During the last three days of the carnival, a large stone was suspended to the beam, at the corner of the Castellany, where the punishment of the strappado was usually inflicted: this was to show that on those days the sword of Themis rested quietly in its scabbard, in the same manner as the Romans never punished any criminals during the saturnalia.

The tongue spoken in Malta and Goza is rather a kind of patois, or country dialect, than a real language. The original language spoken in Malta must necessarily have been lost, from the frequent revolutions which have taken place in that island, and by its subjection to so many different nations. The Greeks having driven away the Phenicians, abolished their language; and, if the Carthaginians introduced it a second time, the Romans were too anxious to efface even the most distant remembrance of Carthage, even to permit the Phenician idiom to be used in a country they had so lately conquered. The preference indeed which they so decidedly gave to the Greek tongue, is a sufficient proof that this was the case. The Goths and Vandals next introduced a new language, and almost entirely eradicated every vestige of the ancient tongue; so that the Greeks of the lower empire, who succeeded them, were regarded by the Maltese as absolute foreigners. The Arabs at last taking possession of the island, the inhabitants adopted, and have ever since retained, the language of their conquerors, to whom they quietly submitted, and with whom they had every reason to be satisfied. They, however, still retained some Greek expressions, and though afterwards subject to various powers, they only borrowed a few words from their different languages. This mixture vitiated, in some degree, the Arabic pronunciation; and the Maltese having at that time no commerce, nor any inducement to cultivate the sciences, soon lost the habit of writing, and likewise forgot the Arabic alphabet, which there is great reason to believe had before been in use among them.

Those who now write the Maltese patois, are obliged to make use of foreign characters; and every one being at liberty to spell as he pleases, endeavours to express, as nearly as possible, the exact pronunciation of the word he employs. This inconvenience is but little felt, because the Maltese language is confined to the island, where the distances are too short to make it necessary to conduct business by the pen.

Corrupted as is the Maltese patois, it is like all other Eastern languages, full of metaphors, proverbs, and animated expressions. These render it peculiarly fit for poetry; the taste for which the Maltese first imbibed from the Greeks, and afterwards from the Arabs, whose style of Eastern poetry, together with the moral which formed its principal ornament, they more particularly adopted; and they sang their own compositions, accompanying themselves on a kind of instrument resembling a lyre.

The knowledge which the Maltese have lately acquired of Italian,

from continual intercourse with the people of that nation, has occasioned their own language to be confined to the lowest orders of the people, while its place is supplied, among men of business, by a very corrupt Italian; although the upper classes of society, including the principal officers of Government and the most respectable of the English merchants settled there, write and speak the Italian tongue in its purity.

Since the conquest of the island by the French expedition on their way to Egypt, and its re-capture by the English, who are its present rulers, nothing has occurred in its history to deserve peculiar notice here, if we except, perhaps, the great plague by which it was visited in the spring of 1813, and which, from the recent discussion on the doctrine of contagion, with a view to amend, if not abolish, the existing laws of quarantine, has acquired a greater importance in the eyes of the disputants on either side, than it would otherwise ever have attained.

An anecdote of each of these periods, heard upon the spot, from residents of some years standing on the island, deserves to be mentioned:

During the occupation of Malta by the French, the massy silver gates which separated the altar from the body of the great church of St. John of Jerusalem, were removed by order of Napoleon Buonaparte, and melted down for the purpose, it was said, of being made into coin to supply the demands of the army. Independently of the hatred borne to the French by the invaded Maltese, this act was regarded as so horribly sacrilegious, that conspiracies were formed, among the priests as well as laymen, to inflict the most signal vengeance on its perpretators. Four of the most determined of these entered into a vow to feast on the heart of a certain French officer, who had made himself peculiarly obnoxious by his activity in this despoiling of the treasures of the church. He was waylaid, murdered, and his heart torn from his body. It was then cut into small pieces, while yet warm, and served up, with the blood still reeking, to these infuriated cannibals. They had actually seated themselves around the bowl of human flesh, and were about to devour it, when one among them suddenly remembered that it was Friday, and that as good Catholics they could not, without offending the rules of the church, taste flesh-meat on that day. This was an insuperable obstacle. Scruples as to the murder and the cannibalism had never interposed themselves, or, if they had, were easily conquered; but this, as to the eating flesh on a fast-day, was sufficient to stay even their bloody banquet. The dish was accordingly put by, and (revolting as it must seem) it is affirmed, that they met together after mass on the following Sunday, and literally fulfilled their vow of feasting on the heart of their victim!

The other anecdote is of a less revolting nature, and may be useful, as of some weight in the balance of present conflicting opinions. It is this: During the plague of 1813, when all the English, and the greater number of the native inhabitants of Malta, were terrified and overcome with horror at this calamitous visitation, and each man, instead of approaching his dying neighbour with relief or consolation, suffered him to expire in neglect and destitution, a great number of Jews, tempted by offers of reward, came down from Smyrna, where the plague is almost an annual visitor, and engaged to treat all the infected medically, on condition of receiving a certain sum per head for as many as were cured. Their offer was accepted: they went boldly among the dying, where no

one else would venture to accompany them. They cured the greater number of those attacked, and not one of their whole body was affected by the disease. Surely this could not have happened had the plague been highly or even slightly contagious.

CHEERFULNESS.

Let others shed the briny tear,
And pour to grief the melting lay,
To me the ever-changing year,
The buds of spring, and autumn sere,
And wintry mists, and summer clear,
Appear for ever gay.

And is he wise who looks abroad
With haughty eye, and frowning brow,
And by the mighty scene unawed,—
The rolling earth, the heavens broad,—
Disdains to hail the mystic god
His spirit doth not know?

Be wisdom his: be mine to feel
The pulse of joy at golden dawn,
When up the east the fiery wheel
And azure steeds of Day, reveal
All Nature's brightening common weal
Joying at night withdrawn.

Ah, then how sweet to mark the hum
Of life increasing o'er the earth!
The early birds, the flocks that come
To taste the scented fields, and roam
The breezy heath among the broom,
And share the shepherd's mirth!

Nor less the city's scenes delight:
Its marts, its towers, its temples proud,
Where many-visaged Art is dight
In weeds how lovely to the sight!
While round her every living wight
Bespeaks her praises loud.

Let others then be sad; for me
The world is ever bright and new!
While music breathes from every tree
Sweet Nature's untaught minstrelsy,
And bounds the kid, and hums the bee,
Along the golden dew!

BION.

ON SIR THOMAS MORE'S UTOPIA.

The name of More shall remain constant and in honour, by his famous Utopia. PAULUS JOVIUS.

MANY books that are not much read by the generality, acquire, notwithstanding, a sort of shadowy fame in the world, from being associated in men's minds with some peculiar strain of doctrine, so that the idea of that doctrine brings up the idea of the books, and causes them to be mentioned in the conversations and writings of many who know them only by name. Thus we often hear of Aristotelian notions and Platonic ideas from persons who, if two opposite dogmas of philosophy were advanced in their hearing, would not be able to decide which had proceeded from the Lyceum, and which from the Academy. This arises not so much from vanity, as from the habit, now quite fashionable, of talking about every thing, whether one understands it or not. We dare say our readers have frequently heard of *Utopian schemes*, *Utopian notions*, *Utopian politics*, &c., from persons who did not know very accurately the etymology of the adjective they used, and who were innocent of all acquaintance with the celebrated performance of Sir Thomas More. We have ourselves been guilty of this random sort of talking; but it at length occurred to us, some years ago, that it might be as well to look into the 'Utopia' itself, and see the mint where so many wonderful absurdities had been coined. A friend furnished us with the English translation, by Bishop Burnett, which was printed by the Foulises at Glasgow, and is very neat and correct. From the very commencement, it was clear we were not pursuing the speculations of an ordinary mind; but were moving among the visions, if they are visions, of exalted genius, in which the most beautiful moral landscapes, refreshed and illumined by the mild air and bright beams of philosophy, spreading on all sides like golden exhalations, rose before the mental eye, and made on the fancy impressions never to be erased.

We had long before read, in a cursory manner, those exquisite dialogues of Plato, entitled 'The Republic'; but not having them at hand, when we went through the 'Utopia,' it was not in our power to compare the views of the two writers; though, as far as we remembered, they appeared to have many points of resemblance. We thought also that we could trace, in the work before us, the original hints of many later productions, especially of Lord Bacon's 'New Atlantis,' and of Bishop Berkeley's 'Gaudentio di Lucca.' Bacon seems, however, to have felt that this kind of invention was not his forte, for his 'New Atlantis' was never completed. Berkeley finished his design, but his 'Gaudentio' will bear no comparison with the 'Utopia.' He had, in truth, a mind far less original and philosophical than Sir Thomas More's; and, if we are not greatly mistaken, was less learned. In virtue, perhaps, both were equal; but their virtues did not resemble: Berkeley's were mild, gentle, almost effeminate; there was a great portion of Stoicism, of fierce, rugged, haughty self-sufficiency in those of More. Accordingly, the speculations of Berkeley are gilded by a soft but brilliant enthusiasm; while in More's, a soberer fancy is discernible, and a much stronger likeness to truth.

Perhaps the 'Utopia' has never, in fact, been equalled, as a philosophical romance, except by the relations of honest Gulliver; which, having been moulded for very peculiar purposes, reject all comparison, and stand up in the world of literature a species by themselves. In them, the interest hinges upon an individual, whose adventures all along appear the main object, while the manners and customs of the strange nations he visits, though minutely described, seem to be brought before the eye incidentally, as they happen to bear a relation more or less remote to the hero of the narrative. Had Sir Thomas More adopted a similar method, the popularity of his 'Utopia' would have been far greater, as the fable would have been more complete and beautiful. No series of adventures, confined within the bounds of possibility, and represented as happening to one individual, can ever be too extravagant to excite admiration, and obtain a mitigated kind of belief; for as no one knows what is falling out daily to some of our species, within the vast circle of society, all are ready to lend an ear to a revelation of individual experience, acquired in remote parts of the world, or in any part where they have not the means of observing for themselves. When the greater portion of the globe was unknown, fiction might be as bold to create imaginary countries and nations, as now to create imaginary individuals, provided it preserved some show of probability; but since science has curtailed the realms of ignorance so thoroughly, invention must alter her track, and no longer dare to take any liberties with the map of the world. In Sir Thomas More's times, the recent discovery of America excited wonderful expectations: "space may produce new worlds" was the word; and, in reality, as navigation pursued her researches, the terraqueous globe seemed to swell and enlarge its circumference like a bubble. The 'Utopia' was, therefore, built upon the general feeling, and, geographically, did not in the least outrage probability. Having made these preliminary remarks, we shall pass at once to our account of the book itself; merely adding, in this place, that it must be brief, and, consequently, leave untouched a number of topics contained in the 'Utopia.'

The author having been sent ambassador into Flanders, to settle and compose certain differences between his master, Henry VIII., and the Emperor Charles V., met at Antwerp a curious Portuguese traveller, who had visited most parts of the world, and meditated much on what he had seen. This traveller's name was Raphael Hythloday. He was introduced to Sir Thomas More by Peter Giles, a very pleasant citizen of Antwerp, to whom the 'Utopia' was afterwards addressed by the author. Raphael, it seems, had sailed to the new world with Americus Vespucius, and, as our great countryman was inquisitive about every thing relating to remote countries, a great intimacy grew up immediately between him and the Portuguese. Their minds were congenial, and their studies had been nearly the same; both having addicted themselves almost entirely to the perusal of the Greek writers, whose notions, the author observes, are more bold and original than those of the Romans. In a word, Raphael, in the 'Utopia,' is Sir Thomas More himself, whose dual existence is kept up during the whole of the first book, that the author, like a dramatic writer, may escape from censure through his interlocutors.

There is an air of simplicity, quite natural, in the conversations that introduce the main subject; though the author takes occasion very early in the work to exhibit his republican principles. But he does this with-

out any appearance of design, merely by making Peter Giles inquire of Raphael why he did not enter into the service of some prince, and by that means exert his great wisdom and abilities for the good of mankind, as well as of himself and his friends. The comprehensive views, the depth, energy, and acuteness, of an upright and experienced statesman, animated by an honest indignation against tyranny, are conspicuous in Raphael's replies; for Peter presses the question, and the dialogue is carried on. Princes, he observes, are incapable of comprehending the obligations of their office; have, and can have, no regard for justice; are not, by any force of eloquence or prudence, to be enlisted on the side of liberty; but are inveterately disposed to prefer, on all occasions, the flattery and base principles of their courtiers, to the noble counsels of a philosopher. To be in the service of a prince, he continues, is to be a slave, to forfeit the privilege of speech, and to be bound to execute blindly the most pernicious commands. He holds that all kings are, to a man, ambitious; more desirous of robbing their neighbours of their dominions, than of governing their own realms with equity; and, in all respects, stubborn, self-willed, and impracticable.

In pursuing this topic, Raphael sketches incidentally the character of John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury; and he does it with a vigorous, expressive brevity, not unworthy of Tacitus. Morton, it seems, was a man of a shrewd comprehensive mind, patient of innovation, and anxious for the popular good. In a conversation that took place at his table, on the severity of the criminal law, we discover, through the medium of the Portuguese phantom, Raphael, the opinions of Sir Thomas More on capital punishment; and it appears that he had, in great part, anticipated the humane notions of the present age. He traces the prevalence of thieves to the vices of monarchical governments, to excessive taxation and war, which impoverish the body of the people, and nurse a great number of desperate idle fellows, who, on the establishment of peace, are let loose, like so many wild beasts, upon society. Taxation, he observes, is rendered excessive for two purposes: to enrich the coffers of the prince, and to break the spirit of the people by extreme poverty. Had this truth been uttered by a speculative reasoner, from *à priori* induction, it might deserve, perhaps, to be disputed; but here we have it from the mouth of a Lord Chancellor of England, a man of a clear head, great learning, and vast experience of affairs; who did not gather the fact from hearsay, but had it beaten into his mind by daily and hourly experience. It may, therefore, be considered a political axiom, that princes in general will levy taxes even when their coffers are overflowing; and that, not so much for the sake of the money, as of impoverishing and depressing the people.

Thieves are multiplied, also, by the institutions of an hereditary nobility; for, besides the enormous portion of wealth they engross, and draw up into heaps, out of the hands of the people, their houses are so many nurseries of robbers; their attendants literally forming an army of idlers, who are draughted off, occasionally, to scour the highways and supply the gallows.

His opinions on standing armies are not less bold and striking: under whatever pretence they may be maintained, whether as a defence from foreign invasion, or as a curb to sedition at home, the true aim of their being kept up, he observes, is tyranny and arbitrary rule.

On all these subjects, his observations are the fruit of deep reflection and experience, and though many of them may not at present appear new, they are all worthy of attention; and sometimes send out, through rents, as it were, in the veil of fable that envelops them, flashes of truth, which are much more brilliant than they would appear in a didactic political work; as the sun's rays fall warmer when they burst at intervals between the clouds, than when the sky is entirely clear. But, in fact, this whole book, introductory to the portraiture of the Utopian commonwealth, is full of noble thoughts and sentiments, clothed in that rich, marrowy eloquence, which springs from extensive observation and copiousness of ideas. Nothing is forced, or introduced for the sake of ostentation; or, when introduced, pursued too far out of the road: the topics rise out of each other naturally and beautifully, as branches spring from a tree, lopped and pruned into graceful proportion, and loaded with fruit of the richest show and flavour.

If it be the intention of philosophy to diffuse cheerfulness and serenity through the mind, the reader of 'Utopia' will infallibly be persuaded that its author was a true philosopher; for it is quite impossible to make the smallest progress among his speculations without feeling a tranquillizing enlivening influence, penetrating like sunshine into the mind, and dispelling the clouds and darkness of solicitude and discontent. This is the great charm of his book, as it was of his character. There is nothing sour or crabbed to be met with in it; no moroseness, no affectation; it is like a pleasant companion that one picks up by the way-side, who, by appearing to slide into our humours, delights and enchants us; and, if he has any grand ideas, opens, with a smile, a passage for them into our understanding. An author of genius enshrines his soul in his book, which thus becomes a fane from which he may utter his oracles, like a god, to all eternity; and thus his opinions and sentiments rest upon a surer basis than the Delphian tripod: no mutation of empire can disturb his influence, nor any change of religion. Plato speaks still, though Apollo has long been mute. A great writer appears to be one of the mouths of nature, whose revelations men of all creeds would reckon it impiety to neglect; and such a writer is Sir Thomas More.

Perhaps the free nature of More's speculations has tended to restrain their diffusion among mankind, for he makes free with every body's prejudices: kings, nobles, and priests, are the theme of his censure; and, as he never censures unjustly, his reprehension has the bitterer sting. For the rich in general he had very small respect, as he considered the accumulation of wealth a species of monopoly, which it should be the business of just laws to restrain. It is rather surprising, considering the manner in which he speaks of the priesthood, that his religion has never been called in question; for if he ever goes out of his way on any occasion whatever, it is to express his disrespect and contempt for the priests. They were in his time, he says, a race of men, who, not content with leading an idle life, were resolved to do mischief; to stop the course of agriculture, enclose grounds, and destroy houses and towns, *reserving only the churches, that they might lodge their sheep in them*. In one passage he appears to call in question the justice of Providence for sending the rot among the sheep, which it ought to have inflicted, he thought, upon the owners themselves. Add to this, the ludicrous colloquy between the friar and the jester, at the archbishop's table, in which

he puts such bitter taunts and sarcasms in the jester's mouth, and makes him goad and harass the friar so effectually, that any one may perceive he is contriving, "mutato nomine," to utter his own sentiments.

But perhaps the boldest passage in the "Utopia," is that in which the author ventures to delineate the court and policy of Henry VII., the father of the prince he served; for the arts by which that monarch contrived to fill his coffers and impoverish his people, are there stigmatized as base, knavish, hypocritical, and inexpressibly unjust. The reader who is acquainted with Lord Bacon's life of that prince, will find no difficulty to recognise, in Sir Thomas More's terrible epitome, the genuine history of the period; but he will suspect that Bacon has given but very faintly some of the features of the times.

By degrees the question of property is introduced: Raphael maintains, that in a well regulated state, all men should have all things in common; and as in the course of the discussion he frequently refers, in proof or illustration of his positions, to the laws and customs of the Utopians, a people he had visited during his travels, he at length excites the curiosity of his companions, who request to know something more particular of that singular and unheard-of nation. The traveller complies, of course, and from his relation Sir Thomas More compiled his account of Utopia.

Perhaps there is an inherent defect in every picture of an imaginary government; as, by piling up the wisest maxims and most important truths upon a scaffolding of palpable fable, we bring those maxims and those truths themselves into suspicion, with as many as cannot accurately distinguish between ideas and the husks they grow in. It must also be confessed that there is some appearance of puerility in these inventions; they seem like an attempt to gild the pill of instruction before the reader's eyes, as though the author doubted he might not have the courage to take it, if not so disguised. This produces in many a disdain of this kind of writing; but their disdain is not well-grounded; for the writer may not have at all distrusted their capacity to follow and comprehend him, whatever method of instruction he might have chosen, but have given way to the temper of the times, or been directed in his choice of a mode by the danger of his own position. This we believe to have been the case with Sir Thomas More. He would have written no Utopias, could he have dared to speak his mind of England and its institutions, and to recommend such maxims of government as his great mind approved. As it is, we must take his thoughts where we can find them; they are, to be sure, far less extraordinary now than when first published, and some of them may be absurd enough; but we are much deceived if they are not altogether worthy of being well sifted and studied by mankind in general.

The description of Utopia commences in the beginning of the second book, with a sketch of the general appearance of the country, of the soil, towns, and inhabitants. The island, it appears, contained fifty-four cities, large, well-built, and much resembling each other. From one of these cities to the next, the distance was, in no case more than a day's journey to a pedestrian, so that every traveller had it in his power to rest at night in the city. Amaurot, the metropolis, lay nearly in the centre of the island; and there all the deputies from the provincial senates, three from every city, assembled once a year to consult together about the great business of the state. All the citizens submitted in turns to the

exercise of rural labour—a portion of the population being draughted off every year from the cities to work in the fields, and an equal number, who had been called to the country the year before, returning to the towns. By this means the people never dwindled into effeminacy by perpetual confinement, nor contracted those rugged manners which constant application to rustic labours is apt to generate. There was a gentleness and a refinement in their robust vigour which diffused over the whole intercourse of life a sweet amenity and a lively grace. In short, they resembled the elegant and urbane population of ancient Attica.

Their towns, like Mr. Owen's, were built in the form of a parallelogram; all the streets were of one width, and the houses exactly resembling each other. Behind every dwelling was a fine garden, in which the vine, all manner of fruit-trees, and plants and flowers, were cultivated. The Utopian legislator seems, indeed, by the delight with which he speaks of trees, fruits, fountains, and the beauty of flowers, to have possessed the true philosophical taste for gardening and agriculture; and he often indulges his benevolence by fancying his happy people seated every man under his vine, or under his fig-tree. To heighten the verisimilitude of his relation, he, on mentioning the structure of the capital, takes a short retrospect of its improvements, and observes that, from a collection of low and mean cottages, it had grown by degrees to consist of edifices lofty, uniform, and superb.

The government was republican, and the prince, or president, elective; but he continued in office during life, unless suspected of some design to enslave the people, in which case he was immediately removed. Suffrages were given in secret, and the senators chosen annually. Indeed, Sir Thomas More entertained the most entire affection for democracy, and contrived on all occasions to manifest his affection; so that the whole scheme of his commonwealth turns upon the principle that government is valuable only in proportion as it provides for the general happiness.

The day was divided with great judgment among the Utopians: six out of the twenty-four hours were consumed in labour,—three in the morning, and three in the afternoon; eight were allotted to sleep; and the remaining ten to reading and recreation. Public lectures were delivered every morning, before day-break, in all the cities; but none were compelled to attend, excepting those marked out for literature. It was fashionable, however, for great numbers of both sexes to be present, each attending the lectures most congenial to his taste.

To the Utopian division of time, the author foresaw there would be many objections, principally on the ground that too little was appropriated to labour. His reply to these anticipated objections is so full of truth and cogency, that we shall presume to lay it entire before the reader:

"But this matter of the time set off for labour, is to be narrowly examined, otherwise you may perhaps imagine, that since there are only six hours appointed for work, they may fall under a scarcity of necessary provisions. But it is so far from being true, that this time is not sufficient for supplying them with a plenty of all things that are either necessary or convenient, that it is rather too much; and this you will easily apprehend, if you consider how great a part of all other nations is quite idle. First, women generally do little, who are the half of mankind; and if some few women are diligent, their husbands are idle. Then consider the great company of idle priests, and of those that are called religious men; add to these all rich men, chiefly those that have

estates in lands, who are called noblemen and gentlemen, together with their families, made up of idle persons, that do nothing but go swaggering about. Reckon in with these, all those strong and lusty beggars, that go about pretending some disease, in excuse for their begging; and upon the whole account you will find, that the number of those by whose labours mankind is supplied, is much less than you did perhaps imagine. Then consider how few of those that work, are employed in labours that men do really need; for we who measure all things by money, give occasions to many trades that are both vain and superfluous, and that serve only to support riot and luxury. For if those who are at work were employed only in such things as the conveniencies of life require, there would be such an abundance of them, and by that means the prices of them would so sink, that tradesmen could not be maintained by their gains; if all those who labour about useless things, were set to more profitable trades; and if all that number that languishes out their life in sloth and idleness, of whom every one consumes as much as any two of the men that are at work do, were forced to labour, you may easily imagine that a small proportion of time would serve for doing all that is either necessary, profitable or pleasant to mankind, pleasure being still kept within its due bounds."

There prevailed in Utopia a regulation respecting literary men, which might, with great advantage, be revived among many modern nations: the literati were constituted into a distinct class, exempt from labour, and honoured in a particular manner; but if any member of this class was, in the course of time, found to disappoint the expectations that had been formed of him, his privileges were annulled, and he was compelled to join the labouring classes. On the other hand, a mechanic, who chose to acquire, in his leisure hours, a certain portion of learning, and, besides, displayed a powerful and enlarged intellect, was immediately delivered from the necessity to labour, and ranked among the literati.

There was great singleness of purpose among the Utopians, for happiness was the object of their study. Their notions of happiness, too, were sufficiently simple, as they made it to consist entirely in pleasure,—in such pleasure as passes harmlessly over the mind, like a clear wave, leaving no stain of sensuality behind it. To know how the delights of life arrange themselves in the scale of nature, and how we are to pass into the sphere of one without missing another, more precious, perhaps, is a science far more valuable than the vulgar learned ever yet conceived. But if we make towards it through the right path, it is not difficult of attainment. Nature teaches it. We have but to listen patiently to her dictates. However, Sir Thomas More seems to have thought that the art of listening to nature was not easy of acquirement, and therefore he made it the chief object of study among the Utopians.

We must caution our readers against supposing for a moment that we profess to detail all the opinions or practices of the Utopians; it would be to extract the whole work, of which we are only giving a review: the most we can do is, to select what appear to us the most extraordinary ideas, and even this is extremely difficult where so many ideas are extraordinary. However, we shall do our best. From the subject of study and domestic government, the author passes to the consideration of colonization and war, on the former of which his notions are especially remarkable. If one of two neighbouring nations happen, at any time, to have an overflowing population, while the other has not people enough to cultivate the whole of its territory, the former, he thinks, has an undoubted right to occupy the waste lands of the latter, and, in case of

opposition, to seize on them by force of arms; "since every man," he continues, "has, by the law of nature, a right to such an uncultivated portion of the earth as is necessary for his subsistence."

The cities of the Utopians were divided into four equal parts, in each of which was a market-place, filled with all the necessaries of life. From these, every father of a family took what he judged necessary for the subsistence of his house; and there was no danger that he would take too much, for what should he have done with it, since there was no money, and since every one had the same liberty as himself?

"It is the fear of want that makes any of the whole race of animals either greedy or ravenous: but besides fear, there is in man a vast pride, that makes him fancy it a particular glory for him to excel others in pomp and excess. But by the laws of the Utopians, there is no room for these things among them."

All the grown-up people of both sexes dined and supped in public, in spacious halls erected in every street. The sick were carefully accommodated in hospitals, built without the walls, where every delicacy was always provided for them. But, because in all countries many are found to prefer privacy and retirement, every one who chose might eat at home, that liberty might in no case be infringed. At the public halls, the men were placed on one side, the women on the other; and old and young were so skilfully intermingled on both sides, that the conversation was always lively and sportive, without degenerating into licentiousness.

"They never sup without music; and there is always fruit served up after meat. While they sit at meat, some burn perfumes, and sprinkle about sweet ointments and sweet waters; and they are wanting in nothing that may cheer up their spirits, for they give themselves a large allowance that way, and indulge themselves in all such pleasures as are attended with no inconvenience. Thus do those that are in the towns live together; but in the country, where they live at a greater distance, every one eats at home; and no family wants any necessary sort of provision, for it is from them that provisions are sent unto those that live in the towns."

One of the strangest regulations of the Utopians was that which settled the mode of travelling, as it allowed no man to move out of his district without a passport, under the penalty of being returned to his parish as a rogue and vagabond, and, for the second offence, reduced to slavery. This was to prevent idleness. They who travelled in the regular way, found in every town and city the most cordial welcome; but there were no "taverns, ale-houses, nor stews, among them;" conveniencies which no European nation has hitherto been able to dispense with. Legislators like Sir Thomas More, Lord Bacon, Bishop Berkeley, &c., who regulate the passions of Utopians, Athlantians, and Mezzoraneans, find small difficulty in banishing vice from their dominions, since they can do it with a stroke of the pen; but no lawgiver who has had to do with actual society, excepting Lycurgus, has ever, as far as we know, succeeded in banishing public prostitution from his country. Solon allowed it; it prevailed at Rome; it is tolerated in all Christian countries. Why is this? Is man incorrigible? Has he always been incorrigible, every where but at Sparta? Or was Lycurgus, as antiquity believed, really superior in genius to all other lawgivers, the opinion of Mr. Thomas Campbell[1] notwithstanding? This foul blot upon all Christian govern-

[1] See his 'Lectures on Poetry.'

ments seems to be caused by some radical defect in the institution of marriage, which damps the affections of the connubial state, and often throws back upon single life an ineradicable taint. Sir Thomas More and Lord Bacon seem to have perceived some traces of this defect, and the cause that produced it; and the former, with the bold candour that was natural to him, explained himself, and proposed what appeared to him a proper remedy. It is not so easy to come at Lord Bacon's sentiments on the subject; whether he sometimes laboured under that incapacity to unwrap and be delivered of his conceptions, which he imputed to Aristotle, or thought proper to utter some of his opinions in oracular sentences and phrases that might be turned towards any point of the compass. Be this as it may, we must not here explain any further, but refer the reader to the 'Utopia' and the 'New Atlantis.'

Agreeably to the doctrine and practice of many ancient philosophers, Sir Thomas More inculcates suicide in certain cases, arguing that it is not only allowable, but religious and pious. Bishop Burnett, the translator, can hardly be said to condemn it, for all he says on the subject is: "The advising men, in some cases, to put an end to their lives, notwithstanding all the caution with which he guards it, *is a piece of rough and force philosophy.*" No doubt it is, excellent prelate! But is it nothing more? Perhaps not.

The author next ridicules our bulky laws; and, to express his thorough abhorrence of lawyers, he imitates Plato's conduct towards the poets, and banishes them entirely from his commonwealth. He likewise censures the faithlessness of princes and popes, in a keen ironical manner; and exposes the wicked sophistry by which they set up one kind of virtue for themselves, and another for the people. To show how he respects them, he observes, that when the Utopians made war with any neighbouring nation, the first thing they did was to offer immense rewards to any one who would kill the hostile prince, or any of his courtiers; for to such they always attributed the causes of war. This barbarous practice, Bishop Burnett observes, "is so wild and so immoral both, that it does not admit of any thing to soften or excuse it, much less to justify it."

But the most singular chapter in the whole 'Utopia,' is that on religion, as it unveils, in a pretty clear manner, the workings of the author's mind. What, however, and how much, he believed, it is not easy to say, though the whole tenor of his work furnishes strong grounds to suspect his orthodoxy. He makes a portion of his people bow down in adoration before the sun and moon, and great men of former times, "not only as ordinary deities, but as the supreme God;" and, although he observes that the wiser portion of them adored the one incomprehensible divinity, he censures not those rude pagans for their polytheism, appearing to think it is no great matter what men worship. When Raphael and his companions explained the Christian religion to the Utopians, many of them came over to the new faith; but he observes, that one of these converts was so transported with an intemperate zeal, that he not only openly preferred his new creed, but abused and declaimed against the religions of the country; upon which he was seized and banished, not, says the author, for disparaging those religions, but for inflaming the people to sedition. It was generally upon the same pretext that the Roman emperors persecuted the primitive Christians, whom they considered bad citizens, as well as bigots. In strict conformity with the practice of the

pagans of antiquity, the author of 'Utopia' teaches, that all religions should be equally tolerated, and that no man should, in any case, be punished for his opinions, unless he attempt to force them upon others. Like a philosopher of more modern times, he seems to suspect that, possibly, God may be pleased with a variety of religions; just as an indulgent father is pleased with the different fancies of his children, who, on returning from a rural walk, present him, one with a curious pebble, another with a flower, a third with a beautiful feather, or shell, and so on; since each only adopts a different method of expressing the same love.

We have now gone through the 'Utopia' in a cursory manner, and have, we hope, shown that it is an extraordinary work,—a splendid recapitulation of all the philosophical meditations of its author's life, distinctly, forcibly, and beautifully arranged; that to pass from vulgar literature to such works, is like sailing out of the dull trade-winds, that blow always one way, into the free, changeable airs of the mighty ocean; and that, though it be commonly spoken of as a childish vision, there is very little of absurdity either in the matter or manner of the work. We have detailed its principles; we have spoken our opinion: let the reader judge

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SONG.

Air—'Drink to me only with thine Eyes.'

WHEN late around thy festive board,
Joy bade the moments flee,
Fast as the rosy wine I poured,
My eyes still drank to thee;
And wafting on their fervid rays
A kiss of warmth divine,
Met in thine own dear answering gaze
A kiss as warm from thine.

Though now to grace my board, no more
Thy heavenly charms I see,
Still ever as the wine I pour,
My sighs drink deep to thee;
And as the sparkling juice I sip,
In Fancy's vision warm,
I hang in transport on thy lip,
And press thy angel form.

Whene'er the goblet's flowing brim
Thy festive board shall see,
Then, oh! as fondly drink to him
Who warmly drinks to thee;
For though no more thy melting eye
Thrill all my frame with bliss,
Oh! love still feels this burning sigh,
And [illegible] trembling kiss.

LABOURS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF PARIS.

Fifth Article.

PERSIA, the next country in our series, will not detain us long, inasmuch as the principal paper relating to it,—'An Extract from a Memoir on the Ancient Inscriptions of Persepolis,' by M. St. Martin, will more properly come under our review in a separate article, in which we propose to offer a sketch of the progress and present state of our knowledge, (if, indeed, we can be justly said to know any thing,) touching the intricate subject of which it treats. We might also assign as a reason for passing over this paper at present, the want of originality in its contents; almost every element of the system put forth by M. St. Martin as his own, being in fact borrowed from M. Grotefend of Hanover. The remaining papers consist of 'Observations on the Zend and Pehlvi Alphabets,' by Professor Rask, whose philological acquirements have long been considered of the very highest order, and whose late journey to the East has supplied him with materials for their almost unlimited extension; of a 'Discourse on the Origin and History of the Arsacidæ,' by M. St. Martin; a 'Note on the Persian History of Shah Abbas,' by M. de Sacy; and, finally, the translation of a beautiful poem by the celebrated Jami, entitled, 'Oïna and Riyâ,' by M. de Chézy.

Professor Rask's 'Observations' consist of corrections to be made in the Zend and Pehlvi Alphabets, given by Anquetil du Perron in his edition of the Zend-Avesta, and of remarks on the effects of these changes on the deciphering of the Cuneiform Inscriptions, according to the system adopted by Grotefend; some of whose interpretations, more especially as relates to the grammatical inflections, he corrects according to the genius of the language in which they are supposed to be written.

In his Memoir on the Arsacidæ, M. St. Martin maintains that the government, of which those princes were the head, was strictly feudal, or, at least, that its institutions were closely analogous with those which, many centuries later, prevailed universally throughout Europe. This system he considers as the uniform and necessary attendant on a military government; and contends that the Parthians, although the earliest people among whom it can be distinctly traced, have no claim to be considered as its inventors, they having received it from the Medes and Persians, who inherited it from the Assyrians, whose predecessors were, doubtless, subject to the same laws, as they were all animated by the same spirit of encroachment on the territories of their neighbours. We are too apt, he says, to consider the nations of the East in the light of a miserable herd of slaves, subject to the caprice of a despot. The Persians, the Syrians, and other natives of Asia, under the rule of the Arsacidæ, were certainly for the most part slaves; but they were no more so than the mass of the population in Gaul and other countries of Europe, subjugated by the Franks, and their slavery was founded on the same law—that of conquest. Not so the Parthians: like the warlike Franks, and the victorious Normans, they were great sticklers for liberty; but it was for that sort of liberty which our King James sagaciously claimed for himself, that of being "free king [illegible] world besides." The

throne, among them, as in the feudal kingdoms of Europe, was hereditary; but woe to the prince who could show no better title than that of birth, for the sword was the sole arbiter of legitimacy: not only was the feudal system in force throughout the Parthian empire, but the very same titles and dignities existed there which afterwards flourished in Europe. The armies of the Arsacidan Princes were commanded by a Constable, and their frontiers defended by Marquisses. Barons, Knights, and men-at-arms, held the territory in fee, aud, clad in "complete steel," formed the strength of the monarchy, while the "rascal rout," attached to the soil, serfs in the full extent of the term, were regarded as inferior beings, of little importance to the success of any martial enterprise. Thus, we are told, that when Mark Antony marched eastwards to avenge the defeat of Crassus, eight hundred and fifty Parthian knights, or men-at-arms, were found sufficient to arrest his progress; and that a short time before only twenty-five Parthian cavaliers made the conquest of Judea and took Jerusalem.

After a slight glance at the Caianian dynasty of Persian Princes, who had subjugated nearly the whole of Asia, and wellnigh made Greece herself tributary to their rule, M. St. Martin stops to pay a passing tribute, which we think justly due, to the character of Alexander the Great, who alone was capable of putting a stop to the conquests of the Persians, and whose ambition, destructive as it was, was amply compensated by the lasting services which he rendered to mankind. Secure in the possession of an empire, more vast than had ever previously existed, which he controlled as much by the force of his genius as by that of his sword, he adopted the manners of the countries over which he had extended his sway; while his successors, brave soldiers and skilful generals, but nothing more, disdaining to conform themselves to the habits of their subjects, remained Greeks in the heart of Asia, possessing only a precarious tenure, supported by foreign mercenaries, and detested by the natives, of which it required no very great exertions, on the part of the Arsacidan Princes, to dispossess them.

The powerful and wide-extended empire of this new race of monarchs, which formed the bulwark of Asia against the giant force of Rome in the zenith of her power, on the one hand, and bordered on the territories of China on the other, consisted of four principal kingdoms, all possessed by princes of the same family; the younger branches of which ruled over Armenia, Bactria, and the countries occupied by the Massageta, and paid homage to the elder, which swayed the supreme sceptre of Persia, under the imposing title of King of Kings. The first origin of this warlike race must undoubtedly be sought in Asia; but at the period when, overthrowing the newly-established dominion of the Seleucidæ, they made themselves masters of Persia, they formed part of a formidable nation, dispersed from the banks of the Danube to the most distant regions of Upper Asia, under the name of Dacians, which appellation they likewise imposed on the nations whom they subjugated. "Three centuries before the commencement of our era," says M. St. Martin, "Hungary and Bactria were equally known by the name of Dacia, and this denomination, under various modifications, serves at the present day to designate the Germans as well as the descendants of the ancient Persians." The origin of the Arsacidæ is thus obviously connected with a question of the highest interest, which, although repeatedly discussed, is still far from

being determined, and the solution of which involves the explanation of the intimate relationship existing between the manners, institutions, languages, religion, &c. of ancient and modern Europe and of the extreme East. The Barbarians, who overran the Roman empire, poured down, it is known, from the borders of Asia; but can it be supposed that this was the first irruption of the kind? Or rather, can it be doubted that such revolutions had been frequent in times of higher antiquity, when there existed no powerful empire to withstand their progress? The classic land of Greece is still (would that we could speak of this abomination to Christian Europe in the past tense!) subject to the Turks, who were formerly the neighbours of the Chinese, and who now rule in Asia Minor and in Egypt. Other instances might be adduced of incursions as singular and as successful. Where, then, is the difficulty in the supposition that, at a period long antecedent to the commencement of ordinary history, a nation, not certainly of the same race with the Turks, but inhabiting a neighbouring country, overran Asia and subjugated the Nile; spread through the present empire of Russia, over Greece and Germany, and, like the Vandals of later days, crossed into Africa, extending themselves as far as the distant shores of Senegal?

Of these ancient colonies, that over which the Arsacidan Princes ruled, is the first of which we have any certain notice; materials for the compilation of its history are not wanting; but, as there exist no regular annals, it can only be deduced from a union of the scattered passages which occur in the writings of authors of antiquity in the Greek, Latin, Armenian, Syrian, Arabic, and Persian languages, and from the medals and inscriptions of the times. In was in the year 250 before Christ, that the Parthians made their first great attempt to wrest the sceptre of Asia from the hands of the successors of Alexander. In less than a century afterwards, Mithridates (not the formidable enemy of the Romans, who was but a vassal of the Arsacidan throne, but the sixth Parthian monarch of the name,) put an end to the dominion of the Greeks, and extended his sway from the Euphrates to the Indus; while princes of his family, who ruled in India, Scythia, and Armenia, did homage to his crown. From this period, the Parthian empire remained unshaken by external enemies, and presented a formidable front to the grasping ambition of Rome; the victories of Corbulo and of Trajan hardly counterbalancing the defeats of Crassus and of Antony. The ruin of the Arsacidan race was at last effected by one of the feeblest of their vassals, named Ardeshir; who, profiting by the religious enthusiasm of the people, and their inextinguishable hatred of the Parthian name, succeeded in putting an end to a dynasty which had swayed the sceptre of Persia during a period of four hundred and sixty-six years, and in establishing himself as the first of the Sassanidan race. It was only in Persia, however, that the dominion of the Arsacidæ was immediately overthrown. They retained possession of Bactria and the north until the commencement of the fifth century. The Arsacidan Princes of Armenia embraced Christianity thirty years before it mounted the imperial throne in the person of Constantine, so that Armenia was the first Christian kingdom. Its dynasty terminated in the year 428. Some of the family, even after its degradation, remained in Persia, where they again attained the regal dignity in the tenth century, under the name of Samanidæ; others, passing westward, made themselves famous in Africa and Italy under Belisarius, and

at length mounted the throne of Constantinople; and, finally, some of them are enrolled among the names of the brave defenders of the Christian faith in Armenia, who made common cause with our crusaders.

M. de Sacy's 'Note on the History of Shah Abbas,' written in Persian, and entitled 'Tarikh-âlem-ârai,' consists merely of a comparative statement of the contents of the different MSS. of that work, extant in various libraries.

Arabia and the Arabs form a more fruitful theme, and furnish materials for a greater number of articles than any other people, with the exception of the Chinese. This circumstance is readily accounted for by the extent to which an acquaintance with the Arabic language and literature is cultivated in Europe, and by the peculiar attractions with which its poetry, its tales, the singular fate and wide dispersion, and the primitive and patriarchal manners of its wandering tribes, have invested it. The papers which arrange themselves under this head amount to twenty-seven. Of these, three are devoted to philology, six to history, six to numismatics, and two to theology; two relate principally to manners and customs, one to the music of the East, and the remaining seven consist of translations from the Arab Poets.

The single philological topic, discussed in three different Numbers of the Journal, constitutes a question of considerable interest, as well in a commercial as in a scientific point of view: whether the Arabic of Barbary ought to be considered as identical with, analogous to, or totally distinct from, the classical dialect of Syria and Egypt? This question is opened by Mr. James Grey Jackson, whose valuable 'Account of Morocco' has been long before the public, and whose protracted residence at Agadir, or Santa Cruz, in the capacity of British Consul, afforded him peculiar opportunities of ascertaining the fact. He maintains that the two dialects are perfectly similar; and exhibits, in proof of this assertion, a lithographic fac-simile of two letters, the one from Muley-el-Hescham, King of Morocco, to the merchants of Agadir, and the other from his brother, Muley-abd-Salam, to the Jew, Isaac-ben-Lischa, his agent at Morocco. Of these letters he gives a transcript in Arabic characters, and a French translation, omitting only a few words, which he has been unable to make out in consequence of the badness of the writing, which, it must be confessed, looks as little like the finished specimens of Arabic calligraphy, which we have been in the habit of seeing, as can well be imagined. This difference in the formation of the characters, Mr. Jackson considers as the only distinction, excepting that some expressions are exceedingly common in the West which are seldom used in the East, and *vice versâ*; and that the Moroccan Arabs have borrowed from their Spanish neighbours a few words, such as *comercio* and *segureza*, which are probably unknown to their Syrian brethren. The letters were shown in 1819 to Gregory Peter Géroné, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who was then in London, and who assured Mr. Jackson that he perfectly understood them, for that they were in his own language. In addition to this, Mr. Jackson states that, during his residence in Africa, he had frequent occasion to observe Syrian and Moroccan merchants conversing together with the greatest facility; and that Jews of Jerusalem, who were traversing Barbary to collect money to meet the expenses of their synagogue, spoke absolutely the same language with the natives of Morocco.

In a note, inserted in the succeeding Number, M. de Sacy supplies three of the words omitted in Mr. Jackson's transcript of the letters, leaving only one unexplained. He is, however, of opinion, that the letters do not incontestably prove the full extent of that gentleman's assumption. He admits that the Arabic of both countries is the same in books, but he denies that this is altogether the case in epistolary correspondence, in which, he asserts, that the grammatical forms are slightly varied in the Moroccan dialect; and that words are employed in an acceptation altogether unknown in the East. In the spoken language, the difference, he says, is still greater, as any body may easily convince himself by merely casting his eyes over Dombay's 'Grammatica Linguæ Mauro-Arabicæ, Viennæ, 1800.' From the latter part of this decision, as far as regards the oral language, Mr. Jackson expresses his dissent; and quotes, in support of his proposition, a letter from M. Labarraque, a French merchant, who resided for several years at Mogador, and who is now established at Havre. M. Labarraque expresses his surprise that any doubt could have arisen of the identity of the language, the only difference consisting in the pronunciation, and even that being very trifling. He goes on to state that a vessel, named the *Chandernagore*, having arrived at Havre from Calcutta, with a crew composed of Bengali and Syrian Musulmans, and other Asiatics, he went on board, and, being particularly desirous of once more conversing in Arabic, he addressed himself in the language of Barbary to the Musulman sailors without distinction. He asserts that he had no difficulty in making himself understood, or in comprehending what they said to him in return, insomuch that it was not found necessary to repeat a single word of the conversation, or of many others which he had with them during their stay. This testimony appears decisive of the question.

To the department of Arabic history, the contributors are M. Von Hammer, the learned Editor of the 'Mines de l'Orient;' M. Garcin de Tassy, Secretary of the Society; M. M. Coquebert de Montbret, jun.; Grangeret de la Grange, and Reinaud. To the first of these gentlemen we are indebted for an analysis of the celebrated historical work of Ibn-Khaldun, which he considers as better deserving of translation than most of the productions of the East. The entire work is divided into three parts, but the first alone, containing the Prolegomena, or introductory dissertations, appears to be accessible; and nearly all the MSS. of it are found to be deficient in the sixth (the last) chapter. The second part contains, according to the statement of the preface, the history of the Arabs, from the commencement of the caliphate to the time of the author, (A. H. 800); and the third, that of the Berbers, from whom he was descended. These two parts, M. Von Hammer states, that he has been unable to discover either in the markets or the libraries of Constantinople, although the first part forms, throughout the Ottoman empire, the study of all who are employed in state affairs. Of this there is a Turkish translation, executed by the famous Perizade Mohammed, who has remedied the concise and often obscure style of his original, by the development of its ideas, and by the addition of a comment, which increases its bulk by more than a third. In his analysis of this extraordinary production, M. Von Hammer takes a brief review of the leading topics treated of in the preface, and then gives the heads of all the chapters of each of the first five books, which treat successively of civiliza-

tion in general; of a state of nature, and of the Nomad tribes; of the empire, of the caliphate, of ranks and dignities; of towns and other consequences of civilization; and lastly, of the arts, and of other means of gaining a subsistence. The mere titles of the numerous chapters are alone sufficient to prove the very interesting nature of their contents. "The justice of the reasoning, and the soundness of the criticism," observes M. Von Hammer, "which prevail throughout these Prolegomena cannot fail to strike every reader;" and this observation is fully confirmed by the translation which M. de Montbret, jun., has given in a subsequent Number of two chapters, which form the seventh and eighth of the fourth book. In order to complete the analysis, M. Garcin de Tassy has added, from a MS. in the Royal Library, the heads of the chapters of the sixth book, which was wanting in the copy consulted by M. Von Hammer, and which treats of the different sciences, of the manner of learning them, and of the obstacles to their cultivation.

With respect to the 'Essay on the Commerce and Relations of the Arabs and Persians with Russia and Scandinavia, during the Middle Ages,' by M. Rasmussen, we feel reluctant to pass over in silence so interesting and so well-executed a dissertation. But we are precluded from giving any notice of its contents, by the circumstance that it is not original in its present situation, having been first published by its author in Danish, at Copenhagen, in 1814; then translated into Swedish, and republished at Stockholm in 1817; afterwards turned from Swedish into English, and inserted in several Numbers of Blackwood's Magazine for 1818 and 1819; and, lastly, transmitted into French, and transferred to the pages of the Journal Asiatique. It is obvious that it would be impossible to compress, within the space which we can fairly assign to these articles, more than the leading features of so extensive an inquiry; but we should certainly, on the present occasion, have run the risk of encroaching a little on other matters, had not its publication in a contemporary Journal in this country rendered it unnecessary for us to do more than refer the reader to that work, where he may pursue, in all its details, a most interesting investigation of a very intricate subject.

'The Arabs in Spain, extracted from the Oriental Historians,' by M. Grangeret de la Grange, affords a curious specimen of the peculiar style and manner with which a dry point of history is occasionally treated by our lively neighbours, who, fearful of wearying their readers by a tedious journey on the rough high-road of matter-of-fact, ever and anon turn aside into the pleasant fields of imagination, where they not unfrequently bewilder those who are simple enough to follow in their track. The narrative professes to be derived from Ibn-Alkanthyr, who wrote an account of the conquest of Spain by the Arabs, and from Almokry, whose work, which is for the most part a mere compilation, embraces the whole period of their dominion in that country. M. de la Grange commences with the well-known story of the Vision of Don Roderick; briefly relates the manner in which the Moors were first introduced into Andalusia, by the treachery of the Spanish Governor of Ceuta, in revenge for the outrage offered to his daughter by the Gothic King; translates from the Arab historian the supposed speech of the Saracen leader to his followers, previous to the great battle on the plain of Xeres, which, in the year of the Hejira 92, put them in undisputed possession of nearly the whole Peninsula; and notices the arrival, in the year 138, of Abd-er-Rahman, the

only surviving branch of the unfortunate house of Ommiah, who, flying from the vengeance of the Abbassides, found an asylum in Spain, which from that moment threw off the yoke of the East, and recognised no other caliph but that prince and his successors. He then suddenly breaks out in a rapturous burst of admiration of the golden age of Arab domination which followed, of which he draws a most brilliant and seductive picture. It was then that caliphs ruled who had no other views than the protection of science and of letters, and the promotion of useful institutions; while all their subjects, from the highest to the lowest, from the philosopher to the "farrier," (for "the veterinary art was held in honour,") thought only of the improvement of their several arts and sciences, for the good of mankind and the glory of the Prophet. Music and dancing, architecture and gardening, were especially cultivated and added to the attractions of a life spent in listening to the verses of the most delicious poets, (from whose enthusiasm our "historian" has evidently caught the transports which animate him,) and in gazing on the charms of the most brilliant galaxy of beauty, talent, and virtue, that ever did honour to the lovely sex. But, alas! these halcyon days of love and glory were destined to fade away. Amid all these delights, the Arabs were still discontented; their jealousies and dissensions emboldened the old Spaniards to make a strenuous effort for the recovery of the land of their forefathers: and Toledo once more opened its gates to its ancient masters. In the year of the Hejira 566, the Sultan Yousouf passed over from Morocco with a large army, determined to chastise the Christians, and to restrain them within their former limits, but he was speedily compelled to fly before the enemy whom he had despised. From this period, the decline of the Saracen empire in Spain may be dated. The Arab poets in vain endeavoured to rouse the princes and people of their race, by the remembrance of their former valour, and of the blissful seats which, one by one, were wrested from them, until they retained no inheritance in the land. Among those who depicted in the most moving, and, at the same time, in the most noble strains, the woes and deprivations of their countrymen, Abulbékâ, the son of Saleh, a native of Ronda, holds, in the opinion of our author, the foremost rank; and with one of his poems, which certainly contains many beautiful ideas and much real feeling, he closes his narrative.

M. Reinaud's 'Notice on the Life of Saladin,' forms an interesting addition to the History of the Crusades, and throws considerable light on the personal character of that great champion of Islamism, as well as on the events in which he was engaged. The sketch was drawn up for the *Biographie Universelle*, a most extensive and valuable compilation, which has already reached forty octavo volumes, terminating with the letters SAX, and which is peculiarly remarkable for the number of Oriental lives which it contains, communicated by M. de Sacy, M. Reinaud, and others, and constituting a novel feature in the arrangement of a work of general biography. Ayoub, the father of Saladin, was a soldier of fortune, who, in the service of one of the petty princes of Mesopotamia, had obtained the office of Governor of Tekrit, a place of little consequence on the banks of the Tigris; from which, however, he was compelled to fly, in consequence of a murder committed by his brother Schirconh, on the very day of Saladin's birth. He then entered into the service of Zengui, Prince of Moussul, and, after his death, into

that of the Prince of Damascus, who, being threatened by Noureddin, the son of Zengui, was weak enough to throw himself into the arms of the Franks. In consequence of this imprudent step, he was deserted by his Emirs, and, among the rest, by Ayoub, who, in recompense for his services in delivering up Damascus to Noureddin, was invested by that prince with its government. Soon after this, his brother Schircouh was made choice of by Noureddin to command an army destined for the invasion of Egypt, which was then involved in anarchy by the continual disputes between the Fatimite Caliphs, its nominal rulers, and the Emirs, who endeavoured to arrogate all power to themselves. Under the pretext of replacing a Vizier who had been degraded by the factious Emirs, Schircouh entered Egypt in the year of the Hejira 559; and this invasion was followed, three years afterwards, by a second, in which Saladin, who had previously yielded himself up to the most licentious course of life, and seemed to have no taste but for the pleasures of the senses, first gave proofs of that courage and conduct for which he afterwards became so renowned. In the year 564, Schircouh entered Egypt for the third time; but he did not now, as before, content himself with assisting the unfortunate Vizier against his enemies; on the contrary, having made himself master of Cairo, he ordered the Vizier's head to be struck off, and compelled the Caliph to install him in the vacant seat. A few months after this, Schircouh died; and Saladin succeeded his uncle, without opposition from the Caliph, who anticipated, from his youth and character, that he should be able to recover from him some portion of that power which former Viziers had wrested from his predecessors. But in this he soon found himself completely mistaken; Saladin well knew the difficult and delicate situation in which he was placed, having to guard, on the one hand, against the machinations of the disappointed Caliph, backed by the religious prejudices of the people, who looked upon him as a heretic for paying his homage to the rival Caliph of Bagdad,—and on the other, against the jealousy of Noureddin, on whom he was entirely dependent. From this moment, his conduct underwent a complete change: the license in which he had indulged gave place to the most austere discipline, and the follies of his youth were exchanged for the most cautious policy. To abolish the Egyptian Caliphate was the first step which he judged necessary, in order to secure himself in the possession of his power. The accomplishment of this great object required all the subtlety of which he was master; but it was at length effected by slow and gradual measures, without giving rise to the slightest tumult.

On the death of Noureddin, Syria became the next object of Saladin's cupidity, and a pretext for its invasion was found in the conduct of its Emirs, who had submitted to purchase a truce from the Christians. Against this impious league, Saladin inveighed in the most vehement terms; and having obtained from the Caliph of Bagdad a diploma, constituting him Sultan of Egypt and of Syria, he soon succeeded in rendering himself master of the greater part of the latter country. In the meanwhile, one of his brothers had subjugated, in his name, Nubia and Arabia Felix; and Saladin himself, soon after, extended his conquests to Iconium and a part of Armenia. The son of Noureddin dying without issue, he laid claim to the remaining possessions of that family, by virtue of the authority which he derived from the Caliph, which fixed no boundaries to the territories of which it constituted him Sultan, and speedily

possessed himself of their dominions. From this time, his arms were almost wholly turned against the Franks; his history consequently becomes involved in that of the Crusades, on the subject of which so many excellent publications have appeared, that it is needless to enter into any detail with respect to them. He died soon after concluding with Richard Cœur de Lion the peace which terminated the great Crusade, in the midst of extensive preparations which he was making for the invasion, at one and the same time, of Asia Minor, Armenia, and Aderbijan, leaving behind him seventeen sons and one daughter. Of his personal character, M. Reinaud makes a very fair and impartial estimate, which it would be difficult to abridge, and which we must therefore pass over.

The remaining topics connected with Arabia and the Arabs, will furnish materials for another article.

TO W. D., ON EARLY INSPIRATION.

The sons of business have appointed hours
In which to show their various merchandise;
And whether heaven is gay or dark with showers,
The shivering shop-boy meets the passer's eyes
Opening at six; at weary eve, likewise,
The clock's obeyed; but Fancy doth not so:
Sometimes, all careless of th' inviting skies,
She dreams upon her couch, 'till Fortune's blow
Bids her awake, the world and all it scenes to know.

Then doth she buckle her bright armour on,
And seize the magic circle of her shield,
Painted with dreams, and forms of actions gone,
And scattering doubtful light along the field:
Conscious where'er she steps the world must yield,
Her moody pranks are strange at first, and wild,
Till taught by falls and blows her arms to wield.
No longer like a merry heedless child,
She walks where patient Art his landmarks true has piled.

But whether she shall wake or late or soon,
Is left to Fortune, Nature hath not said;
Sometimes she walks in darkness, like the moon
When earth's dusk shadow o'er her face is spread;
But oftener still, like lamps among the dead,
Her light she lifts on high where none observe,
When, though the fiery radiance wide is shed,
The beauteous torch-bearer no end doth serve,
But gilds unheeding clay that leaves her lone to starve.

But genius sometimes lingers in the rear
Of youth, and walks, a man, upon the stage
With giant port, and footstep void of fear,
And breast close-armed against the shafts of rage;
And like a mighty wrestler does engage
With stern renown, and bear away the prize
To grace his honoured brows when feeble age
Has damped his energy, and shrunk his size,
And dimmed the rays of soul that sparkled from his eyes.

Bron.

STATE AND PROSPECTS OF GREECE.

PERSONS who have been taught, from their infancy, to feel a veneration for the soil of Greece, must sometimes be shocked to observe the tone of indifference in which many express themselves on the question of her liberation. Travellers, whom curiosity, or some other motive, induced to visit her shores, early in the present struggle, have given various pictures of her character and hopes: some swayed apparently by love, some by hatred, but a much greater number by a strong desire to display their own cleverness and wit, at any rate. From this cause, a number of little parties have sprung up in the West of Europe, humane, liberal, benevolent, or cold and calculating, just as they happen to have drawn their information from Chateaubriand, Colonel Stanhope, Mr. Blaquiere, or Mr. Waddington and Sir William Gell. Nothing else could have happened in the course of things. People cannot read every thing, and might not be much the better for it if they could; for as the last work would be sure to contradict the statements of the preceding, a confusion of ideas would ensue, instead of a well-weighed opinion, unless some particular interest should lead them to sift the testimony with a degree of patience not at all common.

Since this is the case, it appears useful to inquire what degree of confidence is due to the speculations of our Grecian travellers on the character and prospects of Hellas; for as to their relations of their own adventures in the country, we see no reason why they may not in general be believed.

An opinion prevails in society, that he who *has seen* a country, has qualified himself to speak of that country generally, its interests, prospects, policy, character, literature; an opinion most favourable, certainly, to travellers and wayfaring people. For ourselves, we entertain no such belief; and, applying our remarks especially to those persons who have favoured the public with accounts of Greece, we shall state the causes of our incredulity. They assume, as reasons why they ought to be attended to, that, as they speak from experience, no one who has not had greater experience, ought to pretend to see more clearly than they. This may at first appear a very reasonable assumption; it is, however, founded on a mere fallacy: a man who visits, or who resides in a country, is not *therefore* capable of forming a rational opinion on it. First, he may not possess capacity sufficient to penetrate through the husk of usages and manners, so as to obtain a clear sight of the character of the people. In fact, the power to do this is as rare as it is valuable; it implies an extraordinary exemption from prejudices of every kind; great physical sensibility under the perpetual check of judgment; curiosity, courage, acuteness, self-command, profound dissimulation. And where are all these united?

But allow that any given traveller possess all these qualifications, he may not have opportunities of exerting them effectually; his views may be impeded by shortness of stay in some places, by useless delays in others; he may have his judgment warped by the civility of one party, by the haughtiness or sullenness of another; by receiving information from persons interested in giving a wrong account of things, or incapable

of giving a right one; by meeting with a good dinner here, a bad one there; by a thousand accidents, of which he can give no account even to himself.

In case there have been many previous accounts, he may be tempted unconsciously to differ from his predecessors at any rate, that he may appear to evince superior sagacity, and display originality of conception. This spirit prevails much more extensively than can be easily imagined. We always suspect it to be at the bottom of those works whose authors display an anxiety to spare the reader trouble, or aim at his risible faculties, while they should be addressing his understanding. For this practice always arises from a secret consciousness of imperfection or inferiority; as professed wits and buffoons, who know they are tolerated in company only for the amusement they give, are much more anxious to raise a laugh than a man of genius, who feels himself at home every where, and ready to utter truth whenever he thinks it may be beneficial to his companions.

Besides, travellers sometimes mistake the ability to write a spirited, pleasant account of what they see, for the power of seeing correctly; that is, the tact of a rhetorician for the wisdom of a philosopher. The public makes the same mistake; and all this is very natural. In reality, however, it is one of the most shallow and pernicious of all errors; for, according to this way of thinking, any sophist who has been taught to dress his common-place thoughts in flowing, ornate periods, is thenceforward a philosopher, capable of penetrating to the core of society, of weighing nations in his balance, of calculating with accuracy the value of their hopes and prospects. Of all men living, your ordinary travellers are the most impudent and insufferable; but if, besides being travellers, they happen to be regular scholars and gentlemen, equipped with recommendations and introductions, every disagreeable quality acquires new edge. Having "made their legs their compasses," like the renowned Scriblerus, the least symptom of difference of opinion, on their particular division of the earth, is looked upon as a piece of unspeakable impertinence.

They 've seen, and, sure, they ought to know!

But supposing a traveller to possess both ability and opportunity to arrive at truth, he may want the courage, or even the desire, to publish it: we speak of travellers in Greece; for, perhaps, an honest account of things would injure his interests at home, by offending his political party. He may be, perhaps, a Tory, initiated in the secrets of the ministry, and instructed, by affecting calmness and impartiality, and a great reverence for truth, to stab the vitals of the Grecian cause the more effectually. We have with indignation observed an instance of this conduct in a late traveller in Greece: whenever he is about to utter any egregious calumny against the Greeks, he is sure to introduce it by lamenting the unpopularity of truth, and the strong tendency of men's minds towards romance; and by avowing, with a kind of Decian devotion, that he, for his part, is resolved to walk in the integrity of his way, let what will come of it!

In the above paragraphs, we have shown, it is presumed from reasoning, that very few travellers are *capable* of giving a true picture of such a country as Greece, torn as it is and agitated by conflicting passions and interests. An examination of the narratives of most of those who have

written on the subject, will strikingly illustrate our position; for a more discordant mass of evidence, more exaggeration, more contradiction, more falsehood, was never before piled upon one matter to hide the real state of things from the public. Who shall we confide in? Who shall we trust?—Those who have nothing to gain by disfiguring the face of things. But as even these disagree, as hardly any two of them coincide in painting the same men, or the same transactions, with the same colours, we are compelled to conclude that, from whatever cause, the greater number represent things improperly; and we are authorized in withholding from them all our unlimited confidence, and in believing only so much as can be clearly made out from their concurrent testimony.

It appears to be on all hands allowed, that the Greeks were suffering, under the Turks, a great weight of misery,—greater even than the hard condition of slavery necessarily imposes; from whence it follows that it was wantonly inflicted, and could produce no benefit to the Turks themselves; in spite of their subjection, the Greeks had, before the revolution, acquired a considerable portion of knowledge; this tended to make them more impatient of servitude, and more sensible of the pressure of calamity; therefore, though it should be allowed that, for the last twenty years of their thraldom, the Greeks had lived under "a mitigated despotism," it will not follow that their condition was really bettered, unless it can be shown that the amelioration of their state had outran their progress in knowledge; since misery must be contemplated as much in relation to the sense of suffering, as to the causes of pain. People, too, who believe that the events and catastrophes of this world are linked together by the will of providence, or by invincible necessity, argue absurdly when they contend that the Greek revolution was too premature, by at least a hundred years. According to their own theory, nothing could have been other than it is, and, therefore, the Greek revolution is all for the best, and in the best time, too.

Besides, it is no better than childish sophistry to parade, as Mr. Waddington[1] parades his Capo-d'Istrian theories about *what might have been*, in order to show that what is, is wrong. The Greek revolution has happened. What then? Shall we quarrel with the Greeks because they did not consent to be led by Capo d'Istrias, and go down all quietly to their graves, in the sure and certain hope that their great-grandchildren would do what they ought to have done? But, Mr. Waddington, you need not fly to the antipodes, to distinguish yourself from your celebrated namesake. You infuse a spice of St. Stephen politics into every thing you say, whether you enlarge upon the excesses of the Greeks, or indulge in general expressions on the atrocities of their enemies. And then your moderation, your impartiality, your horror of phil-hellenism, your preference of the crescent to the cross! The descendants of Osman, say you, are much more trustworthy than the descendants of Themistocles! This is Cambridge philosophy, transplanted to Albemarle-street; this is anti-phil-hellenic; this is aristocratical; this is scholar-like!

But let him be content to dine with all the consuls of all the European houses in the Levant. He deserves their hospitality. In the mean time we return to Greece.

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[1] Not the renowned little Radical of that name, but a very polished gentleman who has travelled in Greece.

Wherever any interest is felt in the Grecian cause, there are sure to be indulged all manner of speculations on the course of policy Greece ought to pursue. Nor can we blame these speculators. Their aims are praiseworthy, though their conduct be ever so wrong-headed. But the effect is mischievous in the extreme. For a man no sooner invents a theory of any thing, than, like Nebuchadnezzar, he would have all the world bow down and worship the golden image that he has set up, and whoever refuses to worship is cast, but too frequently, into the fiery furnace of his displeasure. On the present occasion this is the case, and the Greeks suffer. For this reason we will not add to the Babel of theories already afloat in the world, but observe simply, that the Greeks are the best judges of what they want, and that the way to serve them is to second, not to thwart, their views. It seems that a great portion of them at least are anxious to pass under the protection of Great Britain, and have deputed some of their fellow-countrymen to make a formal offer of the honour to the English Government. This is a desperate measure, which will, we fear, be as fruitless as it is desperate; for what can they expect from a Government that has forcibly prevented its subjects from exporting arms and ammunition to their country? This act is, to be sure, a recent one, and could not have been anticipated by the Greeks, who were guided in their expectations by our *protecting* the Ionian Islands. They must now, however, be undeceived, as must all those generous philanthropists who hoped by their eloquence to kindle a spirit of chivalry in the governments of Europe. Governments have no chivalry, no sympathy, no romantic ideas of justice, no classical enthusiasm. Originally instituted for the good of mankind, they have glanced from their object, and for many ages have thought of their own good only: the people of all monarchical countries are regarded purely as an instrument; and the only question really agitated in cabinets is, how that instrument may be given the edge and temper best fitted for carving out the happiness of the governors. The Greeks, therefore, and their friends, should cease to hope for the aid of any European power, unless it can be shown that the government which should give them assistance would thereby gain more solid advantages; that is, real pecuniary advantages, that might be pocketed by the members of it, than can accrue from adhering to the Musulman.

The friends of Greece in France, such as Chateaubriand, Benjamin Constant, and the societies of which they are the ornaments; these gentlemen, we say, appear to hope something from religious enthusiasm, for they dwell with animation on the Christianity of the Greeks. We are entirely ignorant of what these appeals to the pious fervour of mankind may effect in France, but we fear they would not value a straw on this side of the Channel. As far as our experience goes, we can solemnly affirm we have never known a single individual that sympathized with the Greeks because they were Christians, but because they were Greeks, the originators of liberty, and science, and art, and all that raises man above the beast of the field. We cannot tell whether this may be considered creditable to our countrymen or not, but we vouch for its truth, as far, as we said before, as our experience has been extended. It appears, therefore, that in selecting topics for kindling an enthusiasm for Greece, French and English writers will have to make a very different choice: the Cross will effect most in France, and the Parthenon in Eng-

land. Our love of Hellas is of an older date than that of the French; its battles, its muses, its freedom, are deeply engraven on our hearts; these are what awaken our sympathy. We have loved the ground from our cradles, because it was once trodden by Socrates and Sophocles. The very name of Athens is like a talisman, and calls up before our fancy a people of heroes and sages,—a people who basked in the sunshine of freedom, and reflected back to heaven its rays, rendered more sacred and beautiful from having fallen on a thousand forms of virtue and beauty. There is no doubt that this feeling exists also in France, but it is not the general feeling, at least not that which predominates generally. The difference may arise, however, much less from our classicality than from our Protestantism. There is more affinity between the Greek and Catholic churches, than between either of them and Protestantism; and it is therefore, perhaps, that the Englishman keeps the Christianity of the Greek considerably out of view, when he would hold him up as an object of compassion.

M. Chateaubriand does not, indeed, address himself entirely to the religious sympathy of his countrymen; he also inquires, whether the present age will suffer reviving civilization to be quenched in that country which civilized the world; and whether European legitimacy will allow its *sacred name* to be extended to a tyranny that would have forced a blush from Tiberius himself. Of course, the latter portion of the sentence must be ironical, as no one could know better than M. Chateaubriand, that European legitimacy includes wretches with whom the vices of Tiberius would have scorned to associate. But supposing it serious, he must take his answer from the state of things. European legitimacy (a phrase which is an insult to the human understanding) *does suffer* and allow these things. And why should it not? What has legitimacy to do with civilization, unless to repress it? Why should it refuse to embrace the Sultan, while it acknowledges the Austrian and the Spaniard? But we would forgive M. Chateaubriand for his hypocrisy, if it be hypocrisy, could it generate the slightest utility to Greece, for he is a statesman, and it is consequently a habit with him. There is, however, nothing to be gained by flattering legitimacy; it is a sordid miser, that never gave a penny but when it could gain two; never regarded human misery but when there was something to be wrung out of it. No; the way to serve Greece is to rouse the sympathies of the people, whose honest bosoms carry about in them an innate love of justice, a rude, but unquenchable spirit of chivalry,—a spirit never more joyfully exerted than when, unguided by the influence of government, it goes from its own impulse towards generosity and kindness.

The best proof of this, are the numerous societies, committees, associations, in favour of Greece, that have sprung up in various parts of Europe; all originating among the people; all uncountenanced, if not detested, by governments. It appears to follow, that, whatever may be the result, it is the duty of Greece to struggle on, unprotected by any government, and depending solely on her own energies. And, if that can be any consolation to her, she may be sure that every honest man in Europe is warmly her friend, disposed, in proportion to his means, to contribute to her freedom, expecting for his reward the pleasure of seeing the soil of Attica and Laconia trodden by men worthy to be called the descendants of Solon and Lycurgus.

THE ANCHOR'S WEIGHED—FAREWELL—REMEMBER ME!

THE ship's unmoor'd—fresh breezes fill
The sails to waft me, Love, away;
And, hark! the boatswain's whistle shrill
Pipes to the bustling crew, "Belay!"
But, oh! while mirth their laughing temples crown,
As in the sparkling bowl their cares they drown,
I pensive sit,—and sing in sighs to thee,
The anchor's weighed—Farewell—Remember me!

Though many a league of trackless tide
Between us, dearest, soon will roll,
Nor time, nor distance, can divide
Thy lovely image from my soul;
Yet, oh! believe the hour at last will come,
To waft me back to happiness and home;
Till then, let Fairy Hope our guardian be—
The anchor's weigh'd—Farewell—Remember me!

As years of absence steal along,
Thy praise shall be my dear employ,
While fondly hanging o'er thy song,
That oft has thrill'd my heart with joy;
And ever when thy tongue shall breathe this lay,
Oh! think that thus, though banish'd far away,
I often dream of home, and sing to thee—
The anchor's weigh'd—Farewell—Remember me!

SONNET TO AN ORPHAN, ON THE DEATH OF HER LOVER.

FAIR Child of Sorrow! what can charm thee now?
Though Friendship's voice oft cheers the mourner's breast,
It will not calm thy bosom's feverish glow,
Nor sooth the throb that may not be represt.
Oh! bid to Love and Joy a long farewell!
Thy darken'd path the fiends of care deform;
Nor yet against the stern decree rebel
That leaves thee lone and cheerless in the storm:
For still, though every earthly hope hath gone
With him who made thy sinless spirit glad,
And though no thrilling sympathy hath borne
A sacred balm to make thy heart less sad,
Yet He who gives the weary pilgrim rest,
Will crown thy love in regions of the blest!

D. L. R.

Camberwell, Sept. 15, 1825.

EXAMINATION OF THE OUDE PAPERS.

THAT a "great book is a great evil" we never felt so forcibly till we took up the huge volume which is to form the subject of the present article. To wade through a thousand and forty-one pages of official documents, made up of many trivial details, tedious altercations, and endless repetitions, is no easy task; to detect the truth amid the perplexity of so many conflicting statements, and present it within a narrow compass, as the pure ore separated from the dross, is still more difficult. The danger of being utterly bewildered among such a multitude of facts and circumstances, is, however, considerably lessened by the sifting scrutiny they have already undergone in the discussions between the different persons engaged in these transactions; and, as we have attentively perused both sides of the question, with no leaning that we are aware of in favour of either party, we trust that, by impartially following the impression left on our own minds, we shall be able to give our readers a just and adequate view of the contents of this volume.

Perhaps it may be useful to recall to recollection, in the first place, the circumstances that led to this voluminous production. In the course of the discussion last year, at the India House, regarding the Marquis of Hastings, to compel the Court of Directors to do justice to his character, the Court of Proprietors having called for all the documents and records relative to his administration, necessary to enable them to form an opinion as to its merits or demerits, and one important paper having been kept back by the Directors, namely, the Marquis's *Exposé* of the principal events of his administration, Sir John Doyle moved for its production. This proposition, after considerable opposition from the Directors, was carried, whereupon Mr. Edmonstone moved for copies of all documents which might serve to illustrate the state of India during the period to which Lord Hastings's statement referred. Lieutenant-Colonel Baillie, late Resident at Lucknow, removed by Lord Hastings, but now one of the directorial body, having been appealed to as to the manner in which his conduct was noticed in the Marquis's *Exposé*, rose to deny its correctness, and declared that, if it was agreed to be printed, he should feel it his duty to call for other papers. Accordingly, after Sir John Doyle's motion to that effect had been carried, Sir George Robinson moved for copies of the Minutes of Correspondence regarding the reform in the administration of Oude; the employment of British troops in the service of the Vizier from January 1808 till December 1815; and also copies of all papers relative to loans contracted with the Vizier, from October 1815 to May 1816. The paragraph in Lord Hastings's *Exposé*, which these were intended to meet, is the following:

"Soon after my arrival in India," (says his Lordship,) "some British officers came to me from the Nuwaub Vizier, Saadut Ali, sovereign of Oude, bringing to me a representation of the degrading thraldom in which, through gradual and probably unintended encroachments on his freedom, he was held, inconsistently with the spirit of the treaties between the two states. The system from which he prayed to be relieved appeared to me to be no less repugnant to policy than to equity." [We interrupt the quotation to explain that the system alluded to was the domineering

authority exercised over him by the Resident, Colonel Baillie.[1] "On my professing a disposition to correct so objectionable a course, those officers who had been long in the Nuwaub's service assured me that any persuasion of my having such an inclination would cause Saadut Ali to throw himself upon me with unbounded confidence, and to offer, from his immense hoard, the advance of any sum I could want for the enterprise against Nepaul. The gratitude with which such a supply would be felt was professed. While I was on my passage up the river, Saadut Ali unexpectedly died. I found, however, that what had been provisionally agitated with him, was perfectly understood by his successor; so that the latter came forward with a spontaneous offer of a crore of rupees, which I declined, as a peishcush or tribute on his accession to the sovereignty of Oude, but accepted as a loan for the Honourable Company."

In order to refute these ten lines, Colonel Baillie has laid before the world more than ten hundred pages. Among the rest is an anonymous paper, (p. 997,) transmitted to the Governor-General from Lucknow, by an indirect channel, filled with violent accusations against the Resident; so "scurrilous and calumnious," as well as unauthenticated, that Lord Hastings was rather inclined at first to spare Colonel Baillie the pain of reading it. From a desire, however, of ascertaining the truth of some facts stated in it, respecting the Lucknow administration, Lord Hastings had the paper handed to Colonel Baillie, unofficially, by Mr. Secretary Ricketts. These circumstances were, the nomination of a *child* as Aumil of the district of Lucknow; and that of the Minister, Agha Meer, since well known under the title of Moatumud-ood-Dowlah, being a man of low origin, and without education or capacity for public business. The anonymous statement being proved by the Resident's reply to be, in these most material points, not without foundation, it appears to have remained among the records, and a copy found its way, along with the other documents, to the Court of Directors. This body, of whom the Resident is now one, addressed a note to Lord Hastings, on the 30th of June last, requesting his consent to the suppression of that paper; but his Lordship replied, that as he was unacquainted with the nature and object of the papers which Colonel Baillie was now printing, and as they might render it necessary for him to cause application to be made to the House of Commons for a copy of Colonel Baillie's evidence, and submit the written testimonies of individuals contradicting it;—with such a contingency in view, his Lordship "could not take any step which might seem a degree of compromise." Hence, there being a general challenge to produce all and every thing, the volume is swelled to its present enormous magnitude.

On taking it up, the first thing that must strike the reader is, that the first half of the book can have no reference to Lord Hastings, as it relates to a period antecedent to his arrival in India. It is no doubt intended, however, to refute his opinion that the Vizier of Oude was kept in a state of thraldom by the Resident; in vindication of whose character from such a charge, and in testimony of his diplomatic merits, the Company is at the expense of printing these five hundred pages. To this we have

[1] This gentleman's military rank was then that of Major, and he is now Lieutenant-Colonel; but we shall employ the above designation for the sake of consistency and brevity.

no objection whatever, except that we apprehend the generality of readers, meeting at the outset with such a mass of details, will throw down the book in despair long before they reach the marrow of the subject. We would therefore recommend those who have not an abundant stock of patience, and a whole week to devote exclusively to the task, to begin at once at the 711th page. By reading from thence to the end, including the "Documents relating to the negotiation of the several loans contracted with the Vizier," and those relating to the removal of the Resident, they will attain an adequate knowledge of the matter at issue. Should a doubt then remain on their minds as to any point, reference may be made to the previous part for more particular information. As a clue to it generally, we may here observe, that its main purport is to show, that between 1808 and 1813, Colonel Baillie used every exertion with the Vizier to effect a reform in the administration of the government of Oude, that such a reform was urgently wanted, and that his earnest endeavours to promote it excited hostility against him, both in the mind of the Vizier and in that of part of his subjects. But to have a just view of the politics of the Court of Lucknow, it is necessary to trace them back to a still earlier period—that of the accession of the Nuwaub Sadut Alee.

Every reader of Indian history must recollect the memorable events that followed within a few years after the death of Asuf-ood-Dowlah, in 1797. Objections were made to the elevation of his eldest son, Mirza Alee, to the musnud, on the ground that he was illegitimate. As this was equally asserted of the rest of the late Nuwaub's children, Sadut Alee, the next brother of the deceased, conceived he had pretensions to the throne. The then Governor-General of India, (Lord Wellesley,) on a consideration of the case, decided in favour of the son, Mirza, or, as he is usually called, Vizier Alee. The grounds were, that his father, the late Nuwaub, had acknowledged and treated him as his son and successor, which, according to the Mohammedan law, constitutes a valid title; the acquiescence of the Begums, the wife and mother of Asuf-ood-Dowlah; the concurrence of the capital; and the danger, (says Mr. Mill,) of admitting doubts as to the filiation of princes. The young Nuwaub, however, was so unfortunate as to give offence to one of his female relatives, the elder Begum. Intrigues were immediately commenced by this lady and her party to supersede him by one of his uncles, to accomplish which, a large sum of money was offered to the Governor-General for his acquiescence. This bribe not taking effect, they represented the young Vizier as an enemy to the British; and a confidential eunuch of the late Nuwaub, called Tuhseen Alee, told a story that the Vizier Alee was not the son of the Nuwaub, but had been purchased of his mother for 500 rupees, after his birth. "Upon this story," (says Mr. Mill,) "told privately to the Governor-General by a man who complained of having been treated with injustice by the Nuwaub, and who might have been suborned by his enemies; told without confrontation with the public; without confrontation with the Nuwaub; without cross-examination; without counter evidence; without hearing any thing the party affected might have to adduce in his own behalf; without pushing the inquiry by examination of other persons to whom the secrets of the Zenanuh might be known, and corroborated only by what he had heard was the public opinion, [that is, common scandal!] did the Governor-General declare, that a man whom he had acknowledged as Nuwaub of Oude,

and who succeeded to the throne with the apparent concurrence of all ranks, (except the single voice of Sadut Alee,) was not the son of the late Vizier, and ought to be displaced from the throne. He decided against the unfortunate Nuwaub the great question of a kingdom, upon evidence upon which a court of English law would not have decided against him a question of a few pounds." More than this, the unhappy Prince, thus unscrupulously torn from the throne of his ancestors by Lord Wellesley, was driven to become a desperate outlaw, and languish the rest of his days in a dungeon; and the traitor Tuhseen Alee, as appears by these Papers, was, in reward for his perfidy, upheld and supported by the Representative of the British Government to domineer over the rest of the royal family till the day of his death. This happened in August 1813, when great condolence took place between Colonel Baillie and the Government at Calcutta, as if a great man had fallen in Israel. The elder Begum, whose tool he was, and through whose intrigues the revolution was effected, concurred with the new Nuwaub in rewarding his services with the office of Nazir (or Guardian) of the Khoord Muhl, or Princesses' residence. This situation he appears to have held till August 1812, when the Vizier was desirous of removing him. But this the Resident would not permit, and supported the Bhow Begum, with some of her party, in insisting on his continuance in office, however repugnant this was both to the Nuwaub and his female relatives. In evidence of this, we quote (p. 448) the following solemn league and covenant entered into by the ladies of the Khoord Muhl, when they heard that Tuhseen Alee was to be forced back upon them:

"By this sacred text we swear, (quoting a text of the Koran,) that while life remains in our body, be we killed, or be our heads severed from our necks, we never will be satisfied with Tuhseen, and we never will agree to his holding the office of Nazir. We will never betray, or be false to each other; never, never, in any way, will we consent to Tuhseen Alee's being Nazir. To this instrument, therefore, we set our seals. To whatever calamity may befall us we submit: never will we shrink from it. But to Tuhseen Alee's being Nazir, who is an oppressor and the *enemy of our house*, we will not assent. If we depart from this engagement, may we depart from God, and from the Prophet, and from the holy law."

Notwithstanding the utter repugnance here manifested to this eunuch, the Resident's party (the great female instrument of which was the Bow Begum) persisted in their intention of supporting the authority of Tuhseen, and proposed to actually starve the Princesses into submission. The Nuwaub, however, being opposed to this scheme, was accused of lending them secret support; and one of them, Doolhun Begum, appeals to him in the following impassioned terms; supposing that it was the Nuwaub, and not the Resident, who supported their oppressor:—

"It has been reported to me (says the Princess) that your Excellency, from motives of regard to the reputation of Tuhseen Alee Khan, and a desire to please him, does not intend to remove him from the office of Nazir. This is surprising! In all the world, the honour and reputation of father and mother, and one's own, are dearer than those of any other person: how then can it be, that the reputation of a male or female slave should be of more value with your Excellency than ours? Woe is me, of this life, if this be the fact! Accursed be such a state of existence! When I and

the other ladies of the Muhl shall have been forsaken by your Excellency, and been exposed to be insulted by a slave of the late Nuwaub Asuf-ood-Dowlah, we ought to be ashamed to live longer in the world. We know not what this vengeance from heaven is which has overtaken us! Till now we have considered that we lived on the bounty of your Excellency; but should the Nazir not be removed, we shall certainly consider it to be the bounty of Tuhseen Alee Khan; and we wish not to live on the bounty of a *perfidious slave*, who every moment uses reproachful language towards us, and will not allow an account of our situation or our letters to reach your Excellency."

And towards the conclusion it is added:—" It is probable that, from this cause, the measure of my days is now completed. On the day of judgment, I will make this base-born villain understand. In this world, as his loins are broken, so, in the next, shall his neck be broken with the weight of our blood. On the day of resurrection I will mount upon his neck, and cry out under the canopy of heaven, '*my blood is on the neck of Tuhseen!*'"

It is true, that some of the ladies of the Muhl had expressed an equal degree of satisfaction with that eunuch. The secret of it is, that they were instigated by different parties: some adhering to the interest of the Vizier, others to that of the Bhow Begum, or Lady Mother, whose authority was strongly supported by the Resident.

To recur again to the period of the revolution, by which the Bhow Begum, her creature Tuhseen Alee, and Lord Wellesley, placed the Nuwaub Sadut Alee on the throne of Oude, it does not appear that the latter was other than a passive instrument in the transaction; since the object of the conspirators against the reigning Prince was to raise Mirza Jungly, another uncle, to the musnud. Lord Wellesley, however, granted only half their prayer, and gave the rest to the winds; he dethroned Vizier Alee, and raised in his stead Sadut Alee, the elder brother of the late Nuwaub, and less likely to become a tool in the hands of the Bhow Begum or her partisans. He, of course, having greatness thus unexpectedly thrust upon him, agreed to accept it on whatever terms the Governor-General chose to dictate. The annual tribute to be paid to the Company was raised to seventy-six lacs of rupees; the Fort of Allahabad was made over to the English; the British forces quartered upon Oude were fixed to ten thousand men for the regular peace establishment, to be raised eventually to thirteen thousand. Hard as these terms were, they are but silken threads compared with the fetters soon after imposed upon the sovereign of Oude. Sadut Alee, who had found there was but one step between a dungeon and a throne, soon began to experience bitterly the cares which beset the head that wears a crown. Lord Wellesley first compelled him to disband all his own troops, except so many as might be required for the purposes of state and police, and to admit British troops to supply their place. A reluctant consent was, after much difficulty, extorted from the Nuwaub; and the plan (called by us a "military reform"!) carried into effect. Such a military reform as if the Emperor of Russia were to place a hundred thousand men in cantonments in the vicinity of London, and command them to be paid from the British Exchequer! This humiliation, to which the helpless Nuwaub could only yield submission, did not long satisfy Lord Wellesley, whose object was to gain entire dominion of the province of Oude.

His next demand upon the Nuwaub was, that he should yield up more than the half of his territory to pay the troops, pretending (although there had been hitherto no arrear,) that their pay could never be quite certain until we had the land from which it sprung entirely in our own hands. To this, also, the Vizier was compelled to submit on pain of being driven from his kingdom at the point of the bayonet, or ending his days in a dungeon; and out of the territories so ceded, together with the principality of Furruckabad, wrested from its lawful Prince in the same unjustifiable manner, Lord Wellesley made a comfortable Lieutenant-Governorship for his brother. This was the happy result of his reforms.

The result, as regards Oude, was, that the Vizier was despoiled of the best part of his dominions, and the remainder left completely in the hands of the Company; since he was destitute of any military strength of his own, and compelled to sign a treaty, (the first document is dated Nov. 1801) which obliged him, if interpreted strictly to the letter, to be a mere tool in the hands of the British Resident. The words of the fourth article are:—

"The Honourable East India Company hereby guarantee to his Excellency the Vizier, and to his heirs and successors, the possession of the territories which shall remain to his Excellency after the territorial cession; TOGETHER WITH the exercise of his and *their* authority within the said dominions. His Excellency engages that he will establish, in his reserved dominions, such a system of administration (to be carried into effect by his own officers) as shall be conducive to the welfare of his subjects, and be calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants; and his Excellency will ALWAYS ADVISE WITH, and ACT IN CONFORMITY TO, the counsel of the officers of the said Honourable East India Company."

In a subjoined memorandum, where Lord Wellesley explains this part of the treaty, it is expressly said, that this condition of *always* "acting in conformity" to the counsels of the British Government (which, in practice, is, neither more nor less, than constant and implicit obedience to its dictation) was to apply not only to extraordinary emergencies, or affairs of great importance, but to "*all* affairs connected with the *ordinary* government of these dominions, and with the *usual exercise* of his Excellency's established authority."

Nothing more need be said to show that Lord Wellesley meant, by this treaty, to annihilate entirely the authority of the Nuwaub, and render him a mere puppet in the hands of the British Resident. As to the reform proposed, professedly for "the welfare of his subjects," let those who reflect on the situation of a military officer, the delegated depositary of despotic powers, several hundred miles from his superiors, and they having no regular information of his proceedings, but such as he himself chooses to give, while his conduct is, moreover, sheltered by the screen of a nominal Native Prince, who is the ostensible organ of Government, judge how far such an arrangement is calculated to insure the welfare of the people. When Lord Wellesley, however, had been recalled from the theatre of despotic sway, his successors were inclined to give the treaty a milder interpretation. In fact, the obligations it imposed on the Nuwaub ought to be considered invalid, as in equity they are, being clearly extorted by force and fear. Little as our Indian rulers are accustomed to be restrained by principle, their comparative forbearance to the Nu-

waub since that period, proves that they felt reluctant to pursue to its full extent the path of usurpation chalked out by Lord Wellesley. The instrument of his measures, Col. Scott, was, in 1807, succeeded by Major (now Lieut.-Col.) Baillie, as Resident at Lucknow; and the Papers before us furnish a full detail of the affairs of Oude, nearly from that period till the year 1815, when Col. Baillie was recalled from that station by Lord Hastings.

The object of the first part of this collection of documents is, to show that the Nuwaub's territories were in a state of great disorder; that there was very frequently occasion for calling in the military to suppress his refractory zumeendars, who refused or delayed their revenue instalments; that there was consequently the most urgent necessity for insisting on the Vizier to carry into effect the reforms contemplated in Lord Wellesley's treaty. That such a turbulent and refractory disposition did exist in Oude, is very evident; and it appears to us to have arisen chiefly from three causes: First, the unpopularity of the Nuwaub with a great part of the population, who looked upon him as a usurper set up by the British Government, which had dethroned the lawful sovereign Vizier Alee. That this feeling did exist to a very considerable extent, is proved by a letter of the Marquis of Wellesley himself, (the great revolutioniser and reformer of Oude,) quoted in Mill's History (vol vi. p. 165). It is dated in January 1801, and says, "Active and general support has been afforded by the subjects of his Excellency to the impostor who lately assumed the name of Vizier Alee." Even a pretender, by the magic of that revered name, drew after him the affections of the great body of the people; and it is added by the historian, that even of the troops of the Vizier, which were required to assist in reducing the disturber, a part in reality joined his standard. Secondly, the reins of authority were weakened by the Vizier having been despoiled of half his dominions, and compelled to disband his military force, so that he could not but appear contemptible in the eyes of his own subjects. Those who were disaffected to his person, from viewing him as a usurper, would think they might now despise his authority with impunity. It would take some time to convince them that the British troops stationed in the country would be employed in avenging the Nuwaub's quarrels, or in enforcing the payment of his revenues. Besides, we suspect that our troops were at first generally collected in large bodies, and neither so well disposed nor well adapted for the revenue service as to overawe the remote districts, and secure regularity in the collections. Thirdly, after the Nuwaub had been stripped by the Company of nearly two-thirds of the revenues of his whole dominions,[2] it was necessary for him to be much more rigid in collecting the small residue they had left him. But they, at the same time, almost totally annihilated his authority; yet they reproach him with the disobedience of his subjects! They had robbed him of nearly two-thirds of his hereditary dominions; yet *they* accuse *him* of avarice! The history of India testifies that no Prince of Oude had ever performed his engagements with such punctual exactness as Sadut Alee; yet he is accused of deceit, perfidy, and every thing that is infamous! By whom accused?—By the servants of the Honourable Company, which was itself the great violator of treaties, as well as of every principle of justice towards this

[2] Mill, Vol. VI. p. 201.

very Prince, who is first overwhelmed with the grossest oppression, and then, though innocent, compelled to submit to be taunted by his oppressors, as guilty of the very crimes they had committed against him! That the reader may the more readily form a conception of their mode of operation, in this refinement of cruelty and impudence, we shall introduce here Lord Hastings's explanation of the politics of Lucknow :—

"There have always been two parties at the Court of Oude: one consisting of those who look forward to rise to power by means of the British Resident; the other courting the personal favour of the Prince. Each in its turn has been strongest, as the Vizier himself retained the power, or the Minister has engrossed it through the exertion of the influence of our Government. During the lifetime of the late Vizier, (Sadut Alee,) as his favour was the predominant influence, it was only the malcontents who had lost, or who despaired of ever obtaining, the favour of their Prince, together with a few immediate Moonshees and their dependants, that formed the Court of the British Resident. These, when disappointed in the objects of their ambition, represented the persons enjoying the advantages of the Prince's favour as hostile to the British interests, and themselves as martyrs to their espousal of our cause. Major Baillie would seem to have lent too ready an ear to the whisperings of such courtiers."

With this clue to guide us, it is easy to comprehend the Resident's line of operations as leader of the opposition. To encourage his adherents, it was necessary to secure, for as many of them as possible, places and pensions, which some of them enjoyed under the guarantee of the British Government, and to advocate such changes in the administration of affairs as would displace those now in office, or raise into power some hangers-on of the Residency. The expectants themselves would continually represent to him, in the strongest colours, the misery of the country under the present system; the happy results that would flow from a *radical reform;* and it is not being too uncharitable to suppose that these malcontents at the capital would, by their emissaries throughout the country, encourage the rajahs and zumeendars to withhold their revenue from the Nuwaub's aumils, or collectors, by instilling into them the belief that their friend the Resident, who had the entire direction of the British military force, would not assist the feeble Nuwaub in reducing the refractory to submission. Besides, when, at the Vizier's urgent solicitation, the British troops were directed to support the authority of his aumils, the Resident empowered the officers commanding to receive complaints against the aumils, and arbitrate the disputes between them and the rebellious zumeendars, before they proceeded to punish the latter. When they should think the demands of an aumil unjust, they were to refuse him their assistance, and report the matter to the Resident. By this extraordinary arrangement, it is evident, the military officers became judges, and the Resident erected himself into a high court of appeal; an indirect mode of usurping the civil as well as the military government of the country, which had been seized upon in the time of Lord Wellesley. For satisfaction on this point, the reader may consult pages 75, 77, 79, 82, 90.

Another mode which was devised of gradually usurping the civil authority, is first broached at page 19, in a letter of instructions from the Supreme Government to the Resident. But before mentioning this, it

is necessary to trace the thing to its source. When the British Government had stripped the Vizier of half his dominions, compelled him to disband his military force, and, in lieu thereof, engaged by the third article of the treaty of 1801, "to defend the territories which should remain to his Excellency against all foreign and *domestic* enemies;" the party which extorted this treaty, and dictated exactly its own terms, must be considered, on every principle of justice, to have chosen all the consequences which necessarily flowed from it. The Company has no right to turn round on the other party afterwards, and say, "This treaty binds us to punish those who may have *good cause* for being your enemies, which is contrary to the principle of justice." The Nuwaub may reply, "It was your own choice verily, not mine; you volunteered to become this instrument of oppression, as you now profess to think it; and you have paid yourself beforehand, by wresting from me the best half of my country! If your conscience has now become so much more tender that you wish to annul or evade the conditions of the treaty, then place me in the same situation in which I was before you extorted it from me. Remove your troops, restore to me my dominions, and allow me to embody an adequate force for their protection and government."

But the Company does not reason after this manner: its principle is to retain all the advantages of the treaty, and make any unpleasant consequences resulting from it only a ground for demanding fresh concessions. Thus the substitution by force of Company's troops for the Vizier's own, caused a large drain upon his exchequer for their pay; this, then, was a *good* ground for demanding a tract of country in "perpetual sovereignty," whose revenues should be equivalent to their pay! It is stipulated by this treaty, that our troops shall preserve subordination among the Vizier's rebellious subjects. This furnishes a *good* ground for demanding to become the arbitrators and judges between him and his subjects; for we, in our sovereign regard to humanity and justice, cannot support him or his officers against his subjects, until we have tried every course, and are satisfied that the Nuwaub himself is not in the wrong! We must, therefore, appoint agents of our own to supervise the conduct of his officers. Accordingly, in April 1808, the Bengal Government directs its Envoy at Lucknow to represent to his excellency the Vizier:

"The impropriety of employing the British troops in arduous military operations, without previously ascertaining the justice of the cause in which they are to be engaged, and the importance of avoiding, if possible, the necessity of undertaking them, by endeavouring to effect an adjustment of the disputes which have occasioned the late applications for the service of the British troops. At the same time, it will be highly expedient that *you* should satisfy *yourself* of the efficiency and impartiality of the means which his Excellency may adopt for the purposes above described; and with this view, it *might* be advisable that a proper person should be despatched, on the part of the Vizier, in the capacity of an ameen, to investigate the circumstances stated; (by Lieutenant-Colonel Gregory;) and that he should be accompanied by *a person on your part*, to be joined in the commission. This measure, however, is *merely suggested* for your consideration, leaving it to your discretion, regulated by local circumstances, to propose it to his Excellency."

This was a hint by no means thrown away upon the Resident. When it reached the ears of the opposition party at Lucknow, such a glorious

inlet to patronage must have almost caused an illumination. Shortly after, (18th July 1808,) Colonel Baillie announced to the Vizier, that he was actually preparing to carry the plan into effect, and dexterously tried to gain his Excellency's assent, by persuading him that the scheme originated with the Vizier himself! Having prefaced the proposal with a remark, that the intelligence received from certain districts was not sufficient to warrant any extraordinary measures for their settlement, the Resident goes on to say (p. 79): "This obvious want of information has induced me, *in pursuance* of YOUR EXCELLENCY'S *late suggestion, to* look out for some respectable person, *in the character of an ameen, upon my part,* to accompany another whom your Excellency may be pleased to depute, for the purpose of ascertaining the real condition of those districts, &c." To this insidious proposal, an assent to which would have been almost equivalent to an abdication of the Musnud in favour of the Resident, the Vizier replied (p. 80): "I must again refer you to my letter of the 7th, in which I remarked, that it seems proper that some respectable person, with suitable assistants, be appointed by me; and that another on your part, with the like assistants, be also deputed to ascertain the condition and strength of the several fortresses, &c. &c. My meaning in these words is *no more* than that a person be sent to ascertain the points which I have stated; not, surely, *in the character of an ameen,* which I by no means approve, because I have ameens already in those districts." *Quite correct;* but it would have been very pleasant to the Resident and his party to have their ameens there too. In the changes afterwards proposed by the Resident in the administration of government, including the subdivision of the country into small districts, the appointment of ameens in each was extended to a general measure, and the Resident fought a stout battle for his share of the patronage, as shown at pages 157 and 162; where he threatens the poor Vizier, that, in case of non-compliance, so far from his authority being any longer supported by the British forces, his revenue would be entirely abandoned to its fate! This threat uttered, Colonel Baillie tells us, "in the most solemn manner," though it "visibly affected" the affrighted Vizier, did not produce immediate submission; and he was ultimately saved this time from annihilation by the Resident's superiors, who did not suffer him to carry this scheme into effect. (See pages 235-45.)

That the entire annihilation of the Nuwaub's authority would have been the consequence of either horn of the dilemma on which Colonel Baillie here placed him, must be evident from the least consideration of his circumstances. The Company had seized the entire military government of the country; if they, then, withheld from him their aid in preserving subordination among his subjects, his revenues would be no longer paid, and his authority must immediately fall to the ground. If, on the other hand, he consented to give up to the Resident the nomination of his officers, what power or authority was left? Take from him the right of appointing, removing, rewarding, and punishing the persons employed in the *civil administration* of the country, then the Nuwaub Vizier was no longer any thing but a shadow. It is true, the Resident asked, for the present, only a share in the patronage; but then it was in the selection of ameens, officers of the highest rank, who would really carry with them the whole civil power of the state. And if he once acquired a direct influence over them, being, at the same time, backed by the au-

thority of the Supreme Government of India, and having the military force of Oude at his back, every aspirant after power would look to him as the sure fountain of honour, and the Nuwaub would very soon become a mere cipher. The superior chances of those who should gain the favour of the Resident, then the only substantive authority, would leave the Nuwaub almost without a single courtier to grace his "durbar."

While this revolution (for such we may truly call it) was in train, it is easy to see its tendency to produce a refractory spirit among the Nuwaub's subjects; as such a spirit manifesting itself being the most powerful argument that could be urged by the Opposition for the contemplated reform. We are far from wishing to insinuate that the Resident himself had recourse to any underhand means; we pointedly disclaim any such imputation. It was not at all necessary, since his party saw clearly the game that was playing, and knew how to act their parts without being prompted. They might hold out hopes to the zumeendars, that, if they withheld their revenues, the Resident would be averse to the employment of the British troops in coercing them; and that the Nuwaub would, consequently, be compelled to consent to a *more* moderate assessment. That such notions prevailed, is indicated by the fact, that the refractory zumeendars generally held out until a force actually presented itself before their fortresses; and then, seeing that it was determined in good earnest to subdue them, they usually offered no resistance, but opened their gates, and yielded up their guns. The greatest bloodshed occurred in an affair conducted by Major O'Donnel, detailed by himself at page 24: "Having constantly observed," says he, "that these refractory zumeendars, although without prospect of effectual resistance, generally wait in their forts until the assault is about to take place, and then, under cover of the night, make their escape with impunity, I set out with the intention of making a prompt and serious example, as likely to be not only most effectual, but also to tend to the security of the detachment in the end." For these reasons he surrounded the fortress, and stormed it immediately, so as to leave no time or opportunity to escape, and put the whole garrison to the sword, to the number of eighty men. Immediately on the storming party having arrived at the breach, "an attempt was made," he says, "by a part of the garrison to escape towards the jungle, about half a mile distant; but the cavalry closing up at the moment, cut off completely the escape of those who ventured on the plain; and *I have the pleasure to acquaint you*, that the result was fully equal to my wishes. By all I can learn, very few escaped; and about eighty were killed in the ghurry, or on the surrounding plain." The Government did not cordially join with Major O'Donnel in this measure; however, according to his account, this sanguinary execution had the immediate effect of bringing the refractory in the surrounding country to submission; a strong indication that their contumacy was occasioned by the hope of impunity, arising from a belief that the British would not, and that the Nuwaub was too weak, to subdue them.

By some severe examples, and by razing almost all the fortresses throughout the disturbed districts, as well as compelling the zumeendars to surrender the greater part of their artillery, order was at last in a great measure restored. The Resident, however, did not cease to urge a "reform" in the administration, on the ground that the same evils were continually liable to recur; and that they were chiefly, if not entirely,

owing to a vicious mode of collecting the revenue. The idea of reform, (for we, too, are reformers as well as Col. Baillie,) is so agreeable to us, that we could not help, on the first view of the subject, cordially wishing that he might carry his point without any delay. While reading his many urgent representations to the Nuwaub to consent to the "reform," we felt indignant at the latter for the excuses and obstacles he opposed to it. With the same feelings, probably, many others will enter upon the subject. But it is necessary to inquire carefully what is this "reform"? Is it actually *improvement* to the country, or merely innovation—a change of power and office from one set of people to another? The main features of the plan proposed to the Nuwaub were, that his country should be divided into districts; that the assessment of each should be regulated by the real assets, and fixed for a term of years, (*three* being thought best for the first trial;) that the districts should be intrusted to officers of undoubted character and qualifications; that they should be rewarded by a fixed salary, and, besides, be allowed to derive a profit from the increased productiveness of their districts; that the renters, ryots, &c. should have written engagements, with a right of appeal to the Government in case of any oppression. To this the Nuwaub replied (p. 165,)—How are the real state and resources of the country to be ascertained? How can I find out the exact produce of every estate and every field? And lastly, where can I find officers of undoubted character and qualifications; or, supposing them to appear so when appointed, what security is there that their conduct may not change? To the last objection, at least, the Resident had a ready reply: he would undertake to find the officers himself! But this was, in fact, the Nuwaub's fundamental objection to the whole scheme. To silence his doubts as to the practicability of it, one great argument was used,—that the plan proposed to him had been introduced into the adjacent territories, which had been ceded to the Company, and had there succeeded in producing a large increase of revenue. The Nuwaub ventured to hint in reply, that this was a sign of their having been very moderately assessed at the time they were taken from him! He might have added, (had he dared,) that the zumeendars, who, under his government, had been a sort of independent princes, only paying a moderate annual tribute in acknowledgment of his sovereignty, had been, by the Company, driven into exile, or reduced to the level of its other Native subjects; their families, who formerly enjoyed princely dignity and splendour, crushed down to the dust, and the income that had supported them absorbed by the Company's land-tax! The increase of revenue, so realized, is appealed to as the test of the prosperity of the country! "Ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant." In 1803, the Governor-General congratulated the Company on the "tranquillity" that generally prevailed in these districts, and the "facility" with which the revenue was realized; a happy picture, indeed, of a country whose rajahs and zumeendars, or, to use equivalent phrases, the nobility and gentry, had been put down by the point of the bayonet; and the people, as proved before the House of Commons, were, from the first, dissatisfied with our system of government, and detested it the more the better they became acquainted with it.* This is the system to which Col. Baillie was anxious to assimilate the government of Oude!

* Vide Mill, Vol. VI. p. 245.

It cannot surely be matter of surprise, that the Nuwaub entertained some degree of repugnance to such a "reform." Indeed, the very word "reform," when uttered by the servants of the Company, must, we think, have conveyed to his mind something pregnant with the utmost alarm. The first reform Sadut Alee ever knew, was, when Lord Wellesley compelled him to disband his army, and saddled him with a body of Company's troops in its stead, which he was forced to pay. This, the Company's servants told him, was a "military reform"! Next, he was forced to yield up more than half his dominions to pay these troops. This was a "financial reform"! Lastly, came Col. Baillie, who insisted that he should assimilate his revenue system to that established in the Company's territories, give the Resident a voice in the nomination of his officers, and submit to his decision their revenue accounts. What could the Nuwaub think but that this was a "*radical* reform," intended to annihilate entirely his remaining shred of authority? Against this last fatal reformation, which was to have given him the *coup de grace*, the Nuwaub struggled manfully, although evidently in the very agonies of dissolution. Our space will not allow us to enter fully into the details of the hopeless conflict; but a few particulars will show how completely his back was at the wall; how closely the Resident had hemmed him in on all sides. In the proclamations, *framed by the Resident*, which were to announce the introduction of the new system, Col. Baillie determined to have it expressly stated, that the new regime was established "with the advice and concurrence of the British Government," (*vide* pp. 199, 202, &c.) thus openly and directly associating the Company with the Nuwaub in the functions of legislation. To this the Nuwaub would, by no means, consent, declaring (p. 213) what is but too obvious: "If these words be admitted, (into the proclamations,) my subjects will immediately infer that the remaining part of my dominions, like the ceded territory, has been transferred to the Honourable Company, and that nothing remains to me but a name!" We see no opinion expressed *officially* by the Supreme Government on this subject, but cannot help thinking that there must have been some secret instructions, or private understanding, that their representative should make these direct attempts at assuming the reins of power. He severely rebukes the poor Nuwaub for venturing to omit these ten words in his own proclamation; telling him (p. 199) that "their rejection is injudicious and unbecoming; more especially as your Excellency must be aware that I have already, in the discharge of my duty, submitted to the Governor-General in Council a translation of the documents in question; and in case of their approval by our Government, or, indeed, in any event, the rejection of such a clause as this by your Excellency must appear to be indelicate in the extreme"! Highly presumptuous, indeed, in the sovereign of Oude to draw his pen through a line of a proclamation he disapproved of, when it was drafted for him by Colonel Baillie!

Another expedient of Colonel Baillie's for setting aside the Nuwaub's authority, was in regard to the capturing of "marauders" on the frontier between the Company's territories and those of the Vizier. These "marauders," as they are called, are the nobility and gentry of the ceded territory, who soon after this had been seized from the Nuwaub, (as may be seen by Mill's History,) were drawn from their homes by the humane and Honourable Company's bayonets. Some fled within

the Mahratta frontier; others were desirous of taking refuge in the reserved territory of their natural sovereign, the Vizier, where they might also have estates, or where they hoped to find a temporary shelter in the fortresses or jungles on the estates of their kindred. From these hiding-places and fastnesses they occasionally returned to head and stir up their former dependants in the ceded (or rather *seized*) territory, to take vengeance on their oppressors. For the purpose of exterminating these "leaders of banditti," as he calls them, Colonel Baillie proposed to make the Company's troops pursue them into any corner of the Vizier's dominions, with entire contempt of his authority, and in the same manner as if his reserved territory were also the Company's own. Should the Vizier prove disposed to compassionate the situation of these unhappy fugitives and exiles, rather than assist in hunting them down, Colonel Baillie proposes, (pp. 300, 301,) to proceed summarily against them, "without any reference to the Vizier, or the local authority of his aumils." Here also the views of the Resident were balked by the disapproval of his principals (pp. 302, 303.) They resolved that the Nuwaub's consent should be asked, and, if possible, obtained, before such measures were undertaken. As had been anticipated, he evinced great reluctance to the indiscriminate surrender of these people to destruction; an indication that he did not regard them all in the light of common "robbers," "murderers," and "banditti," as Colonel Baillie would persuade us; since the Nuwaub could have had no rational motive for incurring the displeasure of the British Government by protecting such miscreants. He contended, at first, that the names and haunts of the offenders should first be reported to him, through his aumils, and that then, his formal consent being obtained, the British troops should be authorized to apprehend them. But this arrangement was rejected, on the ground that the aumils were believed to favour the escape of the fugitives, and the British Government therefore determined that the intended movements of the troops should not be communicated to them. The Resident therefore demanded the Nuwaub's consent to this: that whenever the British military officers on the frontier should ascertain where any fugitive had taken refuge in his territory, they might proceed to apprehend him without asking any specific permission. The Nuwaub represented, in objection to this, that (p. 315)—

"As it was formerly made generally known[4] that the British troops would not be employed against the public debtors, or refractory subjects of this state, and consequently many zumeendars in balance to Government withhold the revenue and resist my authority; the employment of the British troops stationed in my country, as now proposed, for apprehending insurgents, under direction of the judges of the frontier districts of the British territories, and at the discretion of the British officers, will create a general belief among the people that I possess no power or authority even in the execution of such measures as this, and that I have transferred the whole of my authority to the English gentlemen. This belief will tend to multiply disorders and disturbance; and a system of resistance and withholding the revenues will be pursued, to the total disregard of the authority of my aumils. It is a matter of surprise that the British troops, which, according to treaty, are stationed in my

[4] By the Resident's menace to that effect, before noticed.

country for the sole purpose of preserving the tranquillity of my dominions, should not be employed for those purposes, but be appointed to seize robbers, murderers, and banditti, who infest the British territory alone; and that all the measures now proposed should have for their object merely the seizure and extirpation of offenders against *that* Government, while no measure is proposed for apprehending and punishing those against *mine*. I beg you to consider, that while the employment of your troops for the settlement of my country, and the punishment of insurgents, defaulters, and public debtors, is suspended; and when even the seizure of criminals against my Government, who find refuge in your territory, is delayed; if such measures which you propose be adopted for the seizure of offenders against the British Government, what answer can I make to such a proposal? I am surprised, indeed, beyond measure, by this proposal. Friendship and amity demand, that the same means which are employed against delinquents in the British territory, be also recurred to in mine."

Such reciprocity did not accord at all with the Company's notions of justice. But this was replied to by a letter from the Resident, making abundant professions of every readiness on his part to afford the aid of the British troops in subduing and punishing the Nuwaub's refractory subjects, either in his own or the Company's territories. A letter was also despatched from the Supreme Government, denying that a contrary intention ever existed, although, as before noticed, the Resident had expressly declared it, and even been reproved for it. This is undeniable; and there can be no doubt that his partisans, if it came to their ears, would take care to make such an intention generally known, as the Nuwaub intimates it was, throughout the country. The Government, however, treats the bare surmise of such an idea by the Vizier with great indignation, saying, (p. 308)—

"It is matter of just offence to the British Government, that the Vizier has withheld his consent on the plea, or rather the *unfounded imputation*, of a declared design on our part to refuse the aid of our troops in the execution of the services prescribed by the stipulations of existing engagements, and of our declining to employ a military force for the coercion of debtors and defaulters, which forms no part of the obligation imposed on the British Government by these engagements."

Those who penned this assertion, little thought that its refutation by their own authentic documents would one day be published in the same volume. The spirit of the treaty was, that the British troops should supply the want of the Nuwaub's own army, which the Company wrested from him. Let common sense judge, then, whether the realization of the public revenues was not one of its principal objects? It was now resolved, that if the Nuwaub did not give his consent for the British troops to have free ingress into his territories in pursuit of offenders, without any reference to his authority, in the same manner as if they were the Company's own, the measure should be taken in defiance of his wishes. When he found that this was Lord Minto's final resolution, he declared that "he was helpless;" that is, must submit to necessity. Again, says the Resident, addressing his Lordship (p. 390): "He commenced another pitiful complaint, and deplored, in a manner unmanly and unbecoming, with tears in his eyes, the unhappy situation in which he was placed; unwilling, as he was unable, to contend with your Lordship on any

point, and yet incapable of reconciling to his feelings the arrangement which your Lordship had proposed." And afterwards, at the same conference, the Resident continues: "He begged me to decide for him, as a friend, what was proper to be done on this occasion. He wanted nothing but information of the measures proposed, before they should be carried into execution; even the names of the offenders to be seized, and the places of their supposed concealment, would suffice, and he would pledge himself never to make them known under any circumstances whatever." It was accordingly conceded, that the Resident should obtain from the magistrates, and present to his Excellency, general lists of the names of the fugitives, in the several districts, whose apprehension was to be required before the movement of the troops for that purpose should take place. It is worthy of remark, that the same Government which demanded this as a right of a Prince who happened to be at its mercy, was ready to go to war with the Burmese Emperor for requiring the same justice; and that it positively refused to surrender the rebels and traitors against his authority, who took refuge in Chittagong; but, on the contrary, afforded the notorious Kingberring, and his gangs of freebooters, shelter and protection for many years.

Another encroachment on the Nuwaub's authority is recorded by the Resident at page 338, where he tells the Vizier, with regard to one of his protégées, Hyder Buksh: "I have no hesitation in admitting, that I frankly declared to your Excellency my resolution of employing a servant of my own own," [according to other accounts, an escort of sepoys,] "to pass him (Hyder) beyond the gates of the city, if your Excellency should persist in refusing to permit him to depart to his home in the Honourable Company's territories, or to show some good cause for his detention." In this, again, the Resident's superiors told him to pull in his horns; that they did not consider Hyder Buksh as one of their subjects; and if he had been so, that the menace used by Colonel Baillie to the Vizier was unwarrantable (pp. 347, 348, 349).

These negotiations were carried on partly by letters, partly by conferences, between the Resident and the Vizier. In the written controversy, the Vizier has usually the best of the argument; but in the verbal part of it, where his opponent is his own reporter, (like the Bombay barristers, in their altercations with the judges,) the Resident excels in logic and eloquence! Our reliance on the accuracy of these pictures, is, we confess, considerably shaken by the consideration of who was the painter. It is easy for the man to represent his opponent as a tiger, and that tiger as beaten. Had the Nuwaub held the pen or pencil, the case would have assumed an appearance considerably different. But even taking Colonel Baillie's own view of the matter, it is clear that his conduct to the Nuwaub was overbearing in the extreme. Besides addressing to him letters of the most reproachful tenor, he was continually giving him lectures enough to exhaust the patience of Job; purporting, that his system of government was grossly oppressive, his treatment of his subjects cruel and unjust; the reasons he assigned for delaying reform, false and frivolous pretexts; his conduct, on the whole, faithless and ungrateful to the British Government, and in violation of the treaty between the two states. At last, in January 1813, the patience of Sadut Alee was completely exhausted; and he addressed a letter to Lord Minto, (p. 331,) declaring that the indignities heaped upon him by the Resident, had ren-

dered his situation wholly intolerable; that he interfered with his amusements, by preventing him from going on a hunting excursion when he wished it; that with regard to certain litigations that had arisen, the Resident had assumed a right to settle them without his consent, and would put the parties forcibly in possession of the disputed property by the aid of the Company's sepoys; in a word, that he had given him to understand, that, unless he yielded implicit submission to his wishes, it would be necessary to "remove the veil" (p. 338); that is, show the world he was a mere puppet in the hands of the Company, and must move as the Resident pulled the strings. In this desperate extremity, Sadut Alee had recourse to his old expedient, when shrinking under the grasp of Lord Wellesley,—he besought permission to travel. On the former occasion he wished to go on a pilgrimage, that his eyes might not behold the ignominy of his family among his people; at present, he intimates the same sentiments to Lord Minto, saying:

"The wish of the Resident is now to settle all matters in his own way, and merely apprise me of the settlement; but your well-wisher will never consent to this; and matters have come to such a pitch, that my statements are falsified in every case, and the assertions of others are believed, which is extremely distressing and disagreeable to me.

"I can never reconcile myself to the idea of argument and altercation with the Resident on every point that occurs; for I consider this to be totally beyond my power; and I never expected such proceedings from any Resident at my court. Therefore, seeing all those circumstances, I am greatly distressed; and considering it for my advantage to remove from hence, I am induced to solicit your Lordship's permission to my travelling, and I await your answer to this letter. Hitherto matters have been carried on through your Lordship's kindness alone; but now, if the *veil* is to be removed, your well-wisher can do nothing."

In answer to this complaint, the Resident exhibited a counter-statement, explaining away some parts, but not at all removing the impression that the general tone of his conduct was that of a dictator. As it is often better policy to become the aggressor than stand simply on the defensive, he now, in his turn, brought forward a charge, which it appears he had long treasured up, against the Vizier, of certain deviations from politeness in the style of his correspondence. The principal was, the use of the word *shookka,* (mandate or rescript,) to signify the Vizier's letters to the Resident; the placing of the date at the bottom instead of the top of the paper; and the omission of the word *saheb* in the address. These weighty matters being referred to Mr. Monckton, the Persian Secretary, he reported that, as to the language employed, nearly the present form of correspondence was established so far back as 1801, and had accordingly been acquiesced in by no less than three Residents, Colonel Scott, Colonel Collins, and hitherto by Colonel Baillie himself; that the date had been placed at the bottom from a period still farther back, namely, in the last letter addressed to Mr. Lumsden, who preceded Colonel Scott as Resident; and that "it was doubtful whether the omission of the word *saheb* in a case where the person addressed, as in the case of Major Baillie, possesses elevated Oriental titles, can be considered as any disrespect."

The Government, as might have been expected, decided the question entirely in favour of the Resident. To gratify him, they intimated to

the Nuwaub, that he must revert to the style of writing used in the last century, in addressing Major Baillie, Esquire, Resident Buhadoor Saheb.[5] But in regard to his complaints of the Resident, they did not admit them to have any foundation. Yet, in direct contradiction to this honest and impartial decision, these Papers prove that, in regard to the principal ground of complaint, the threat of defiance held out to the Vizier, as to the forcible removal of Hyder Buksh, the Government expressly condemned the conduct of the Resident. (See pp. 346, 347, 348.) They had equally disapproved of his intention of disregarding, from the first, the Vizier's authority in the mode of capturing of "marauders" on the frontier, (vide p. 302,) and in threatening to withdraw from him the aid of the Company's troops in the collection of his revenues. Notwithstanding, it was now formally decided that the Nuwaub had no ground of complaint whatever! This decision seems to have completely broken his spirit, for we find him then making submissions so humiliating and so unreasonable, that it is surprising the British Government did not blush to accept of them. For instance, the following is recorded at page 399:—

"It was settled, that on every future occasion of such oppressive proceedings as those on the part of his Excellency's aumils, or of the seizure of *any part of the property of a* (Company's) *sepoy on whatever pretext*; the declaration of the plaintiff on oath to the extent or value of his property seized, *without any specification* of the articles, or *testimony of witnesses* on his behalf, shall be received as proof against the aumil, who shall be immediately compelled to repay the amount of the sepoy's loss to the full extent of his declaration." (Hear, hear, hear!)

A whole army of plaintiffs in a country, who may obtain property to any extent, each having simply to make oath, that the value of a hundred rupees, a thousand rupees, or ten thousand rupees, has been taken from him by an aumil! That oath, then, was as good as an accepted bill to any required amount. It would puzzle Colonel Baillie to point out so high a premium tendered for the commission of perjury in any other part of the world. It is again stated, in reference to the same case which produced the above arrangements, (that of Mal Tewaree, a naick in the Company's Service): "The aumil or deputy aumil, (says the Resident, p. 539,) by whom Mal Tewaree was imprisoned or plundered, has been dismissed from the Vizier's employment; and the Vizier is now pleased to argue, that the power of doing justice to Mal Tewaree is entirely out of his hands. 'For,' says his Excellency, 'I did not plunder Mal Tewaree, and why should I be required to compensate his loss? Let him seek his redress from Imrit Loll, (the displaced aumil,) in whom I, or my Government, have no farther concern.'" This is then contrasted with the promise before given, that when "he (Mal Tewaree) should attend and make oath to his losses, his property, or the value of it, *should be restored*." The Resident hence infers, that the Nuwaub was bound to make good whatever loss had been occasioned by one of his servants: Does the Honourable Company act up to this principle? Does it even dismiss its servants (as the Nuwaub did) when guilty of oppression, to afford the injured, whom they have unjustly banished and plundered, an opportunity of demanding legal redress? It is clear from the above,

[5] As his "elevated Oriental titles" are not given, we hope to be excused for any unintentional detraction from their height or length.

that the oath of a sepoy, that he had lost property by the Nuwaub's officers, was to be held equivalent by Colonel Baillie to an order on the Nuwaub's exchequer. Will the Company attend to such claims even when they can be proved by the oaths of a score of witnesses instead of the simple attestation of the plaintiff?

In this case as well as in that of Alee Nuckee Khan, the Resident's moonshee, and others, all that the Nuwaub contended for was, that the laws and usages of the country should be allowed to take their course. But the Resident considered those under his protection either as subjects of the Company, or his own personal adherents, entitled to be set above the common law, and to have their wrongs righted either directly by his own judgment, or arbitrators appointed by him, or by reference to the decision of the Supreme Government; because he considered the courts as too corrupt or subservient to the prince, or the laws too tyrannical to be tolerated. If the judicial establishments were so totally defective and worthless, here, in our estimation, ought his reforms to have begun, rather than in the revenue system.

In regard to this great question of reform, the Resident continually argued, that the Nuwaub, in resisting or delaying it, was acting in violation of the treaty. But we shall just observe, that though the treaty stipulated that he should introduce a reform in his administration, the particular form of it was not specified. It was, however, expressly said, that this reform, of whatever nature it might be, should " be carried into effect by the Nuwaub's own officers," which certainly meant, if it meant anything at all, that they were to be persons chosen and appointed by himself. Colonel Baillie, however, proposed a reform to be carried into effect by persons whom he was to have a voice in choosing; and because the Nuwaub rejected this, he accused him of a breach of treaty. It rather appears to us that the author of the proposition was himself guilty of a breach of treaty. At page 179, the Nuwaub states his objections in these words:—" It is obvious that the selection and appointment, or rejection of the aumeens, would proceed under your authority, and that I should have no farther power nor authority in the matter, but merely those of informing you and requiring your consent; and this circumstance being generally known, not one of the aumeens would be obedient to my orders, nor regard my authority." In other words, they would not be his officers, but those of Colonel Baillie. This unanswerable objection was urged in March 1811; yet so late as September 1813, two years and a half afterwards, we find (p. 541) that nothing had been done to remove from his mind the impression that the " reformed system was to place the power of assessment of his revenue in the hands of the British Government or its representative." This, it is stated, was in reality his principal objection to the adoption of the system of reform; and not any objection to its principle, or even to the general outline of the plan laid down by the Supreme Government, but it was founded on an article in the agreement between his Excellency and the Resident, given at p. 183, which does indeed seem to admit fairly of the construction the Nuwaub here puts upon it. These objectionable features of the plan being at last explained away and abandoned by the Resident, his Excellency consented to the proposed reform (see p. 511) towards the end of September 1813. This, it will be observed, was immediately before Lord Hastings assumed the reins of Government.

About the beginning of December, the Vizier actually nominated aumeens, with salaries of fifty rupees a month, to proceed to certain districts in execution of the new plan; but the Resident objected to this measure, first, on the ground that the persons appointed were not to his satisfaction; secondly, that their salaries ought to be five times as large; thirdly, that he had not seen their instructions. (p. 578.) To which the Vizier replied, that the instructions were drawn up in the terms which the Resident had formerly advised; but as the Resident objected to the persons, they had been recalled. The Nuwaub's reason for so doing, that he considered this a renewal of the Resident's attempts to encroach on his authority, is stated at page 583: "As to informing you, (he writes to him,) or asking you what aumeens should be deputed, or who should not be deputed, or any other matter of detail, I had long ago expressly declined to make any such communications." The Resident, however, attributed both the deputation of the aumeens and the recalling of them to a design of evading the proposed reform, and so represented it to his Government. Adopting his view of the subject, Lord Hastings addressed a letter to the Vizier, (p. 579,) dated January 7th, 1814, urging him in the most solemn manner not to harbour the intention of abandoning the reform, and warning him that such a course would be his ruin. To this the Vizier replied, (p. 606,) protesting most solemnly that he had no such intention, stating that the measure could only be carried into effect by degrees; that he had begun by deputing aumeens to the districts of his dominions that most of all required settlement; but further progress was interrupted by discussions raised by the Resident subversive of his authority.

From the whole of the foregoing circumstances, Lord Hastings came to the conclusion that the "specific plan of reform," hitherto pressed on his Excellency fruitlessly, could not be carried into effect without actual compulsion, or a dissolution of the present relations between the two states. The latter alternative was to be avoided; and in case of a reluctant assent being extorted from the Vizier by menaces, the plan might be easily frustrated by the Vizier in detail. Hence a plan of inferior merits, with his cordial concurrence, might lead, it was thought, to much happier results. It was therefore resolved to give the Vizier the option of originating or methodising with the Resident a plan of his own, which he might think preferable. This was communicated to his Excellency at a conference, on the 5th of May; at which period he complained of severe indisposition, which obliged the Resident to shorten the interview. In a letter dated next day, (p. 612,) Colonel Baillie represented this indisposition as a pretext of his Excellency to suspend all business with him till the arrival of Lord Hastings, who was then proceeding up the country on account of the Nepaul war. On the 11th of July, however, the Vizier's earthly cares were at an end.

This, therefore, appears a convenient resting-place for interrupting our narrative of the principal transactions in Oude, the details of which are scattered over the first 600 pages of these Papers. We regret that the great length to which this article has already extended, does not admit of our entering at present on the remaining part of the volume, which, as it contains the discussions between Lord Hastings and Colonel Baillie regarding the circumstances that led to the removal of the latter from office, is far more interesting than the

preceding. We shall therefore devote to it as large a portion of our space as possible in the ensuing Number. We may here briefly state, that Colonel Baillie attributes the Nuwaub's opposition to the reform chiefly to the bad advice of one of his servants, Hukeem Mehdee, and latterly to the hopes held out by certain intriguers, who obtained private information that the new Governor-General was not disposed to compel him to carry it into effect. Lord Hastings, on the contrary, appeals to the strong letter he addressed to the Nuwaub urging the reform; treats as an absurdity the idea that he would privately countermand what of his own option he publicly commanded; attributes the Nuwaub's original opposition to reform to the real difficulties and objections he saw attaching to the measure, and to the suspicion generated in his mind that Colonel Baillie had personal objects in urging it; as in several important matters, particularly in the share of the patronage demanded, he saw that the Resident did not obtain the support of his own Government. Upon the whole, Lord Hastings was so satisfied that Colonel Baillie had rendered himself perfectly obnoxious to the Nuwaub by his mode of lording it over him, that if the latter had not died unexpectedly, the Resident was to have been removed. Colonel Baillie attributes the opposition he experienced entirely to his virtuous assiduity in the great cause of reform. Here they join issue.

IMMORTALITY.[1]

I.

Round us, o'er us, is there aught
Which can fill our highest thought;
Aught which may deserve to be
With our noblest aims inwrought?
Yes!—'tis Immortality!

II.

Is there, when the waters roll
Of affliction o'er the soul,—
Is there aught, whose energy
Can that rolling tide control?
Yes!—'tis Immortality!

III.

Whither may the soul repair,
When the blast of worldly care
Snaps the flower and blights the tree?
Where is comfort?—Tell me where.—
'Tis in Immortality!

[1] From Mr. Bowring's recent Volume, quoted in our last.

VALUE OF LATIN AS A MEDIUM OF GENERAL COMMUNICATION, AND IMPERFECTION OF THE PRESENT MODE OF TEACHING IT.[1]

In the Latin, we are already provided with a medium of communication, and of repositories of matters of frequent reference accessible to all nations; a thing which, being highly useful in itself, is the more to be prized, as it could not have been supplied by design, with any exertions or ingenuity; and, with an excellent code of technical terms, well calculated for defining the various objects of the sciences in their present state, which could not, without much difficulty and a long course of practice, be replaced by others formed from the vernacular tongues, but will easily be augmented or varied by additional words, adopted in the same manner to suit new objects as they shall arise.

For these reasons, it appears that the disuse of Latin, which has for some time been gaining ground, is much to be regretted; and we earnestly recommend that every person should employ it who publishes any descriptive work on natural history; also, that all persons of liberal education, but especially those who cultivate any branch of that science, should not fail to prosecute the study of that language to such a degree, at least, as to understand it readily, and to write it with tolerable ease. To this has been objected, that the attainment of a competent knowledge of it requires so much time and labour, that few people have opportunities of accomplishing it, and, consequently, that the use of it in works on those subjects would not only, in many cases, greatly add to the labour necessary for composing them, but also would give rise to many productions of an incorrect or barbarous style. The first of these objections would, in a great degree, be removed by the practice itself; for people would become familar with the language from constant habit, and would come to apply it with a degree of ease which that alone can afford, and which would seem wonderful to those who have cultivated it only as a study, without reducing it to frequent practice. An improved method of teaching, of which we will speak presently, would also tend greatly to obviate all difficulty on this head. The next objection appears to be of little moment. A living language, it is true, may be debased and corrupted by bad authors; and faulty expressions may, by being frequently introduced from ignorance or want of judgment, come to be established in general use; to which, more than to the introduction of improvements, the changes which are always going on in living languages may be ascribed. But the case is not so with a dead language. On it the errors of ignorance, the affectations of vanity, and the vagaries of fashion, cannot make any impression: they all vanish under the perpetual recurrence which is had to the immutable examples of antiquity, as standards of imitation and correction. If any one put forth a technical work in Latin, though the language be faulty, all his purposes will nevertheless be attained, with the additional advantage of its being accessible to all nations, provided it be not so defective as to be misunderstood; and no farther inconvenience will arise from the inaccuracies of the style, than its being laughed at by the reviewers and other critics; while, on the other hand, this great benefit will be derived by the author

[1] Continued from the Article at p. 21 of the last Number.

and his readers, that both will, by the additional practice, be acquiring facility and expertness in the use of the language; and the inaccuracies will be subject to future correction from the remarks of those same critics, guided by the never-failing classical models.

Having said so much in recommendation of the more frequent use of Latin, we will add a few observations on the mode of teaching it, being persuaded that the practice which is generally followed in this country is extremely faulty; of which there seems to be ample proof in the great deficiency still to be found among persons of genteel education in the command of that language, notwithstanding the great expense of time, labour, and money, which is bestowed upon it in their youth; and we have long wondered exceedingly at the determined adherence to old and inefficient plans which is maintained in the schools, at a time when improvements in all other arts and sciences are daily introduced, and are advancing with a rapidity, and with a degree of benefit to society, unexampled in former ages. The newspapers, indeed, teem with advertisements of new systems of teaching. With the merits of these we are unacquainted; but we do not think that they can be worse than those in general use; in which, however, they do not seem yet to have led to any alteration. It is not our purpose, at present, to enter much into the detail of particulars; but we will state a few points which appear chiefly to be erroneous. Practice, by means of which alone we first acquire our native tongue, is also the great groundwork of the knowledge and use of all others; grammar being merely an adventitious aid in the attainment of the latter, and in the correction of the former, so as to reduce it to one uniform standard. Accordingly, as might have been expected, it has been found from experience, in the teaching of all the living languages, that the pupils make the greatest progress by means of the constant reading, repeating, and hearing of sentences and phrases of frequent occurrence, and of practising the reading and speaking of the languages generally, as soon as they have acquired such a slight knowledge of them as will enable them to do so, even in a very imperfect way. This being the main stream, as it were, of instruction, the rules of grammar, with the inflections of words, are gradually brought in as assistants, to such a moderate degree as to perform that office without too much burdening the memory, or disgusting the mind, by overcharging it with rules and technical terms, which are unintelligible to the learner before occasions occur of applying them to use. By proceeding in this manner, young persons usually advance rapidly in the attainment of all the living languages; being soon capable of understanding them, and of speaking them in such a way as to make themselves understood, though expressing themselves imperfectly. As they advance farther, their daily practice, aided and corrected by constant reference to grammar, gradually overcomes their deficiencies; and, in a very short time, in comparison to that usually devoted to the acquisition of Latin, they can read and speak the language with ease and fluency. Hence it is commonly thought that the modern languages are much more easily to be acquired than Latin or Greek; though we are inclined to think that many of them would be found to be less so if the mode of teaching were the same. In the teaching of Latin, the mode of proceeding is completely the reverse of that which we have been describing. From the beginning, and throughout the progress, the chief task of the pupil is to commit to memory a vast number of uncon-

nected words and of rules, which, from his perceiving but obscurely, or not at all, their use and application seem to him totally unmeaning; while the practice of reading is but scanty, that of learning short sentences or phrases of common occurrence still more so, or altogether omitted, and that of speaking entirely neglected. Grammar is constantly the primary object that is kept in view; and the great and manifest utility which would be derived from it, under judicious management, is, in a great degree, smothered by the aversion and disgust which follow the superabundant and premature labour devoted to it. The grammatical books of Latin, too, appear to us to be injudiciously constructed; and, in this particular, we do not think that any improvement has taken place for a century; for those most generally in use in England are not more simple in their arrangement, or more perspicuous to the capacities of youth, than the *rudiments* and *institutions* of Ruddiman, which were published, we suppose, a hundred years ago; though in the Greek grammars we admit that there has been much improvement within that period. There are few, if any, of the Latin grammars that are well calculated to assist in that method of teaching followed in living languages which we have been recommending, though many of them are well enough adapted to the existing practice. Though the rules are generally good, most of them are of little use in the early stages of the study; and at more advanced periods, when the mind is capable of thoroughly comprehending them and of applying them to use, there is no advantage to be derived from committing them verbatim to memory, as they will be sufficiently remembered, without any exertion, after their principles have been once well understood, and confirmed by reference to examples. The ingenious device, too, of versification, for assisting in the recollection of the words, is rendered almost totally useless by the utter neglect which prevails of the quantities of the syllables and of the incidental pauses, which, in effect, destroys the versification, there not being rhyme or any other guide to define the lines. The books, also, which are generally used for practice, are not of a kind likely to excite in the boys much interest or eagerness to proceed in reading them, and are besides more difficult to be understood than others which might be substituted. To remedy these inconveniencies some attempts have been made in other countries, and a few of them have of late been introduced in our schools: such, for example, as a translation of Robinson Crusoe, which was made in Prussia, and a collection of familiar phrases or sentences by the Abbé Bossuet in France. This is an auspicious beginning of improvement; but it has as yet made little progress in this country; and we cannot help wondering exceedingly that measures so evidently advantageous have been so tardily, and still are so sparingly adopted. It would be an easy matter to compose, in simple and perspicuous, yet correct language, tales, dramas, and other little amusing pieces; the reading of which, from being at the same time easy and entertaining, would incite the scholars to proceed with a degree of cheerfulness and alacrity widely different from the wearisome dulness which they have to undergo in making out the sense of the more difficult language, and to them less interesting matter, of the classical authors; and this, accompanied by the frequent perusal of common phrases, by constant exercise in speaking, and by a moderate application of grammar, would soon produce a readiness and a facility in the use of the language, totally unknown under the method usually followed. With it, all is laborious drudgery; every sen-

tence is read, dissected, and interpreted by rule; they compose Latin prose and verse (for they must all be poets too) as it were by the square and compass, but have no conception, for several of the first years of their studies, of either reading or writing a sentence in an easy or fluent way, as they would do in French, Italian, or German, after having devoted only a fourth part of the same time to any of these languages.

Another great fault in the practice of the schools, is in the perversion of the quantities in the pronunciation. Amidst our ignorance as to the ancient pronunciation in other particulars, the quantities of the syllables are so uniform, and so punctually observed by the poets, as to furnish us with a sure guide in that; yet it is surprising to find that they are disregarded not only in the reading of prose, but also in that of verse; and we are well assured that it is common, with a degree of absurdity which would seem incredible, to permit a boy, without any correction, to read a line in his own way, and the next minute to make him prove by scanning that it was all wrong; no remark being made, but the solecism left to be repeated on all occasions. If, on the contrary, the scholars were accustomed to recite verse with the proper accentuation, they would soon acquire the habit of using the right quantities in every word in prose likewise; whereas, we find the most highly-educated gentlemen, on reciting quotations and technical terms, which are now almost the only occasions on which a word of Latin is ever heard, commit the most flagrant solecisms in this particular; such, for example, as *nisi prius*, *habeas corpus*, *sine die*, *bona fide*, *scire facias*, and a thousand others, which we hear daily at the bar and in other places. This would be easily and effectually obviated by a little attention in the teachers, which would be greatly aided by the ear itself in following the rhythms of verse, whereby habits of using proper quantities would be imparted to youth, and would remain throughout the rest of life. How it is brought to pass, that the students at the public schools and universities succeed in making verses so correctly as they do, while their habitual pronunciation militates so much against the application of the proper quantities, we confess we are at a loss to conceive. It would appear that it cannot be from the ear by which poets are usually guided; for we believe that most of them recite even their own verses incorrectly in that particular, and we suppose that it is by dint of mere mechanical computation, and by reckoning the numbers with the fingers and thumb;—a fine accompaniment to the ebullition of poetical feelings!

The study of Latin at the schools being thus carried on throughout with the most disheartening drudgery, and seldom or never alleviated by any exercise of a nature agreeable or exhilarating to young minds, the consequence is not only that the youths, after having devoted many years to it, have, in most instances, acquired but very little command of the language for reading, writing, or speaking, but, also, that on quitting the school, their minds are so deeply impressed with disgust and unpleasant recollections, that they cannot think of Latin without coupling it with labour, dullness, and restraint; and, consequently, being glad to flee from it, as a prisoner from a jail, they never look at a book in the language, but, in a few years, have forgotten almost the whole of that to the learning of which so much time and money had been sacrificed, with so much privation to themselves, and anxiety to their parents. This, we are sure, every one must have observed: for, unless in what are called

the learned professions, in which the study is, in some degree, kept awake by the technical uses of the language, nor, always even in them, one rarely meets with a gentleman who can read Latin with tolerable ease; but the most that is to be expected, should any occasion call for it, is, that he can, perhaps, make out the sense by recurring to the old way of the school, in seeking *for a verb to a nominative, a noun to an adjective,* and so forth. As to the universities of England, it cannot be denied that many of the students in them acquire the knowledge of Greek and Latin as perfectly as in any part of the world; but we doubt much whether it is done with as much ease, or as expeditiously as in some other places; for, even in them, the hard labour of study does not seem to be sufficiently tempered with what may be termed light practice. We do not find fault with the minute investigation, and recording of the form and application of every word and phrase to be found in the ancient authors, which is pursued, with the assistance of lengthy and dull notes, comments, and dissertations, produced by the unwearied industry of German, Dutch, and other editors; for those labours lead, at least, to a degree of perfection in the knowledge of the languages, which could not be attained, or so thoroughly impressed on the memory, by any other means: nor do we complain of the practice of composing verses, as it were mechanically, which is generally followed, whether the individuals possess any natural talent for poetry or not, being persuaded that this exercise is the surest way of attaining to the elegant and useful accomplishment of a correct knowledge and ready perception of the various sorts of metrical structure; for it is certain, that a thorough understanding of the excellencies of an art cannot be so well acquired in any other way as by engaging in the practice of it. Yet we think that this course of academical study would be greatly improved by additional practice in easy speaking and reading; in proof of which, it is to be observed, that there are very few, even of the best educated persons in this country, who can speak Greek or Latin with fluency. As an example of this, we will repeat an anecdote which was related to us by the individual who witnessed it. A gentleman, who held an eminent situation in one of the universities, and was distinguished as a person of high literary attainments, being about to set out on an excursion to Vienna, expressed to a friend of his, a native of that country, who was also a man of learning, a solicitude at the difficulty which he was likely to encounter on the score of language, as he was ignorant of German, and unable to express himself well in French. His friend told him that he had no reason to be uneasy on that head; for, that the French he could command would be sufficient for all that would be required on the road, and that when he got to Vienna he would not be at any loss, as he would be chiefly with the professors and others connected with the university, all of whom spoke Latin readily. "Latin!" said he, "why, although I have written much in that language, and have made it a study, even as a critic, all my life, I scarcely ever spoke a word of it, and shall, I am sure, have great difficulty in carrying on any conversation in it, even setting aside the difference in the pronunciation, which I shall not be able to modulate after the German or Italian fashion."

These observations having run out to a greater length than we anticipated, we will add but a very few words on the singular pronunciation which prevails in England of the vowels *a e i,* and occasionally *u,* which is in many cases converted into the diphthong *ew.* This peculiarity not

existing in German or French, the two languages from which the English is formed, or in the Scottish dialect, which is of the same origin, it is not easy to conjecture whence it has arisen: nor as far as it relates to the English language, is it of any moment. But in regard to the Latin and Greek, it is rather unfortunate; inasmuch as it prevents the people of England from being understood when speaking either of these languages in any other country: whereas those of all the other parts of Europe understand one another readily, the difference in the sounds of the vowels in their respective languages being so slight as not to prevent it. In Italian, Spanish and French, all languages almost entirely Latin slightly varied, the vowels are pronounced nearly alike, with the exception of a small difference in the French *u;* from which there is great reason to suppose that their sounds do not differ much from those of the ancient Latin; but, not meaning to dwell on the discussion of this point, we have only to remark, that it would be extremely desirable, for the sake of putting the English-Latin on an equality with that of other nations, as a common language, that it should be taught with the Italian pronunciation of the vowels; and that this would be easily done is manifest from the facility with which Italian is acquired, the study of which has now become a general practice in genteel families. We should be sorry if, on the contrary, the present English pronunciation of Latin were to be established in Scotland; though, we fear, it is likely to be so, in obedience to that all-powerful ruler of men's actions—fashion, which always emanates from the chief seat of wealth and influence, and is seldom controlled by reason or sound judgment.

PURE AND UNDEFILED RELIGION.

Pure and undefiled Religion,
  In our God and Father's sight,
Is to pour on helpless orphans
  Balm of healing and delight;
'Tis to visit cheerless widows
  In their darkness and distress:
This is pure and true Religion,
  In its power of blessedness.

Pure and undefiled Religion
  Is, amidst the tainted scene,
To preserve a heart untainted,
  Viceless, spotless, and serene;
'Tis, amidst the world's defilements,
  To direct our path aright:
This is pure and true Religion
  In its glory and its might.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE BRITISH POWER IN INDIA.

No. IV.

In our preceding article we brought up the affairs of the East India Company to what may be called the Treaty of Pondicherry. We shall now go on to relate their subsequent transactions.

By this treaty the French gave up all the advantages they had gained by their arms, and might have preserved, according to all appearance, had they been so disposed. For the reinforcements that arrived with Godheu, and the assistance of the Mahrattas and Mysoreans, which they could have obtained, would, with great chance of success, have enabled them to dispute the superiority of the English. Besides, Bussy was now nearly all-powerful with the Subahdar of the Deccan, whose dominions he defended with ability and courage from the attacks of the Mahrattas. All these advantages, however, as we have said, were given up as a sacrifice to the desire of peace. Dupleix returned to Europe, an example of the ill success that should always await on unprincipled policy; for, instituting a law-suit against the French East India Company, to recover the amount of monies expended in their service, his claims were set aside by royal interference, and wearied out with solicitation and neglect, he died of a broken heart.

Shortly after the conclusion of the treaty, both Saunders and Godheu departed for Europe; but had scarcely left the shores of India before their peaceful labours were rendered entirely nugatory. The English, by attacking the districts of Madura and Tinivelly, infringed the treaty with Godheu, and provoked the French also to take up arms; and the latter commenced operations by invading the little kingdom of Terriore. It was Mohammed Ali that prevailed upon the English to send their troops to Madura, a district on which he, as Nabob of Arcot, had pretensions. Both he and his allies hoped to collect considerable treasure in this province, as arrears of tribute; but when they had taken the city, and received the submissions of the Polygars, or petty sovereigns, it was found that even enough to defray the expense of the expedition could not be obtained. This gave rise to mutual blame and discontent; and the English officer who commanded in the expedition was dismissed the Company's service.

In the meanwhile, Salabut Jung, accompanied by Bussy and the French troops under his command, marched into Mysore likewise to collect arrears of tribute. Upon this occasion, the Mysorean army that had hitherto remained before Trichinopoly, was recalled; nevertheless, the authority of Salabut Jung was acknowledged by the Mysoreans, who, as far as they were able, paid also the arrears of tribute. Mohammed Ali, being now left in seemingly undisputed possession of the Carnatic, was vested with the ensigns of his office and dignity at Arcot. As he could collect no revenue, however, without compulsion, the English furnished him with troops to enforce payment from the zemindars, and a considerable sum was collected.

In Madura and Tinivelly the Polygars soon evinced a refractory dis-

position, and formed a confederacy against the governor, Maphuz Khan. The English sent a body of sepoys to support the governor, but in vain; no tribute could be raised, and the whole country was thrown into confusion. Upon learning that the English intended to remove him, and take the management of the country into their own hands, the governor revolted, and joined the insurgent Polygars; by which means the disturbances were prolonged for years. Meanwhile the prospects of the French were considerably darkened by the treachery of the Subahdar, who, dismissing Busey from his employment, intercepted and endeavoured to cut him off, near Hyderabad. But by policy and courage the Frenchman defeated his intentions, and thereupon was reinstated in his favour, and recalled. In the interval, however, the Subahdar had applied for a body of troops to the Presidency of Madras, and would to all appearance have obtained them, had not the entire attention of the English been about this time directed to events in Bengal.

This province, which had for many years been harassed by the invasions of the Mahrattas, was now, 1756, under the government of Suraja Dowla. He had always shown himself adverse to the English; but the asylum afforded at Calcutta to an officer of finance, who had escaped from his dominions with immense treasure, as was supposed, so far enraged his mind, that he stopped short in a military expedition he had undertaken, and marched back towards his capital. The messenger he sent to remonstrate with the Governor, was dismissed the Company's territories as an impostor; and this, together with the improvements made by the English in the fortifications of Calcutta, increasing his resentment, he seized on the factory of Cossimbazar, and imprisoned its chief. The English were now terrified, and evinced every disposition to appease the Subahdar; but he was inflexible; and advancing upon Calcutta, attacked its outposts about the middle of June. The city was badly defended by the English, and Suraja, by a vigorous assault, made himself master of the place. It was on this occasion that the famous *Black Hole* occurrence took place: one hundred and forty-six Englishmen were confined by the officers of the Subahdar in a place which the English themselves had been accustomed to use as a prison; it was a small, ill-aired, unwholesome dungeon; and of all those unhappy men who were driven into this place in the evening, only twenty-three were alive by the morning. The rest had perished during the night from the noxious effluvia, growing mad shortly after they were put in, and dying in a state of the highest delirium.

The news of the capture of Calcutta arrived at Madras on the 5th of August 1756. Admiral Watson, and Clive, now a Lieutenant-Colonel and Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, were fortunately both upon the coast at the time. Measures were therefore taken to recover Calcutta; and, after many disgraceful disputes respecting the manner in which prizes should be divided, and who should command, which delayed the expedition for more than two months, Clive was appointed.

But before we go on further with the affairs of Bengal, we must relate a very remarkable transaction that took place at Bombay:—About half a century before, Conagee Angria, admiral of the Mahratta fleet, had rebelled, retained the fleet under his own independent command, and rendered himself master of about sixty leagues of coast from Tanna to Rajapore. He possessed the strong forts of Severndroog and Baucoote,

with many others. Gheriah also, his capital, contained a fort of extraordinary strength. He subsisted by piracy, and the Europeans whom he plundered had frequently in vain endeavoured to subdue him. His power continually increased, and his fleets were now become the terror of all those who traded in Western India. In 1755, Severndroog and Bancoote were attacked and taken by Commodore James, in conjunction with a Mahratta army; and when Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive arrived at Bombay in Feb. 1756, with their fleet and forces, it was determined to put an end at once to the depredations of these pirates. By the union of the English with the Mahrattas, this was quickly effected, and Clive repaired to his government.

The forces for the reduction of Calcutta left Madras in Oct. 1756, and, except two ships, arrived safe in the Ganges in the December following. Calcutta was retaken with little difficulty, the troops of the Subahdar evacuating the place in less than two hours after the commencement of the cannonade. The houses of individuals had been entirely plundered by the Natives; but the Company's merchandise, having been reserved for the Subahdar, was mostly untouched. The re-capture of Calcutta was followed up by the taking of Hoogley, a Native city, situate about twenty-three miles further up the river.

Meanwhile, news of the commencement of hostilities between England and France arrived; and it was feared that the French would unite their forces with the Subahdar, and render him irresistible. Overtures of peace were, therefore, offered to Suraja Dowla, which he rejected with disdain. But the French did not unite with the Subahdar; on the contrary, they proposed a treaty with the English, although the mother countries in Europe were at war. Still, however, the Subahdar was a formidable enemy, whom it was desirable to appease; and, by a mixture of daring and policy, Clive at length succeeded in effecting a treaty with him, and, immediately afterwards, an alliance offensive and defensive.

By their neutrality, as will have been observed, the French actually preserved the English on this occasion; and Clive, to evince his gratitude, immediately endeavoured to obtain the Subahdar's permission to destroy their settlement. Whatever may have been Suraja's character, this proposition was hateful to him; but in order to preserve appearances with his new allies, his answer was evasive. This emboldened Clive's profligacy to attack the city: his army crossed the river, and but for the prompt and decisive interference of the Subahdar, Chandernagore had been sacrificed to the moderation of its Governor.

It indeed fell, shortly after, in the following manner:—When it was perceived that Suraja Dowla was averse to the destruction of the French, the Governor and Council of Calcutta became eager to treat with the Governor of Chandernagore; and as both parties were pacifically disposed, the treaty was agreed on, and written out fair, ready to be signed. At this moment, the Subahdar received intelligence that Ahmed Shah, the Abdallee, had taken Delhi, and intended the conquest of the entire Mogul dominions. He was now in want of the support of the English, and, to obtain it, appeared willing to grant them almost any thing. Clive instantly seized the advantage, dismissed the French deputies, who were standing as it were with their pens in their hands ready to sign the treaty, and attacked and reduced Chandernagore before the Subahdar could send an order to prevent it.

When Clive was appointed to the command in Bengal, he received orders to return to Madras by the April following, at which time a French fleet was expected on the coast. These orders he now disobeyed, seeing a wider and more splendid scene opening to his ambition in Bengal. The Subahdar was persuaded to dismiss the French fugitives into Bahar; and a plot was formed against him by his new allies, the English, who basely intrigued with one of his own subjects to depose and ruin him. We shall not detail these vile transactions at any length, but briefly and comprehensively, in our accustomed manner. They are instructive, however, and deserve consideration, for there is nothing that can more clearly show the springs of our power in the East.

When Aliverdi, the predecessor of Suraja Dowla, died, one Jaffier Khan was Paymaster-General of the forces. As he was disliked by Suraja Dowla, he was removed from his office on the accession of the latter; but as a considerable portion of the army, after the Indian manner, belonged to him, and as he increased it as much as he was able, the Subahdar found he had created himself a troublesome enemy. This Jaffier was the man pitched upon by the English to supplant and succeed the Subahdar, whom they now determined to remove. In treating with this villain, the whole conduct of the English appears to have been directed by the basest avarice: they stipulated that, in consideration of being raised by them to the subahdarry, he should pay to them the sum of twenty-three millions of rupees, a great part of which, under various pretences, was to be divided among the Committee of the Council, the squadron, and the army. It was also stipulated that the French should be for ever excluded from Bengal, and that a considerable portion of territory around and to the south of Calcutta should be granted to the Company on zemindary tenure.

The English now took the field, and arrived on the spot where Meer Jaffier had agreed to join them. He had not, however, arrived, but a letter from him was delivered to the English commander, stating that he had been suspected by the Subahdar, in consequence of which he was closely watched, and should not be able to join them before the day of battle. There appeared something very like new treachery in this, and a council of war was called to determine on what was to be done. The council decided against proceeding in the enterprise; but Clive immediately after resolved to march.

Arriving at Plassy, where the forces of the Subahdar had been encamped for a considerable time, they risked a battle, in which, according to his promise, Jaffier betrayed his master, and came over to the English; the consequence of which was the Subahdar's total defeat. Mounted on a fleet camel, and attended by about two thousand of his followers, he escaped from the field of battle, and reached his palace; from whence, by the approach of the enemy, he was again compelled to fly in disguise. His misfortunes, however, were now near a close, for in a day or two after, he was taken in a garden near Raje Mahl, and murdered by the son of the new Subahdar.

When the English arrived at Moorshedabad, their first attentions were paid to their money affairs with Jaffier; but it was immediately found that all the treasures of the late Subahdar were insufficient to answer their demands. After expressing much dissatisfaction and disappointment, they were compelled to be content with about half the sum agreed on,

and a promise that the remainder should be paid by various instalments. When matters had been thus settled, Clive returned to Calcutta, leaving a part of the army at Cossimbazar, and sending the rest into quarters at Chandernagore.

We must now once more turn our attention to the affairs of the Carnatic, where singular revolutions of power were about to take place. Though the English had succeeded in establishing Mohammed Ali in the undivided possession of the nabobship of the Carnatic, it was found that money came in very slowly; and as Madura and Tinivelly, still in possession of the rebel Polygars, were yet believed capable of yielding considerable supplies, the Madras Presidency determined on reducing them to obedience. The forces sent against them, however, were not immediately successful for want of cannon; and while their commander was waiting for some battering-artillery he had sent for from Trichinopoly, news was brought him that the French had arrived at that city.

The district of Nellore, in the north of the Carnatic, was at this time under the government of the Nabob's brother, who, nevertheless, refused the tribute demanded of him. His feeble brother, too weak to enforce his authority, called in the aid of the English, who coming readily to his assistance, attacked the fort of Nellore, and attempted to storm it. Being repulsed, and rendered unable to prosecute the enterprise without additional battering-cannon from Madras, they desisted from all attempts upon the place, and shortly after were recalled to the Presidency.

A succession of petty enterprises ensued, sometimes successful, at others not; but at length an affair of moment occurred. Balajee Row, the Mahratta general, on returning from a plundering excursion into Mysore, deputed one of his officers, with a large detachment, to collect the *chout* for the whole nabobship of Arcot. This officer seized on one of the passes into the Carnatic, at no great distance from the city of Arcot, and sent to that city to demand the tribute. Mohammed Ali, now thrown into the greatest consternation, sent his family to Madras, and negotiated with the Mahrattas to reduce their demands. In this he was successful; they agreed to receive a small sum in hand, with the Nabob's draught on the governors of forts, &c., for the remainder. But Mohammed Ali had no treasure, so that the demands of the Mahrattas were to be answered by the English, who were compelled to furnish the money.

Shortly after this, Madura was taken by the Company's army, and a garrison placed in the town. The French, too, having received from Europe a reinforcement of a thousand men, pursued their enterprises with vigour: took eight forts, and established collections in several districts. Nevertheless, both parties were inclined to postpone, for a season, the further prosecution of the war: the French, till the arrival of fresh forces from Europe, and the English, till they should have in some measure recovered from the fatigue of their late struggles.

In April, 1758, Count Lally arrived in the road of Fort St. David, with a squadron of twelve sail. Intending to commence his operations in India with the siege of that important place, he caused the fleet to anchor before it, and with two ships proceeded to Pondicherry to procure as many soldiers as could be spared to aid in carrying on the siege. Proceeding with more despatch than prudence, without provisions or proper guides, he led his troops at once to the place of attack, where he had scarcely arrived, when the ships in the road saw the English fleet approach. An

indecisive engagement between the fleets ensued; after which, the French made for Pondicherry, and as soon as the soldiers in the fleet could be disembarked, they were despatched to Lally to Fort St. David.

The consternation of the English was now excessive; for not only had their enemy's forces been increased from Europe, but Bussy also had obtained the most important advantages over them in the north of the Deccan. Several factories, together with the fort of Vizigapatam, had fallen into his hands; and in the taking of these, and in his subsequent conduct, he had displayed the greatest justice and liberality. In the meanwhile, one of those revolutions so common in the East, had raised a younger brother of Salabut Jung to the subahdarry of the Deccan. As the late Subahdar, however, had not been assassinated, probably from fear of the French, Bussy hastened by the nearest route to Aurengabad; and, although four hostile armies were encamped about the city, his brave little band awed them all. He immediately restored the authority of the Subahdar; and having, by the most masterly policy, gained possession of the important fortress of Dowlutabad, and seized, in the midst of the Subahdar's camp, on the person of the prime-minister, his mortal enemy, and the chief actor in the late troubles, he was enabled to humble the Sabahdar's rebellious brothers, and finally, completely to triumph over them. Nizam Ali, the younger brother of the Subahdar, being detected in an unsuccessful attempt on the life of Salabut Jung, contrived to escape to Boorhanpore, while the prime-minister was killed in a scuffle. Thus was Bussy delivered from them both, and remained almost absolute over the whole of the Deccan. Such was the state of his affairs when Lally arrived.

Count Lally, whatever abilities he may have possessed, appears to have been totally unfit to fill the station to which he was appointed. He is said to have alienated, by an arbitrary act, the affections of the natives of Pondicherry, who would not afterwards co-operate with him; and shortly after, he equally disgusted his countrymen, by giving vent to the most odious suspicions.

His forces, however, were considerable; and as he was inclined to vigorous measures, he very soon reduced Fort St. David and Devi-Cotah; and after having razed the fortifications, he returned to Pondicherry. Fearing that the French would next turn their arms against Madras, the English now recalled their troops from Madura and Tinivelly to Trichinopoly, and debated whether they should not abandon Madras. Want of money, however, prevented Lally from laying immediate siege to Madras, and for a time his whole attention was turned to supply this deficiency.

His first step was an endeavour to compel the King of Tanjore to advance the sum of five millions six hundred thousand rupees, for which he had given his bond to Chunda Saheb and the French, in 1751. A pretender to the throne of Tanjore, who had been taken prisoner at Fort St. David, was carried to the field with Lally, in order the more effectually to terrify the Rajah into compliance. But the expedition failed entirely; partly through the imprudence and partly through the ignorance of Lally. After expending nearly all his ammunition, and wasting a considerable time in attempting to make himself master of the capital, he was obliged to raise the siege and retire to Carical, and, in a few days afterwards, to Pondicherry.

He had been instructed, it seems, by all means to lay siege to Madras; and for this purpose, as soon as he returned from Tanjore, every step in his power was taken to hasten it. But the Admiral of the fleet, whose co-operation was necessary to afford a proper chance of success, pretending that his crews were too much enfeebled and diminished by disease, set sail for the Mauritius.

From that moment Lally seems to have lost all rational hopes of taking Madras, though he was afterwards led by a kind of desperation to attack it. For the present his whole attention was directed to the raising of supplies, and to effect this, an expedition was planned against Arcot. That city, the capital of the Carnatic, was taken early in October, as were also the forts of Carangoly, Timery, Trivatore, and Trincomalee. When the English perceived it was hardly possible to save Arcot, they withdrew their troops from the country forts, and made every exertion to save Chingliput, a fort that covered the country, whence, in case of a siege, Madras would have to draw its provisions. As Lally had neglected to take this fort when it was left almost defenceless, and could not obtain from Pondicherry resources to enable him to take it after the English had thrown a strong garrison into it, he returned mortified and chagrined to Pondicherry.

Underrating entirely the advantages of Bussy's situation in the Deccan, he recalled him from the dominions of the Subahdar, in hopes, it appears, that he could aid him with money, as well as be of service to him in his military projects. Lally now found himself, however, in total want of resources, and the bombardment of Madras was undertaken, in the hope that they might gain something by the plunder of the Black Town, and by laying waste the surrounding country. By great efforts he was at length enabled to leave Pondicherry in December; and meeting with slight opposition, he entered and plundered the Black Town. By the money obtained on the spot, and by a million of livres which arrived at Pondicherry from the islands, he was enabled to convert the bombardment of Madras into a siege; but being ill seconded by his officers, he was disappointed in his hopes of carrying the place by an assault; and in the February following, an English fleet arriving, was compelled to raise the siege and retreat to Pondicherry.

After this the French and English continued to harass each other, without any considerable advantage being gained on either side. The English themselves were cramped in their operations by want of money, and, moreover, disheartened by the Company's determination to send out no more treasure till 1760. In September 1759, a naval engagement took place between the French and English fleets, in which the latter were victorious; but nothing decisive was effected. The English made for the road of Negapatam, and the French sailed to Pondicherry.

These ships brought Lally a supply of about thirty-three thousand pounds sterling, and landed four hundred Caffres, and five hundred Europeans, as a reinforcement: but though the Admiral was told that his departure would endanger the very existence of the colony, he persisted in returning to the islands.

By the recall of Bussy, the affairs of the Subahdar had been thrown into such confusion, that Nizam Ali, his rebellious brother, ventured to return, and extorted from Salabut Jung the government from which he

had been expelled by the assistance of Bussy. The Subahdar now solicited a connexion with the English. But Bassalut Jung, his second brother, sent to Pondicherry to demand aid of Lally; and it was determined to despatch Bussy to him with a detachment of the army.

On his march to join Bassalut Jung, Bussy learned that the army at Pondicherry had mutinied, and he suspended his progress till it should be known whether he ought not to return to that city. Meanwhile, Bassalut Jung's desire to join the French had, from various circumstances, been considerably abated; and, when Bussy came up with him, he found that he would unite with them only on condition of being acknowledged sovereign of the Carnatic, and of being furnished with four lacs of rupees to pay his troops. With the latter of these conditions the French could not comply, so that Bussy was obliged to return, with no other advantage than that of having added four hundred horse to his force.

Shortly after this, Lally divided his army into two parts, one of which, marching to the south, took possession of the rich island of Seringham. Upon this, the English took the field; and, marching ostensibly upon Arcot, took possession of Wandewash and Carangoly. Lally was now exceedingly alarmed for Arcot and the whole of the northern districts; and, recalling the troops from Seringham, and taking a Mahratta chief, with a body of horse, into his pay, he meditated the immediate recovery of Wandewash. But his attempt upon this fort was unsuccessful; and the English army coming up, he was induced to hazard a battle, and was entirely defeated.

Retiring from the field of battle to Chittapet, and from thence to Gingee and Valdore, he left the whole of the northern district at the mercy of the English, who immediately made themselves masters of Chittapet and Arcot. When he reached Pondicherry, the most disgraceful quarrels took place between him and the Governor and Council, each accusing the others of the basest conduct.

Meanwhile, the English pushed their advantages with spirit and success; reducing Timery, Devi-Cotah, Trincomalee, Permacoil, and Alamparva. The fall of Carical, Valdore, Chillambaram, and Cuddalore, soon followed; reducing the possessions of the French to the bounds of Pondicherry. To this city the English now approached, and encamped within four miles of it. In this emergency, Lally turned his eyes towards Mysore, where Hyder Ali was now beginning to make himself celebrated; and succeeded in procuring from Hyder a very considerable force, which, however, was eventually of no avail. The English forces were very much increased by the arrival of some King's troops, and their fleet amounted to seventeen sail. Elated by these supplies, they laid siege to Pondicherry; and, in January 1761, the city was surrendered to Colonel Coote, then commanding the English forces before the place. Thiagar and Gingee, the only two places remaining to the French in the Carnatic, soon followed the example of Pondicherry, by which the English were left in complete possession of the whole country. The unfortunate Lally returned to France, where he was thrown into prison, and, shortly after, unjustly executed in the most barbarous manner.

SUMMARY OF THE LATEST INTELLIGENCE FROM INDIA AND OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE EAST.

BENGAL.

THE accounts received during the past month have opened a new view of the state of affairs in Central India, which, it seems now probable, may speedily become a theatre of enterprise, rivalling in interest the struggle with the Burmese. The death of the Rajah of Bhurtpoor, the succession of his son, a boy of seven years old, with the sanction of the British Government, and the revolution which soon after subverted this settlement, were noticed in our last Number. It now appears, that after Sir David Ochterlony (who, from his high military character and political influence, has long virtually exercised the power of a Lieutenant-Governor in that quarter) had concentrated troops towards Bhurtpoor for the purpose of supporting the British interests which had been put down; the Supreme Government, having its hands already full of the Burmese on the East, was so alarmed at the idea of a war breaking out in Central India, that orders were despatched to Sir David from head-quarters, that he must retrace his steps, withdraw his force to a distance, and then offer to negotiate with the rebels. A course so derogatory to him, so pusillanimous in the eyes of the Natives, and so humiliating to the British character, made Sir David resign in disgust, and it is supposed he is now on his way to Europe.

It is impossible to calculate the injurious consequences of such a measure on the stability of the Indian empire at the present moment. The slow and disastrous progress of the Burmese war having produced a general feeling in the Native mind that our reign was about to end, and our former disgraceful failure before Bhurtpoor being yet fresh in the public remembrance, every malcontent from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin will believe, with some reason, that we are now afraid to encounter our enemies in the field. An intelligent correspondent in an Indian paper, (the Bombay Courier of the 20th of April,) says, that since the former affair of Bhurtpoor, "the triumphant Jauts, intoxicated with the blaze of a victory, which they have never forgotten, believe themselves proof against those armies which subdued the proudest of their neighbours, and to this day there is scarcely a Native, from the Indus to the Burrampooter, who does not subscribe to their creed; while the vilest reptile, from the veriest dregs of the Bhurtpoor population, fancies himself a partner in the glory, and, conscious of superiority, curls his mustachios with self-importance, and a sneer of ineffable contempt in the face of every Englishman he meets." He therefore thinks it indispensably necessary for the future political security of our empire, that something should now be done to humble this pride,—this dangerous opinion of military prowess; and, "independent of the many permanent advantages which might be derived from the control of a centrical state, powerful both in men and treasure, the opportunity (*he* imagined) could not have occurred at a more favourable opportunity for the display of an example. (Lord Amherst and his Councillors thought very differently.) For, he proceeds, "had it been left to choice, could a theatre have been found better calculated to call forth attention, or add to its effect, than the

spot which every Native believes consecrated to Indian valour,—a sort of thermopylæ for wondrous deeds that have defied the gigantic power which gives laws to 28,000,000 of people, can confer a diadem, or compel kings and potentates to kiss the rod?" Alas, for these mighty king-makers, these Eastern Warwicks, that the time, the place, the every circumstance which was to have given eclat to their victory, has only added ignominy to their defeat; for so it will be regarded by all the world when their legions are seen retreating from the famous walls of Bhurtpoor without daring to strike a blow. No wonder Sir David Ochterlony has retired with indignation from the scene of his former achievements, rather than see his honours tarnished, and his brethren in arms made, in a manner, to pass under the yoke (for it is almost equivalent to it to be made to retreat from Bhurtpoor) by the fatuity of the Amherst administration. The resignation of one of the most distinguished of our Indian Commanders, is an indication how much the spirits of the army, from the highest to the lowest, must have been damped by this measure; and in the same proportion, our enemies have been encouraged to entertain a higher idea of their military power and prowess,—a state of the public mind not very compatible with the security of "our empire of opinion."

It is impossible to say how far this movement in Central India may be connected with the obstinate resistance we have experienced from the Burmese. The party now in power at Bhurtpoor are, no doubt, men who had no hope of rising through our friendship; and after the step they have taken they can expect nothing but destruction should the state again fall into our hands. Having, therefore, more to hope from war than peace, it is possible enough they may embrace the desperate hazard of being able to resist us with the co-operation of the Burmese, and by stirring up other enemies which have not yet ventured to declare themselves. Whatever be their views, our forbearance will enable them to bring their plans to maturity, and give them the *fairest* chance of success. In the last general combination against us, which was defeated, the confederates attributed their failure to Lord Hastings, who had taken the field too early for them. Lord Amherst's policy would seem to be quite the reverse: the result remains to be seen.

By a private letter from Calcutta, we learn that Lord Amherst and his Councillors have, in their alarm, commanded the Press to beware of speaking about this subject. This is quite characteristic of the miserable weakness of those who resort to this mode of concealing their danger. For though they may thereby blind the British public, they cannot hope to blind their enemies, unless they believe that the Bhurtporeans will leave the King of Ava, Runjeet Sing, or other enterprising chiefs, from whom they expect aid, to hear of their revolt through the English newspapers! Conspirators do not usually trust to such clumsy machinery; and if, as Sir John Malcolm admits, the Natives of India only watch for an opportunity to throw off our yoke—now, when our troops are drawn off against the Burmese, and the opinion of our power shaken—Bhurtpore, so celebrated for its former resistance to our arms, may form a rallying point to a confederacy of the most dangerous character. Should Runjeet Sing be tempted to throw his sword into the scale, the ten new or twelve new regiments, said to be raising for the Company, would hardly counterbalance his veteran army of hardy and well-disciplined Sikhs.

In addition to the events of the Burmese war, to be detailed hereafter, the taking of Arracan, the defeat of General Bundoolah at Donabew, and the occupation of Prome by Sir A. Campbell, it is said, in the latest accounts, that the Burmese have evinced a disposition to negotiate, the war party having been defeated in the "Golden" cabinet, and that the Missionaries who happened to be in their hands at the breaking out of hostilities, are employed as the mediators of peace. This intelligence would give general satisfaction, if it were not that the Bengal Government has already so often circulated reports of revolutions among the enemy—the decapitation of the king, the massacre of the queen, rebellion and quarrels of the chiefs—that the public can no longer place any reliance on such rumours, unless they see some substantial proof of their correctness. We should think it improbable that the Burmese, however desirous of peace they may be, will offer very advantageous terms at the very season of the year when the setting in of the rains promises them relief, in a suspension of hostilities; unless, indeed, they calculate that their opponents will be more inclined to listen to reason at this period, when they have before them the ordeal of another rainy season, from which it would be humane as well as wise to save their troops. A private letter, dated Rangoon, January 30th, addressed to a person in India, says:—

"We are not a little amused at the accounts given in your newspapers of our operations against the Burmese. The different affairs we have had with the enemy are so transmugrified, that we can hardly recognise them. But, in the name of common sense, what could have induced the good folks in Bengal to give us credit for capturing several hundred cannon? Why, there are not a hundred pieces in the whole empire." (A bad account of General Campbell's accuracy.) "All the ordnance we have captured are, a useless 12-pounder, three 8-pounders, about a dozen 2 and 3 pound swivels, a quantity of *wooden* guns that were kept for show, about the size of an eight-pounder, and a number of old rusty jingals that would not even be mentioned at a capture in India. Some little discretion should be shown in publishing such absurd and inflated accounts, which expose us to the sarcasms of our naval friends, who knew the real state of the affair, and waggishly quote to us extracts from Mr. North's bulletins of the Ceylon war, many of which have no small resemblance to the Indian accounts of our late proceedings. The Burmese are a noble race, but badly armed, and without discipline. Full one-half of them have only sticks, hardened in the fire, for offensive weapons, and certainly not one-tenth have fire-arms. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, they more than once have boldly stood up to our troops, in disobedience to the orders of their chiefs, who call upon them to retreat as soon as the matchlock-men have given their fire, and the *white faces* are seen peeping over the stockades. Their losses, however, (like the weight of their metal,) have been much magnified by the pen. Our deaths among Europeans alone, amount to more, in my opinion, than all the Burmese losses put together. We have buried more than two hundred since we landed on these ill-fated shores; and those who are left resemble walking spectres. The policy of the Burmese chiefs is to wear us out by repeated desultory attacks; and they might succeed were it not for the jealousy said to subsist between the Prince of Sarrawaddy and Bundoolah, by which the efforts of the latter are neutralized.

EAST INDIAN CLUB.

It was intimated, in a former Number of this work, that a meeting had been called at Calcutta, of the class of persons known by the various names of Indo-Britons, Eurasians, Country-borns, &c., for the purpose of forming themselves into a club. The meeting took place accordingly, in the Town-Hall, on the 14th of March last, when a series of resolutions were proposed and agreed to, for promoting the end in view, which will be best understood from a brief abstract of their proceedings. Mr. G. S. Dick being called to the chair, addressed the meeting in the following terms:—

"My Countrymen,—We are all of us, I fancy, already pretty well informed of the reason of this meeting. The object of it, in a few words, is, to establish a club of our own particular class of society, for the laudable purposes of conviviality and more frequent and social intercourse; and I would fain hope for the encouragement and gradual excitement of every patriotic feeling that ought to dwell in our hearts, and that may or can be of service, either now to ourselves or hereafter to our posterity.

"It has frequently been matter of some dispute, by what name we should be designated. We have received many appellations. By some, we have been denominated Indo-Britons; by others, Eurasians; and by many, East Indians. Perhaps we have been honoured with many other appellations, all of which, however, it would be only idle to enumerate. Now, though it cannot really be of much consequence to any of us, what be our present or future designation, yet I think, as a distinct body of people, we should be at once determined and content to assume and adhere to that national name which may now, by the majority of us present, be considered the most appropriate and applicable designation."

He then proceeded to discuss the comparative merits of the several appellations which had been at different times suggested for this race, (partly of European and partly of Asiatic extraction,) concluding very judiciously in favour of the term "East Indian," as the most appropriate. It is analogous to West Indian, the name given to Creoles of our possessions in the West; it is immediately derived from the name of the country in the English language, and therefore the most suitable for a people educated in their religion, language, and manners as Englishmen; it contradistinguishes them from the aboriginal natives of the country, who are properly designated Hindoos, Gentoos, Bengalees, Malabarees, &c., according to their faith, country, &c., by terms formed from their own respective languages. But this being a new race, springing from the present political situation of the country, and having one common character throughout the whole limits of our rule, it requires a name of equally extensive import. "East Indian" is that term; it properly belongs to this race, and to no other; it embraces the whole, and could not, with any precision or propriety of speech, be applied to any other class of the natives of India, since, in speaking of them, no one who has an idea of their manifold distinctions of caste and character, would think of confounding the whole inhabitants of that vast tract of country under one denomination. But the most important object was the formation of a social assembly, which might form a permanent bond of union among this new people. Dr. P. Dick, in addressing the meeting, observed, that—

"If in any country there ever was a good reason to establish a social meeting for the purposes of promoting good fellowship and friendly feeling among a particular class of men, it could not, I conceive, be more urgent than that which so loudly calls for a similar institution of East Indians in this country.

"We are considered here, we all know, as a separate class of society. We are deserted by Europeans in this country; and although united with them by the most sacred bonds of relationship, we are avoided, and looked upon as their inferiors, although many of us have been instructed at the same seminaries in England with them, and most of us have received a far better education than the generality of the British youth who come to this country, at an early period of life, to seek their fortune.

"Surely, then, these are sufficient reasons that we should associate amongst ourselves, by establishing a club like the one which we are at present assembled to propose, not merely for the purpose of eating and drinking, but for the much more noble one of encouraging every friendly feeling towards each other, and every social virtue which can or does exist in the mind of man.

"In a society of this kind we might confer and converse openly and fearlessly on every subject which peculiarly influences us, a large body of people in this our extensive country. We might here propose the adoption of such measures as should be deemed most likely to remedy our grievances, or abolish the production of them altogether.

"You were told, my Countrymen, the other day, at a meeting in this place, to court more the society of Europeans; I would not be understood to dissuade you from this, but I would *strongly recommend* you not to neglect your own. Out of eight-and-twenty years of my life, twenty-four I have passed in England; and however much I had reason to admire the conciliating manners, the liberality of mind, and charitable disposition of the British in their own country, towards all ranks of society from every nation, yet I am sorry to say I have not discovered the like noble characteristics among many of them who are resident here; and if it be true (which none can deny) that there are, amongst East Indians, men whose minds have been as highly cultivated, and whose manners have been formed equal to the most accomplished scholar, or polished gentleman; and if (as we must all know) there is no other reason for this dislike, or rather I might call it enmity, than an uncharitable feeling, and a haughtiness of pride in the minds of those in whom such exist, should we not endeavour to seek more the society of ourselves? Let us not compromise our feelings of honour, or sacrifice our independence, for the sake of acquiring an acquaintanceship with those who neither respect nor desire to know us. Be assured that a firm and independent conduct will ever gain for us the esteem and good-will of all honourable and wise men; and we shall then disdain and contemn the sneers of the ignorant and the pride of the prejudiced."

The following resolutions were then read:—

"Resolved, 1st, that a monthly dinner-club be established, and called the East Indian Club.

"2d. That every member be an East Indian.

"3d. That the number of members be unlimited.

"4th. That every East Indian wishing to become a member, after this date, shall be first proposed by two members, and then be ballotted

for, or otherwise approved of by a majority of members, before admission.

"5th. That there be one fixed monthly meeting, at dinner, on the first Monday of every month, at half-past six P. M.

"6th. That the meeting for the present be held at the Town-Hall.

"7th. That every member pay as entrance-money one hundred rupees, and further, the monthly sum of sixteen rupees, in the beginning of every month, before the regular meeting takes place.

"12th. That there be also a secretary and collector to the club, and that the Bank of Hindoostan be requested to be treasurers.

"13th. That every member be allowed to bring his friend, of any nation or country, excepting an East Indian, who may be settled and residing at Calcutta."

As small springs often swell to large rivers, who can say what may be the ultimate consequences of this East Indian Association? It is only within the last two or three years that the East Indians have begun to unite among themselves for public objects. In 1823, they did so for the laudable purpose of promoting education among their own body. With this view, they established a grammar school; but a difference soon after arising among its managers, (fomented by the Hon. J. H. Harrington, Esq., Member of Council, and the church party,) some were ready to predict a total failure of the plan. Instead of this, two Indo-British institutions started up instead of one,[1] and are now among the most useful seminaries of education in the metropolis of British India. Now an East Indian club has been formed, and every day this neglected body is rising in numbers, in wealth, and intelligence. Yet the Company, so jealous of Europeans, so careful to exclude them from its territories, stands idly looking on, while this new race, increasing with accelerating rapidity, is beginning already to form a most important part in the population of the country, but apparently excluded from all political calculation. Those who, from manners and education, have the same aspirations after honour and respectability as the rulers of the country, are kept in a state of degrading political Helotism, which every thing shows to be becoming every day more intolerably galling to their feelings. They are excluded from the army, excluded from the civil service of the state, excluded from sitting upon juries; (an abominable injustice, unparalleled except in the slave islands;) and, as a natural consequence of the debasing effects of these things upon them as a body, they are, in great measure, excluded from the society of Europeans altogether. Is it in human nature that these indignities will not inspire a feeling of deep resentment, such as that developed in a case before the police, related in the same papers, where an East Indian of the name of Halifax, of good education, head-teacher in one of the Calcutta academies, was involved in a quarrel, by having,

[1] This second was established in consequence of the successful efforts of Mr. Harrington, the Rev. Mr. Hawtayne, and the Rev. Mr. Thomason, to place the first under the church influence. If their motive in so doing was to promote "social order," their measures do not seem to have attained the object in view; for we find by a Calcutta police report, dated the 19th of March last, that four of their teachers have been fighting, two and two; Mr. Halifax with Mr. Hawkins, and Mr. Slater with Mr. Williamson, both about the same time; for which one was condemned to suffer a month's imprisonment, and two bound over to keep the peace.

in an unguarded moment, given vent to expressions of the most cordial detestation of the whole British race.[a] The guilty causes which produce such feelings, and are in operation upon a whole people, should be removed or who can answer for the consequences? The association now formed, may give form and consistency to their sentiments; but instead of being dangerous, it will, we believe, prove highly salutary, as it will awaken the attention of those who may apply a remedy before it be too late. That the East Indian Club has already excited some attention at home, may be gathered from the remark of a contemporary publication closely connected with the India House, which is of opinion that the institution will be productive of important results, but whether good or bad is doubtful. This is to mistake the symptom for the disease; the usual fault of quacks in politics as well as in medicine. In India, the newspapers seem cautious of speaking on the subject; aware, perhaps, that the Government has some qualms of conscience in regard to it. The 'Bengal Hurkaru' of March 18, observes respecting those who decline giving the Club their support, that "the greatest and most *praiseworthy* objection made by those who stand aloof, is founded on their fear of displeasing the Government. This (he goes on to say) is, of course, a matter of mere judgment; but our own conviction is, that Government would just as soon see fifty clubs established in Calcutta as none at all; and that while European gentlemen form themselves into clubs, either for *hilarious* or *literary* purposes, so the East Indians are at perfect liberty to do the same, without the least risk of displeasing a Government which is never better pleased than when it sees those under its sway both HAPPY, FREE, and INDEPENDENT"!!

This is an alarming announcement, indeed, for the gentlemen of Leadenhall-street, who declare that their system of rule has been, *is*, and MUST *always be*, a despotism. What! their servants delighting in nothing so much as seeing the natives of India not only "free," but "INDEPENDENT"! With this view, *fifty* juntos of East Indians to be organized, and have regular monthly meetings, with their presidents, vice-presidents, secretaries, and treasurers, the latter office performed by some of the first banking-houses in the country; and all this receiving the cheering countenance and approbation of their faithful servants! But they may calm their apprehension with the consoling reflection, that this glowing picture is only the production of the warm imagination of a genuine Oriental, whose notion of independence of mind may be conceived from his own definition of public virtue:—that there is no *greater* or more *praiseworthy* motive, than to avoid giving offence to the powers that be. If John Hampden and his noble contemporaries had acted upon such slavish maxims, this writer, with all his countrymen, might have been now labouring in chains.

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[a] *Police Report, March* 19.—Mr. Halifax, head-teacher of the Calcutta Grammar-School, complained of a Mr. Hawkins, another teacher, having assaulted him. The defendant pleaded in justification of the outrage, that, being in company with Mr. Halifax, (who is an East Indian,) he "had broken out on a sudden, stating that he contemned, abhorred, and detested all Englishmen, and the English nation." This was corroborated by the evidence of another witness, Mr. Slater, another teacher, who told Mr. Halifax to desist, as "it was hurtful to his feelings to hear his countrymen abused," which he was obliged to repeat two or three times. Such are the feelings imbued into the race that forms the great link between the European and the Native!

We regret to observe, by a letter in a late Indian paper, ('Bengal Hurkaru,' March 19,) that the little which the Government had begun to do in favour of this hardly-used race of men, by making them medical assistants, is now considered to be superseded by the school established for educating Native doctors. An institution good in itself, is converted into an engine of public injustice to another class; so strongly are all our East Indian proceedings tainted by the baneful principle of monopoly and exclusion. Why should an institution, maintained at the expense of the state, confine its advantages to Hindoos, Mohammedans, or men of any one caste or creed? Above all, on what principle are East Indians, who have the strongest claims on the encouragement of Government, excluded from the benefits of medical instruction? The taking from them of this only miserable boon that had been granted, in addition to all their other privations, evinces a most unfeeling disregard of justice, which, it is to be hoped, the Directors will think proper to correct.

By a report of the proceedings in the Court of Requests at Calcutta, on the 19th of March, it appears that a subscriber to the 'John Bull' newspaper (Mr. Howard) thought it unsafe to pay his bills, because the paper had lately changed masters so often, that he did not know who had the best rights to its profits. "Dr. Bryce, (says the report,) he had understood was the present proprietor; and the 'John Bull' had been transferred so frequently from one party to another, that he did not consider it safe to meet the demand unless the proprietors were proved and a regular assignment of the bills made. He had received so many chits from Mr. Meiklejohn [Dr. Bryce's brother-in-law] which contained so many 'AND IFS,' that he did not understand their purport at all." He concluded by requesting the proprietors to prove their deed of copartnership, or sue him in the names of the proper persons; since, as for Mr. Meiklejohn, who was made the present plaintiff, he did not know him, nor had he even had any dealings with him at all. The *onus probandi* being thrown on the plaintiffs, who were allowed time to produce their evidence, took care not to let the case come any more before the Court. Dr. Bryce is now apparently reverting to the old and prudent maxim, that "least said is soonest mended."

We may take this opportunity of clearing off some scores with this political organ, which has the credit of such a reverend fraternity. To speak of it with all due respect, the *Reverend* 'John Bull' says, (March 21st, 1825,) in answer to a charge made against him by a contemporary, (that in opposing the politics of the 'Calcutta Journal,' he endeavoured to pull to pieces the Editor's private character,)—"We never diverged from the politics to the 'private character' of the Editor. The former we set ourselves up strenuously to oppose,—the latter he himself brought before the Indian public, by *first* publishing an attack upon it contained in the 'London Quarterly Review,' and then calling on this public to give 'a conscientious estimate' of his defence; adding, soon after, that 'falsehood or iniquity must attach somewhere.' To the expression of this conscientious estimate we gave all the publicity in our power." This is said by the publisher of a series of false and infamous libels; so false, that when afforded an opportunity in a court of justice, he never attempted to prove the truth of a single particle of them,—so infamous, that the Judge called upon to try them denounced them as too atrocious

to be thought of without horror! These are now with unblushing effrontery called "a conscientious estimate;" and the foundation of this Reverend Libeller's hollow defence is, that the article from the 'Quarterly Review,' (now fully admitted to be an unjustifiable libel,) was first published in India by the Editor of the 'Calcutta Journal,' who thus, it is pretended, brought his private character voluntarily before the Indian public. In this, however, there is no truth whatever; as, in the first place, the 'Quarterly Review' itself being then as much, or perhaps more, read in India than any other English publication, whatever it contained was public enough there; besides which, the article was reprinted in another paper (the 'Bengal Hurkaru') before it appeared in the 'Calcutta Journal.' So much for the Reverend Defamer's "conscientious estimate," and equally honest and conscientious defence! But the party of which he has ever been the willing tool, seeing the victim of their oppression now precluded—by his despotic banishment from India, and the utter destruction of his property there in a manner equally despotic—from vindicating his own character either by his personal presence, or by expensive legal prosecutions, they now think they may repeat their slanders against him with impunity.

The same veracious publication has ventured to contradict a statement made somewhat more than twelve months ago in the India House, we believe by Mr. Hume, that letters to the newspapers must have the names of those who send them written on the outside, or the postmasters will not receive them. This the Reverend Editor says, "has not a shade of truth in it"!! In opposition to this high authority on the spot, we take upon ourselves to state, that if the letters sent to the post-office be not indorsed with the names of those who send them, the dawk sircars make a point to ascertain the name from the servants who carry the letters, for the purpose of being written on the back of them. That this was the constant practice, till very lately, can be easily proved by documentary evidence in our possession*; and we have yet to learn how and when it was discontinued: such a fact would require to rest on some better authority than 'John Bull.'

The same paper affects to doubt either the existence of domestic slavery, and the trading of slaves by the Arabs and rich natives of Calcutta, which has been stated by us both on the authority of private letters, and of the public papers there; or that European women have ever been removed from that country by the power of summary transportation without trial. Does he think this an exclusive prerogative of the other sex, or has he never heard that the Madras Government removed from that settlement the daughters of an English clergyman, on the ground that they had not such *near* connexions there as were thought by Government to give them a proper title to make that their home? Incredible as it seems, it is so stated by a gentleman who received this information on the spot. But as 'John Bull' is so ignorant of what is passing around him, perhaps he does not know that the wife of his own printer had some difficulty in getting the permission of the Monopolists of the good things of the East to go out to join the person who is her husband. Let him be a little more careful in his inquiries before he ventures again to question the accuracy of those who, being at a distance, would have a better excuse for being occasionally betrayed into errors.

At a meeting of the Asiatic Society, which took place at Calcutta on

the 9th of March last, a number of curiosities were produced which had been procured by Mr. Hodgson from Nepaul; among others four large printed works, (in the Bhoteea language we suppose,) whose reputation had gained them a place in the archives of Swogoombho Nath, obtained from the principal officiating Lama; also a large MS. work, and a variety of printed as well as written productions from the same source; the Mooney Pote, or treatise on the praying cylinder, a wonderful discovery in that part of the world, where, in the article of prayer, it is not thought necessary to stir the atmosphere by the motion of men's lips, since this can be done with greater facility by whirling round the prayers in a cylinder, which is easily kept in perpetual motion. There were also various pictures and emblems of the "Punj Budh," or five celestial Budhs of Bhote and Nepaul, besides a religious drum and other sacred utensils. The Secretary also read a paper, by Mr. Hodgson, on the Literature of Thibet; and we are informed, in addition to the progress that has been made in the collection of Bhoteea works, that as "Dr. Carey is about to give to the world a Grammar of the Bhoteea tongue, there will be little difficulty, it is presumed, in ascertaining their contents. The first five works were procured by Mr. Hodgson from the archives of Swogoombhoo Nath, where, he was informed, their excellence had obtained them a station. The remainder were all procured from the poor traffickers and monks who, annually, visit Nepaul on account of religion and trade. It is no doubt matter of surprise, that literature of any kind should be so common in such a region as Bhote, and very remarkable that it should be so widely diffused as to reach persons covered with filth, and destitute of any of those luxuries which usually precede the luxury of books. Printing is evidently a main cause of great diffusion of literature, yet the very circumstance of printing being in such general use among the Bhoteeas is equally striking. It is performed by wooden blocks, which are, however, often beautifully engraved; and the art has, no doubt, been derived from China. The writing of the Bhoteeas is said to exhibit frequently fine specimens of ready and graceful penmanship. Though the vernacular tongue of Bhote may be considered radically distinct from the Sanscrit, its learned language and letters are said to bear a close affinity to those of India; for when Mr. Hodgson placed the Sanscrit alphabet before a Lama, he at once recognised in it the parent of his own language; and upon his proceeding to compare the two alphabets with each other, the difference between them seemed to be extremely trifling."

STATE OF THE INDIAN PRESS.

It will be recollected, that the shackles imposed on the Indian press, sanctioned by the wisdom of his Majesty's Privy Council, had for their professed object to provide a remedy for two diseases said to infect it: First, a *tendency* (we quote from the preamble of the Regulation) "to bring the Government of the country, as by law established, into hatred and contempt." Secondly, a *tendency* "to disturb the peace, harmony, and good order of society." How far the first object has been accomplished, is proved by a comparison of the feelings manifested towards Lord Hastings when the press was allowed a degree of freedom, and those entertained towards Lord Amherst, now that all freedom is suppressed. No Governor-General ever enjoyed a higher degree of consi-

deration than the former, even from his political opponents; and as for the latter, let the private correspondence from India testify the *intense* love and veneration with which he is regarded, with all his despotic press-laws on his back. Whether, then, is it their presence or their absence which brings a government into "hatred and contempt"? As to their other professed object, the harmony and good order of society, we have an equally striking illustration of their efficacy in the sort of discussion now carried on between the Calcutta daily Papers, in which "LIAR" and "SCOUNDREL" are amongst the courteous terms used.

Before entering into the particulars, that they may be better understood, we shall give a brief account of the persons chiefly engaged in it. The first is Mr. Charles Beckett Greenlaw, Editor of the 'John Bull,' (*alias* Dr. Bryce's) newspaper, for several years past the avowed organ of the Tory, or rather despotic party in Bengal, their obedient tool in issuing all manner of calumnies against the friends of freedom in every part of the world, particularly against those in India, and more especially against the advocates of freedom of the press. Hence the series of libels, of which he was the *convicted* publisher, against the Editor of the Calcutta Journal. This champion of legitimacy and social order is also Coroner of Calcutta. Hence it is a curious matter of speculation, if he happened to wound his adversary mortally in a duel, (and no less than two have been in agitation within the last twelve months, in which he was to have been a principal,) would he (the duellist and Coroner) sit upon his antagonist himself? The other party is, Mr. Robert Adair Macnaghten, (nephew of the late Judge of that name,) a Lieutenant in the Company's service, and editor of another daily Paper, called the 'Bengal Hurkaru,' equally devoted to the powers that be, of whom he holds the staff appointment of Deputy Judge Advocate. The most remarkable feature in his history is, that he was some years ago prosecuted in the Supreme Court, and condemned to pay a fine of 10,000 rupees for having, when invited to the house of a gentleman in the Civil Service, taken the opportunity, when his host was engaged in his judicial duties, to make him the return of seducing his wife, a lady who happened to be as young and susceptible as she was amiable and lovely. Whether the Government thought he required some assistance to pay this heavy penalty, or that a gentleman who had acted in this manner, and was living in a state of open and avowed concubinage with the wife of another, is the fittest to act as censor and general guardian of the public morals under the new regime, certain it is that the Government soon after enabled him to settle in Calcutta, and assume that office, in virtue of the staff appointment, which relieved him from doing duty with his regiment. It is said that, on commencing editor, he wished to supplant the conductor of 'John Bull,' and failing in this, he has pursued his rival with incessant hostility, making him the perpetual object of alternate abuse, ridicule, and invective, almost without a single day's intermission, for twelve months in succession. The attacks were so grossly personal and scurrilous, that Mr. Greenlaw was obliged to save the feelings of his wife from being daily lacerated, by ordering the 'Hurkaru' not to be sent to his residence. This was to Mr. Macnaghten a second triumph over his rival, and a second triumph over the domestic happiness of a family. Instead of feeling any compunction at knowing that his pen had given acute pain to an innocent and tender female bosom, he gloried in it, making it a

subject of boast in his addresses to the Indian public, that Mr. Greenlaw no longer dared to allow his lampoons to poison the peace of his home! How degraded and lost to every generous feeling must that public be, IF it countenances, or even willingly tolerates, such a wanton outrage against the common feelings of humanity! But the society which suffers it is under the dominion of an enslaved press; and as the chief object of this persecution was known to have lent himself to a similar abuse of the press not long before, the remembrance of this fact, yet fresh in the memory of all, might deprive him of public sympathy, when they saw

> ——— evenhanded justice
> Return the poisoned chalice to his lips.

An anonymous writer in 'John Bull,' however, (under the signature of M.,) made Mr. Macnaghten feel in his turn. The ground of attack was, that this Editor had improperly identified his editorial with his military character in his public writings, and presumptuously set himself up as the champion of the army; while he had rendered himself unworthy of this distinguished post by his editorial conduct in general, and particularly by publishing a letter which appeared in the 'Bengal Hurkaru' of the 10th of December last, only about a month after the dreadful carnage at Barrackpore; from which it appears that he considered that lamentable catastrophe a fit subject for buffoonery and ridicule. The passage is as follows, in which the writer ludicrously compares that event with his defeat of some scribbler on Dum-Dum theatricals:—

"*Thistle* the second, (a nickname for the Editor of the 'Scotsman,') not content with cutting and thrusting him with his own sharp and potent weapons, has enlisted into his service the redoubtable champion HONOUR BRIGHT, who, with his artillery from Dum-Dum, commenced such a thundering cannonade the day before yesterday, as made poor *Scriblerus* scamper off much faster than the late 47th did from Barrackpore on the memorable 1st of November"!

Another objection made to his assumption of the character of the champion or representative of the army was, that in his editorial capacity he had himself employed language, and suffered others to employ language in speaking of him, unbecoming of an officer; in which charge the expressions "bravo" and "crest-fallen bully" made a conspicuous figure. Certain it is that these terms had been actually applied to his conduct, long before, by the 'Scotsman' newspaper, which distinctly accused him of having a design, by his style of writing, to drive his opponents in controversy to the "violation of the first of divine and human laws." Some of these points were again strongly urged by a letter in the 'John Bull' of the 4th of April, (signed *A. O.*,) which observed:—

"Has the 'crest-fallen' been the aggrieved, or is he the aggressor? Has he not done all in his power to injure your fame and editorial character? Has he not done so by means he was aware must occasion pain to female bosoms? This is he who would impute to you acts more brutal than human; and is he not now a by-word, and verily a mark for every anonymous writer to shoot his arrows at?"

And concluded with a threat in these words:—

"Let me tell this military Editor, that as long as you will give me a corner in your pages, I will not fail to enforce the fallaciousness of his

arguments, to lay bare the meannesses of his conduct, and to execrate, in measured terms, whatever is disgraceful to the editorial profession."

In consequence of this letter, Mr. Macnaghten, unable to hold out any longer, on the day of its publication sent a private communication to the Editor of 'John Bull,' demanding a "sufficient apology" from him for inserting an epistle which, to use Mr. Macnaghten's own words, "for falsehood and cowardly insolence" equalled the letters of M.; and also demanding of him to give up the names of both "the *mendacious* and *infamous* SCOUNDRELS by whom the letters above-named were written."

Mr. Greenlaw, in reply to this temperate and gentlemanly call, referred the writer to his friend, Captain Husband, H. M. 87th Regiment, in the barracks of Fort William; and the following is the statement given by 'John Bull' of the result:—

"In consequence of the above, Mr. Neave, on the part of Mr. Macnaghten, waited, on Monday afternoon, on Captain Husband, and required an explanation. Captain H. considered the case fully, and after a careful perusal of the papers connected with the subject, could not, consistently with the notions which, as a soldier, he had formed of honour, subscribe to any man putting up with, from a gentleman, such language as the following, which appeared in the 'Scotsman in the East' on the 13th and 15th days of January last respectively:—

"'On the 11th and 13th of last month, we felt it necessary to express, in pretty strong terms, our disapprobation of the system which had for some time previous been pursued by the Editor of the 'Hurkaru,' by aiming at the Editor of the 'John Bull,' daily, insinuations almost too gross to be alluded to; and this we did, by no means as the champion of 'John Bull,' but because we saw the same system, which had been directed against him, gradually extending to ourselves and other members of this society. In thus restraining a spirit uncontrolled by the least sense of decency, and teaching our contemporary of the 'Hurkaru' the ground on which he trod, we only did our duty to ourselves and others; but since our brother Editor has been pleased to notice what we said on that occasion with something like an attempt at ridicule, we must remind him that, guided doubtless by a very commendable prudence, he has not yet ventured to proceed the lengths with us he *formerly* did with the Editor of the 'John Bull': when he so far forgets himself, and what is due to others, as to do *this*, and when we fail to bestow on his trangression that species of notice it may require, let him *then* boast that the expression of our opinion has been made in vain; but *till* then, silence would become him infinitely better than the tone he sometimes ventures to assume, but which, after all that has passed, serves only to expose him to public scorn as a *crest-fallen bully*, unwilling to '*ass-ass*-inate' his own reputation by all at once throwing aside the lion's skin.'"

* * * * * * * *

"'The Editor of the 'Hurkaru,' in his ebullition of yesterday says, that if we will point out what particular offensive expressions which have been applied to the Editor of the 'John Bull' we would desire to have transferred to ourselves, he will comply with our wishes. This we very readily believe he would do, for his whole course has so much resembled that *of a bravo*, and has evinced so total a disregard to every *right feeling*, that we should have had no difficulty in believing, even had he not assured us

of it, that he would without the least compunction do that which might directly lead to a *violation of the first of divine and human laws.* The design of the Editor of the 'Hurkaru' is too obvious to be mistaken: he knew very well that, had it so pleased him, he might have applied to us some of the terms he alludes to, without waiting for us to point them out, *and, that by doing so, he might at once have brought things to the crisis he appears so long and anxiously to have had in view.'*"

"Captain Husband accordingly, on Tuesday morning, delivered to Mr. Neave a paper, of which the following is a copy:—

"'Mr. Macnaghten calls upon Mr. Greenlaw to give up the author of a letter signed A. O. in the 'John Bull,' of April 4th, 1825, or to give him personal satisfaction for the insults contained therein. Captain Husband, friend to Mr. Greenlaw, refuses to let Mr. Greenlaw meet Mr. Macnaghten, from the circumstance of highly-degrading language having been applied to Mr. Macnaghten in the 'Scotsman in the East' newspapers of the 13th and 15th of January, 1825, and such notice not having been taken of them as Captain Husband considers essential to society.'"

"The language used by Mr. Macnaghten, as Editor of the Bengal 'Hurkaru,' during a period of twelve months, with reference personally to the Editor of the 'John Bull,' was of such a nature as no man could have tolerated from another, whom he considered as a gentleman; that the Editor of the 'John Bull' did not himself consider Mr. Macnaghten as deserving any other notice than the most profound contempt, is evident from his whole conduct; and in this conduct he has been supported by his friends on more than one occasion, when he did not feel justified in relying on his own judgment. The above correspondence will speak for itself; but to show, in a plain and unequivocal point of view, Mr. Macnaghten's notion of honourable conduct, it is only necessary to state, that he sent Mr. Neave to Captain Husband on Monday afternoon last, and while both the Editor of the 'John Bull' and Mr. Macnaghten were in the hands of these gentlemen, and they were engaged in considering the case, Mr. Macnaghten thought proper to publish in the Bengal 'Hurkaru' the following notice:—

"'*To Correspondents.*—On Saturday we received a letter signed UMBRA, taking awful liberties with Tootle's editorial character, and making some cutting exposures of his public conduct; but we wish to decline its insertion from the feeling of self-importance which even such a castigatory letter would occasion him, from the notion that we required assistance (other than what he himself affords us) to render him at once ridiculous and contemptible.—The Editor of the 'John Bull' is satisfied with making this plain statement, and he safely leaves his character and conduct to the judgment of the public.'"

But Mr. Macnaghten, as may be imagined, was by no means satisfied with an arrangement which was to shut him out of the pale of gentlemanly society. He immediately sent a letter to Mr. Greenlaw, of the following tenor:—

"Sir,—Our mutual friends having been unable to come to such an arrangement as *I* require, and concluding that the act of Capt. Husband is *your* act, or rather, I should say, that you mean to screen yourself behind his opinion from the risk incurred by a ready and manly compliance with my demand, I now tell you that I deem you a *base coward*,

and fairly apprise you of my intention to publish you as such, and your associates or associate, M. and A. O., as liars and cowards, to-morrow morning. On account of Mrs. Greenlaw, I certainly should not have adopted this measure to degrade you publicly, had your poltroonery not deprived me of every other alternative." On the receipt of this, Mr. Greenlaw sent an intimation, through Mr. Tate, attorney-at-law, to the Proprietors of Mr. Macnaghten's paper, that they should be held responsible for any defamatory matter it might contain. Mr. Macnaghten had therefore recourse to the expedient of sending forth a printed manifesto, in the form of a pamphlet. In order to wipe off the stain thrown upon his character by the foregoing language applied to him by the 'Scotsman,' he obtained a letter from Mr. Loch, the Editor of that paper, declaring that by the terms "bravo,"—"crest-fallen bully," &c., he by no means intended to charge him with pusillanimity. On the contrary, he says, "my remarks were merely intended to express my strong disapproval of your public writings as productive of heart-burnings and personal animosities, and leading to rencontres of a very unpleasant description."

On this, Mr. Macnaghten, in his manifesto, remarks: "Mr. Loch, it will be observed, does not accuse me of any thing worse than a desire to give rise to a personal quarrel. Now, if this were correct, it forms at all events rather a *reverse* to a want of proper spirit, than a deficiency of a quality so essential to a gentleman. It may make me appear blood-thirsty, but not pusillanimous."—Bravo! cries Mr. Macnaghten, triumphantly. They have only been calling me a "blood-thirsty"[3] miscreant: this, sure, is no imputation discreditable to me as a man of honour! With this interpretation of the code of honour, fully acquitted in his own eyes, he denounces Mr. Greenlaw as having sunk "from the lowest deep of infamy" into a lower-deep; and his Correspondents, M. and A. O, as "mendacious and cowardly scoundrels." Such is the "peace, harmony, and good order of society" produced by the press laws of Judge Macnaghten and Governor Adam. The friends of free discussion in India being now put down, they can no longer be accused; and their enemies, having no one else to attack, now show themselves in their true colours by tearing each other to pieces. For, be it observed, the

[3] That it may be fairly judged how far he merits the title here adopted, it should be recollected that this is the person who said in his paper, in November last, that if *treble* the number of sepoys had been massacred at Barrackpore, he would have considered it "neither lamentable nor excessive,"—not even a thing to be lamented! In a late number of his paper, he affects great commiseration for brutes, although he shows so little for men. He discourses pathetically on the severity exercised by the Natives on their beasts of draught and burden; and accuses them accordingly of being generally devoid of those humane feelings that distinguish him and his countrymen. He observes, that "the 'Scotsman' is quite right in what he says about the impotency of the press in India; because no press but one that is entirely free *can* be a corrector of evil, and a guardian over *every right*, as its natural powers cannot be fully exercised, and as not only its censure but its suggestions may be forbidden to be heard; but as freely as we can, will we continue to use our intercession on this occasion; and *some* part of [illegible] although men are wantonly massacred, no one dare raise his voice in their behalf; but if a carman overload or overdrive his beast, the press is eloquent in denouncing the oppressor. The authors of such a degrading system are surely fitter to rule over brutes than men!

parties in this warfare are both equally distinguished by their devoted adulation and sycophancy to men in power.

It is stated in the 'Globe' Evening Paper, that "the merchant ship *Almorah*, seized at New South Wales by his Majesty's ship *Slaney*, as noticed in our last, arrived on the 12th at Madras, remained till the 17th May, and then sailed for Calcutta. The captors have not brought forward any of the usual proceedings in the legal courts for the condemnation of the *Almorah*. A letter asserts, that the Captain of the *Slaney*, finding the case likely to go against him at Sydney, carried her out of port in resistance to the civil authorities. It then goes forward to state, that the cause of detention is futile in the extreme; that the vessel was chartered by the Government authorities at Sydney for the purpose of bringing necessaries from Batavia, and for that purpose a Deputy Commissary was put on board, who had the direction of the whole affair of purchase, shipping on board, &c. &c., and that it certainly is the custom to have a certificate from the Agents of the Company in shipping tea on board vessels trading within the Company's charter, but that it is a mere matter of form, and never refused. On this question the case rests."

The same Paper gives the following as the substance of a variety of letters received from Calcutta:—"The Indian Government is in want of a large sum of money, and has opened books for a loan of unlimited amount, at the rate of five per cent. interest per annum. One half of the old four per cent. loan was to be taken in subscriptions for the new loan. At the date of these letters there was small progress made in obtaining subscriptions, on account of the great scarcity of money in India. For small periods the rates of interest usually paid are from seven to eight per cent. per annum.—The exchange with England had advanced to 2*s*. 2*d*. The Government had refused to take up any more vessels for transports, and were about paying off those previously chartered, to the amount of 13,000 tons."

It has been stated in the 'Telescope,' that private letters give the following particulars with regard to the money-market in Calcutta: From the scarcity of bullion, many houses that but a few weeks before would have stared at the mention of 5 per cent., are now happy to give 7, and even 8, for accommodation. This is said to arise from a deficiency of money at the treasury, which has drawn all the bullion from the bank, who, in their turn, have refused to accommodate the public, and drawn with them the private banks and agency-houses. In the mean time, the public expenses rather increase than diminish: the shipping and other charges of the Burmese war continue unabated, and no less than fourteen additional Native regiments are raising. Of these, two are cavalry, and twelve infantry: of the infantry, six are to be put upon the same establishment as the regular line; and six, for police duties, escorting treasure, &c., are to have two European field-officers and a European adjutant.

It would appear, that in addition to the folly of not crushing the Burtpore Rajah, some humiliating concessions have been made to the murderer. This prepares us for the report now very generally believed of the threatening attitude assumed by Runjeet Sing, and leads to the anticipation that all the troops which have the good fortune to survive the rains in

Arracan, will find ample employment in the north of Hindoostan next month.

The mercantile people of Calcutta are consoling themselves with the belief that their wants will be relieved by the arrival of specie, which they hear the Indian Government have drawn from this country. Of course they are leaning on a broken reed; for neither had the Indian Government the sense to report, nor the sages of Leadenhall-street the foresight to anticipate, the probable state of things; so that by next accounts we may expect to find the exchanges something near what they used to be some years ago.

A letter quoted in the 'New Times,' dated in the end of March, says: "The Madras Government have made gigantic efforts to bring the war to a close; and two more Native regiments, the 1st and 23d, are now under orders for Rangoon, which will be more than one-third of the whole of the Native infantry on the coast. His Majesty's 59th and 87th regiments are also coming round from Calcutta. It is the opinion of most experienced men here, that the season is now too far advanced to admit of any thing being done before November next, except taking possession of Prome, on the Irrawaddy, which, from the strength of our army, we can do without much opposition. The thermometer is now at 98, and April, the hottest month, is still to come before the rains."

CENTRAL INDIA.

We give the following extracts before referred to, from the 'Bombay Gazette,' as being the most complete account of the affair of Bhurtpore, as well as the best political essay we have seen for a long while in any Indian Paper, although there is a miserable lack of candour in professing that the breaking out of this dangerous spirit, at the *present* moment, is a source of satisfaction!

"It may appear strange to many of our readers that we announce war in the heart of India with a considerable degree of satisfaction; but so it is; being confident that it is not only in our power to assign motives sufficient to justify the feeling, and secure us against the charge of a sanguinary disposition, but to gain proselytes from the most zealous votaries of peace.

"From those who are acquainted with the natives of Bhurtpore, the very name will suffice to bear us out; and many who are not aware of the detestation and insolence with which they conduct themselves towards Europeans, may recollect their early treachery and dereliction of every principle of good faith, for which even the most savage nations have generally evinced some respect.

"A few months since, the late Rajah finding his health on the decline, requested the British Government to acknowledge his son, an infant six years of age, as his heir apparent. The Resident of Malwa and Rajpootana accordingly recognised the child with the usual formalities, about the beginning of February last. Scarcely had a month elapsed when the Rajah died. His appointed successor was duly proclaimed; and, as is too frequently the case on the accession of an Asiatic infant prince, the shouts which hailed his opening career were the signals for the explosion of private intrigue, unfurling the standard of rebellion, and the sacrifice of human victims to ambition and avarice. A cousin of the young Rajah, named Doorjun Lol, aided by a numerous

gang of partisans, amongst whom were three regiments of regulars seduced from their allegiance, gained possession of the fort by blowing open one of the gates, and usurped the sovereign power. The Rajah, with 500 soldiers of unshaken fidelity, had retreated to private apartments in the palace when our accounts were despatched; and it is stated that the rebels are only deterred from attacking this asylum by a threat of the old Ranee, to explode an extensive magazine of powder in her possession in the event of force being resorted to; having determined that the life of the child shall not be forfeited without the same fate attending his enemies.

"Doorjun Lol is represented as being a few degrees above idiotism, which renders him a convenient instrument for the aggrandizement of a younger brother, who is reputed to possess abilities and ambition unrestrained by principle or feeling.

"The treaty we are at present under with this state entitles it to our assistance in such emergencies, and about 10,000 men which were assembling from the nearest stations, with a suitable battering train, are by this time in active operations, as the siege was expected to commence about the 15th. Sir David Ochterlony arrived at Muttra on the 24th of last month to take the field; and General Reynell was then expected.

"Bhurtpore is situated in a plain 28 miles N.N.W. of Agra. The fortress was originally built by an enterprising Jaut, named Churamun, who had enriched himself by plundering the baggage of Aurungzebe's army, in his last march to the Deccan. After various changes in the state and opulence of Bhurtpore, it first became interesting, as connected with British politics, in 1803, when a treaty of perpetual friendship was concluded by Lord Lake with Runjeet Sing, the Rajah, by which the interests of both Governments were to be mutually supported against all hostile measures on the part of any other power whatsoever."

He then details the political transaction which led to the siege of that place by Lord Lake, and accounts for his failure by the want of ammunition and inexperience of the engineer officers.

"In so remote a period, the truth, perhaps, is not easily obtained; but if reports are to be believed, it is not unreasonable to conjecture, that with the exception of their uniform and commissions, these officers possessed but little that could entitle them to a voice in council, or even a situation in the camp; being as void of scientific knowledge as they were of ammunition,—to say nothing of common sense.

"The evil results of this disastrous siege were not only loss of reputation, but also many of the bravest troops in the world, with whose blood the ditch of Bhurtpore was crimson: the slaughter being greater than an aggregate of what occurred in three general engagements during these wars. The triumphant Jauts, intoxicated with a blaze of victory which they have never forgotten, believe themselves proof against those armies which subdued the proudest of their neighbours; and, to this day, scarcely a native from the Indus to the Burrampooter is there who does not subscribe to their creed; while the vilest reptile from the veriest dregs of the Bhurtpore population fancies himself a partner in the glory, and, conscious of superiority, curls his mustachios with self-importance, and a sneer of ineffable contempt in the face of every Englishman he meets.

"The town is perhaps one of the most extensive and populous in

Hindoostan. It is said to be eight miles in circumference. The fortifications, although constructed according to the system usually adopted by Natives, possess considerable strength. The people are active, brave and well armed. A handsome palace stands within the fortress, containing numerous apartments, and a spacious hall of audience, singular from the chaste appearance of its walls and columns, which are formed of a very fine sand-stone, and free from any addition either of paint or white-wash, usual in other Native buildings. On one side of the town an extensive sheet of water forms an admirable security; while, on the opposite side, which, if we remember correctly, appears to be weakest in artificial defence, a jungle extends nearly to the counterscarp of the ditch, forming no indifferent cover for hostile troops. Wild hogs and game of all descriptions are in a state of preserve even close to the walls.

"The Rajah's territories are extensive and fertile; but the boundaries have never been clearly defined. Deeg and Biana, two cities of considerable importance, are within this principality. The former became a place of celebrity from the famous battle fought under its walls, when Holkar's army was nearly annihilated, although it consisted of 24 battalions of infantry, a large body of horse, and 160 pieces of ordnance; and in a strong position, opposed to only 6000 men under General Frazer.

"Independent of the many permanent advantages which may be derived from the control of a centrical state, powerful both in men and treasure, the opportunity could not have occurred at a more favourable season than the present for the display of an example; nor (had it been left to choice) could a theatre have been found better calculated to call forth attention, or add to its effect, than the spot which every Native believes consecrated to Indian valour—a sort of Thermopylæ for wondrous deeds that have defied the gigantic power which give laws to 28,000,000 of people, can confer a diadem, or compel kings and potentates to kiss the rod."

RANGOON FORCE.

According to the late accounts, this force, so long unable to move at all, was now surmounting every obstacle with the greatest rapidity; and it is officially reported, that Sir A. Campbell, after having returned, and in conjunction with General Cotton, defeated the Burmese leader, Bundoolah, at Donabew, had again advanced, and on the 25th of April taken actual possession of Prome. To account for this late surprising change in the aspect of affairs, a writer in the Madras 'Government Gazette' of March 22d, intimates a suspicion that the Burmese are acting upon a preconcerted plan, to draw the British forces into the interior of the country, and then cut off their supplies; a mode of warfare so well adapted to their circumstances, by which they have so severely punished former invasions. The season of the year, too, at which they would seem to have put this system in practice, is that most calculated to second their insidious policy; as our army is lured into the heart of the enemy's country just at the commencement of the rains, when inundation renders the roads impracticable. The following is the passage to which we allude:—

"The Burmese, says a Correspondent, seem to have acquired a

becoming respect for us, or, from their known character, they may be considered by some as playing a deep and crafty game; as they evacuate every post on the approach of our army, and we understand all the people come into their villages with their property, as if directed to do so by their Government. Scarcely a Native was to be seen in Rangoon during eight or nine months; and the place now contains thousands of inhabitants—their shops again open, where bread, very fine vegetables and fruit may be procured; good fish, and in great abundance, and meat, are also to be had. The people daily come in bringing their wives and children, with their cattle. In some letters it is mentioned as a singular circumstance, that amidst all this influx none of the *real* Burmese return. The people of the neighbouring villages bring in rather abundant supplies of poultry and eggs; they also bring supplies of leaves for covering the houses, which were much required. The change has taken place so suddenly, as to appear almost the work of enchantment; and the wonder is, where the quantities of articles, thus suddenly presented to view, have been so long concealed. The country about Rangoon is described as beautiful, and the climate very delightful."

The 'Madras Courier' of April 19th, gives a very circumstantial account of General Cotton's attack on the Burmese stronghold at Donabew, his capture of one position, and subsequent repulse. "Our troops gained the strongest and best defended position in the most gallant style, with a party (it is said) of 400 men against 2000; but were unable to keep possession of it, owing to the strength of the enemy and the weak state to which we were reduced by the attack on the stockade, where, out of the 200 men sent against it, 150 and two gallant officers (Captains Rose and Cannon) lost their lives. It must not be forgotten (adds the writer) that 400 men out of the 900, the whole strength of General Cotton's force, were left in charge of the boats; for independent of the 25,000 men (said to be) in the stockade, there were upwards of 70 war-boats, containing from 60 to 80 men each; so that had the whole of the men been landed, the boats would have been attacked and carried off." General Cotton has therefore sustained his character in extricating his troops from this perilous situation. But it is equally clear, that in leading them into it he miscalculated sadly the military *character* of the enemy; for their *number*, on which the above excuse for his failure solely rests, was by no means unknown to him. It is stated, that on the 6th of March, when the place was summoned to surrender, the Burmese General sent an answer, "that hitherto we had had neither men nor soldiers to deal with: we should now find that we had both; and that he was ready for us both by land or water; and that if previous to the attack our General would like to view his works, he should feel proud to show them to him." This offer which, in others, would be acknowledged as the perfection of chivalrous courtesy, will probably in this case be called the boast of a barbarian! The above affair, which took place next day, General Cotton giving his directions from the steam-boat, is thus described:—

"At 11 o'clock orders were again sent to Brigadier-General Mallet, that when Captain Kennon and Lieutenant Dixon, the Engineer, reported the practicability of escalading, he was to send a party consisting of 200 men to the attack of the enemy's works. Brigadier-General Mallet immediately ordered 100 of the 89th regiment and 100 of the

47th regiment, under the command of Captain Rose of the 89th, to repair under cover of the house in rear of the battery; he also ordered 50 men of the 89th to be in reserve for their support, with 25 of the 47th regiment. At 12 o'clock, Captain Kennon and Lieutenant Dixon reported, that they saw that part of the enemy had retired from the front face of the stockade; that they would keep up a heavy fire on the enemy's work, and that that was the proper time for the party to advance for the escalade. Brigadier-General Mallet sent with them four ladders, and pointed out the position they were to enter the stockade; on their advancing a dreadful heavy fire from the enemy opened upon them, and from the strength of the abbattis, and difficulty of approach, they swerved too much to the right; and at last, after losing several men, they retired to the right below a bank of the river, where they remained for some time, covered by the bank; they soon after lost a number of men, two Captains of his Majesty's 89th (Rose and Cannon) killed, and one Lieutenant wounded (C. King). After the wounded had been brought in, Brigadier-General Mallet recalled the party, finding it totally impossible for them to get into the works. The enemy kept up a constant fire on our guns and people; and our howitzers, guns and rockets appeared to have but little effect upon them; we had a number of men killed and wounded about the house in rear of our battery, as well as at the post of the Pagoda, from the enemy's guns."

After the above failure, a consultation was held by General Cotton, Brigadier-General Mallet, and Captain Alexander, when it was resolved to be absolutely necessary to withdraw the troops on board the boats that night. A working party of 100 men was immediately ordered to carry off the guns and ammunition, and another of sixty men, to carry off the rockets, &c. They commenced upon this service as soon as it was dark, and every thing was carried away by midnight. "At ten o'clock, the enemy nearly surrounded our post, the Pagoda, and opened a tremendous fire of musketry, but met with a warm reception from our little force, they being on the alert; consequently, they were soon beaten off. We had no less than three attacks of this kind, which we repulsed equally well, and with success. At two o'clock, the troops assembled, and retired from the Pagoda stockade, and Lieutenant-Colonel O'Donohue, of the 47th, with the picquet forming the rear-guard, all arrived on board safe, without any further firing, dreadfully fatigued, and not a little annoyed at being obliged to retreat. Thus ended our attack upon Donabew, defended by three of the strongest stockades ever seen in the country, with 25,000 men under Bundoolah, who proved himself on this day a most able general."

It is also remarked, in another account, that the Burmese fought, on this occasion, in better style than they ever did before, and wounded many of the 89th with their swords.

After this disaster, Sir Archibald Campbell having retrograded from within seven miles of Prome, that is, a distance of forty miles, his troops reached Donabew on the 25th of March. A letter dated 30th, from the camp before the place, says, that trenches had been opened several days ago, and the men were severely worked, as, when not employed in them, they were out on picquets, &c.; that the place appeared exceedingly strong, and a much better and bolder set of men than we have hitherto had to deal with, occupying it. Brigadier M'Creagh was going to Sanza,

according to report, and the 28th Native Infantry to stop at Laing, to keep open the communication with Rangoon. The gallant Major Yeates died at Sarawa, and Gibson, the Interpreter, fifteen miles from Laing.[4]

OPERATIONS IN ARRACAN.

The fall of the capital of this province was announced in our last; and the particulars of this event are thus detailed in the 'Calcutta Government Gazette' of April 14:

"It appears that on the 26th of March, General Morrison attacked the enemy, posted on the Pedoaah hills, drove them from the Pass, and advanced to within a mile of Mahatee. On the 27th, Colonel W. Richard's brigade was employed in the attack of a strong position at Mahatee, where the Burmese were entrenched on the opposite banks of a river. The troops forded the river, and gallantly carried the position with the loss of two or three men killed. On the 28th, the force halted. On the 29th, it advanced about seven miles, and came in sight of the very strong position taken up by the enemy for the defence of Arracan. It was a range of hills, almost inaccessible in front from swamps, the summits being cleared and entrenched. An attack on these heights was conducted by Brigadier-General M'Bean on the evening of the 29th, but it failed in consequence of the extreme difficulty of ascending the heights, and the successful resistance of the enemy in rolling down stones. Our loss, on this occasion was, one officer, Captain French, of the Madras 16th regiment, killed; Major Kemm, Captain Fitton, and some other officers, wounded; about thirty men killed, and a hundred wounded. On the 30th, batteries were opened on the enemy's works, and on the evening of the 31st, arrangements were made to attack a fortified height, which was the key of their position. Brigadier Richards, with a part of his brigade, consisting of detachments from his Majesty's 44th regiment, and from the 26th and 49th regiments of Native Infantry, were employed on th is service, which was performed entirely with the bayonet, without firing a shot, and announced to the camp by striking up the British drums and fifes from the summit. During the night, reinforcements and two guns were sent up to Brigadier Richards; and on the morning of the 1st instant, a general attack was made on all the enemy's works, which were carried, with admirable bravery, in an hour, the sepoys vying with their fellow-soldiers of his Majesty's service in pushing on after the defeated enemy. The 26th regiment is said to have been particularly distinguished in this gallant exploit, the Native officers being anxious to

[4] The latest accounts are, that Prome was taken on the 25th of April. One-fourth of it had been previously burnt by the Burmese, who, after evacuating it, retired direct upon the capital, under Prince Sarrawaddy, laying waste the country in their retreat, in order to leave no resources for their invaders. The enemy appears to have offered no resistance to our occupation of this city, as it is stated to have been done without any casualties; although it is said, by General Campbell, to be so strong by nature that 10,000 men might defend it against ten times as many. A great portion of the Burmese gun-boats had been taken by the flotilla under Captain Alexander, R. N. Our loss before Donabew is about 300 men killed, wounded, and missing. Officers killed, Captains Rose and Cannan; wounded, Lieutenants W. J. and C. J. King, Symes, (Madras Artillery,) and Gordon. (H. M. 47th.) On the fall of Donabew, the Burmese General, Bundoolah, is said to have escaped from the field severely wounded, and is reported to be dead.

deserve the approbation of their Brigadier, who had formerly belonged to that corps."

Subsequent reports say, that the whole of the province of Arracan has now fallen into our hands; and as the wind-up of this affair, the 'Globe' has the following judicious remarks: "It is stated, in a letter from Calcutta, that it is the intention of the Government there to add the province of Arracan to the British possessions in India, as a security for the future good conduct of the Burmese monarch. The same, we suppose, will be the case with Assam. That province will remain, at least, if not under our dominion, under our protection, which in India is a bad variety of the same thing. This is a realization of one of the evils apprehended from the Burmese war. The Directors of the India Company have been always very precise and earnest in deprecating any extension of their territory, though not very fortunate in causing their wishes to be observed."

MADRAS.

We are glad to find that the East Indians at Madras are following the example of their brethren at the Bengal Presidency, in devising measures to raise themselves into proper consideration as a body in society. The 'Madras Courier' of March 22, says:—

"We are happy in having it in our power to inform our readers that a meeting has taken place at this Presidency, and although we are not acquainted with the names of the gentlemen who composed it, and have not been requested to notice it, yet, we think, we should be guilty of a dereliction of our editorial duty did we omit so to do. It is, we understand, in contemplation to form a committee here to act as a branch of the committee in Calcutta, should no objection exist to such a measure, and none we imagine will present itself, provided the committee is properly organized. Another meeting, we hear, will shortly take place, when we hope to be favoured with the particulars of it."

The 'Madras Courier' of March 29th, in reply to some remarks contained in a former Number of this work, (in relation, we believe, to the Bombay Barristers,) on the ruinous expense of lawyers' fees in India, says:—"If Mr. Buckingham had, at the same time, given a scale of the salaries and emoluments of ALL others in India, and contrasted them with the salaries of men who possess equal talents, and who have duties equally burdensome and responsible to discharge in England, he would have been still more amusing. His readers would find that in Calcutta Mr. Buckingham's paper sold for one rupee, or at his own rate of exchange, two shillings. If he were to publish a much better paper in England, and were successful in obtaining subscribers, what would be his profit? Why, after deducting the sum paid for stamp-duty, the cost of the paper, &c., he would not receive more than twopence-halfpenny."

In reply, (or rather rejoinder,) we have only to remind this writer, who is, we believe, a lawyer himself, as well as an Editor, that in India, where the number of readers is very limited, he cannot possibly sell more than a few hundred copies of any newspaper; but in England he might dispose of two or three times as many thousands. If, therefore, a newspaper here, (suppose 'The Times,') circulating twenty thousand copies, require a profit of 2½d. on each copy sold, a paper in India of equal attraction, (since it cannot get more than 1000 regular subscribers, taking a very high estimate,) ought to have twenty times the profit on each; that is,

four shillings and twopence! Hence, by his own rule, such a paper in India at *two* shillings was cheap: and the same rule applies to every publication devoted to any select class of readers, as to a particular branch of art or science, or the affairs of a particular country; since it cannot expect to command such extensive support as publications of a more general character. Lawyers, however, have usually more business in India than they would have had in England. In regard, again, to his remark, that it is "illiberal to single out the legal profession as rapacious, when there are so many others whose receipts, compared with their labours, so greatly exceed the profits of the law;" our reply is, that these profits are a tax upon justice; they are a penalty paid by those who seek it, as if to do so were a crime demanding severe punishment. They stand, therefore, on a very different footing from the emoluments of other professions.

A meeting was to be held at Madras on the 7th of May, in pursuance of a requisition presented to the Sheriff by a number of the inhabitants, requesting him to obtain the permission of the Governor for a general meeting of the community, for the purpose of soliciting the aid of Government towards the erection of a Town-Hall.

BOMBAY.

It singularly enough happens, that in the same Number which contains an account of the orderly proceedings of the now well-ruled and regulated Calcutta press, we have to record similar symptoms of the "peace, harmony, and good order of society" on the other side of India, under the same regime. Of the affair at this Presidency, several private accounts have reached us from India, most respectably authenticated, which we therefore give with perfect reliance on their general accuracy of the statement, although they differ in some minute particulars. One of them has the following most appropriate motto, taken from a speech lately spoken at Bombay by Mr. Secretary Warden:—

"In respect to the present character of the Bombay bar, I have no hesitation in saying that its character challenges a comparison with that of any former period. Its character, as at present constituted, is marked by all those endowments and high qualities which are necessarily derived from the discipline of an academical and professional education: it is gentlemanly, it is intelligent, it is enlightened, liberal, independent, and manly. I give you Mr. Norton," &c. &c.—Extract from Mr. Secretary Warden's speech, when presiding at Mr. Crawford's dinner.

On Saturday, the 26th of February last, Mr. Norton, as counsel for the widow of a deceased Hindoo, and Mr. Browne, as her proctor, were sitting together in court; (they were both on the same side of the question.) The following conversation, in an under tone and whisper, took place between them:—

Mr. Browne.—Give me leave to draw your attention to this affidavit; (handing it to Mr. Norton;) it may probably refresh your memory.

Mr. Norton.—Why the devil am I to be troubled in this matter so often? I have already read it over two or three times. If you do not choose to allow me to conduct the cause my own way, I wish you would not bring any thing to me.—(Pronounced in an insulting tone and manner.)

Mr. Browne.—I certainly did not mean to be troublesome but really

Mr. Advocate-General, your language and address are not very courteous.

Mr. Norton.—I don't care whether you like it or not; you had better apply to the Court—(with a sneer). I desire you will not take the liberty of coming again to my office; I do not wish to have any thing to do with such fellows as you.

Mr. Browne.—Sir, you are becoming impertinent; I assure you I do not want the assistance of the Court; you will find I can protect myself.

Mr. Browne submitted the preceding conversation to his friends, and to gentlemen whose judgment might be relied upon; and more particularly as to the question whether the subject-matter was a mere professional dispute or a private insult. The line of demarcation being so broad and obvious, and no gentleman of correct feeling entertaining a doubt on the subject, and as the view which Mr. Browne himself took of the affair coincided with the decided opinions of his friends, Mr. Norton was waited upon for an explanation, at 6 A. M. on Monday morning, by Lieutenant Hockin, (European regiment,) who, having announced himself by sending up his card, waited below rather more than half an hour for Mr. Norton. Mr. N. at last made his appearance in the marble-hall, and, each being seated, the following conversation took place:—

Lieutenant Hockin.—I beg to apologize for this early intrusion, but the nature of the visit will perhaps be in itself a sufficient apology. I have called at the request of Mr. Browne, to bring to your recollection a conversation which passed between you and Mr. B. on Saturday last. His feelings are extremely hurt; and perhaps you were not aware of the expressions used by you, which Mr. Browne is disposed to believe escaped you in warmth. He will receive, with pleasure, any concession suitable to your own feelings, which you may think proper to make.

Mr. Norton, (drawing back.)—I was certainly not aware that I was to be disturbed at such an hour to receive a challenge; and I think it hard, that the little sleep my profession allows me to have should be interrupted at such an unseasonable time.

Lieutenant Hockin.—The hour was not chosen by Mr. Browne; I alone am to blame on that account, if any blame there is. I am come here with the most amicable intention of doing away with the effect of a few hasty words, which might have unintentionally escaped you. I have no doubt that if any such expressions have been used, you will, upon reflection, regret having done so.

Mr. Norton.—I am perfectly aware of what I have said to Mr. Browne, and what I said I meant.

Lieutenant Hockin.—I am sorry to hear you say so; there can be no difficulty in a slight concession; I shall be happy if I can prevail upon you to do so. It will relieve Mr. Browne's feelings exceedingly, and be very agreeable to me.

Mr. Norton.—No; I will not make any concession. What passed in Court I will not notice. Mr. Browne told me I was impertinent; and if he had called me any thing, I should not have noticed it.

Lieutenant Hockin.—I am sensible of the privilege or understanding which prevails in Court; but that privilege is confined, as I am informed, to parties engaged on adverse sides, and in the course of debate; and even then it has its limitation; but no such privilege exists when legal gentlemen are engaged on the same side of the question, which I believe

was the case with you and Mr. Browne; and moreover, the offensive expressions were in an under tone and whisper, addressed personally to Mr. Browne, and not to the Court. To me the distinction is sensible and clear.

Mr. Norton.—I do not care; I will not do what you require.

Lieutenant Hockin.—When I undertook the office of waiting upon you, it was certainly with the intention of reconciling this unpleasant difference. Every gentleman is at liberty to govern himself by his own views and feelings; and as you have declined the amicable course, you are no doubt fully prepared to meet the other alternative. Mr. Browne will not apply to the Court, but must protect and vindicate his own character and feelings; will you therefore have the goodness to refer me to your friend, that we may arrange matters for an early meeting?

Mr. Norton, (rising from his chair.)—No; I will not meet Mr. Browne. I do not know but that I may yet apply to the Court; if Mr. Browne, however, persists in sending such a message, I certainly will apply to the Court for protection.

Lieutenant Hockin.—Sir, I wish you a good morning, and beg again to apologize for this early intrusion upon your slumbers.

These occurrences having given rise to some misrepresentations, so far as regarded Mr. Norton's reasons for declining to give Mr. Browne a meeting in the field, Mr. Browne felt himself painfully and reluctantly compelled to call personally upon Mr. Norton, at his office, and to interrogate that gentleman touching the alleged misrepresentations; on which occasion the following conversation ensued:—

Mr. Browne observed every form of delicacy to Mr. Norton which the peculiar circumstances of the case would admit. Mr. Norton was seated at his desk; he had on his head a white hat, and did not seem to be engaged in any business. Mr. Browne had also a white hat, but it was in his hand. He respectfully approached Mr. Norton, with a grave and solemn step, corresponding with the exquisitely painful scene he was about to endure, and thus had the honour of addressing Mr. Norton:

Mr. Browne.—Sir, I should not have troubled you with a call, had not a report been in circulation equally as painful to my feelings as the insult you were pleased to honour me with the other day, and it having been further stated that you are the author of that report, I consider myself at liberty to require a personal explanation upon the point. The report I allude to is this: when my friend called upon you the other day, upon a subject which perhaps may be fresh in your memory, it is alleged you stated to him that you did not know a gentleman in Bombay of the name of Browne; may I therefore request you will satisfy me whether you gave such an answer to my friend, or gave currency to such an assertion?

Mr. Norton.—Mr. Browne, I certainly deny ever having used the words you mention to Mr. Hockin or to any one else.

Mr. Browne.—I am well assured such language would not have been used by you to my friend, or you would have soon discovered your error; it would have been a direct insult to an officer and a gentleman.

Mr. Norton.—I stated to Mr. Hockin that what passed between you and me in Court was perfectly professional, and that I did not feel myself bound to account for any language made use of by me to you while there.

Mr. Browne.—I am as well acquainted with the customs of the bar in

England as yourself, and perhaps better. Whatever is spoken by counsel in addressing the Court, in any cause in which he is engaged, cannot be noticed without committing a contempt of Court, however disagreeable the observations and speech of counsel to the feelings of any individual; but the case between you and me was widely different, and can bear no analogy to the case I have put: you and I were on the same side; you were not addressing any observations to the bench. It was a private conversation, which passed in a whisper; it was therefore a direct private insult, and intended to be so. Since, however, you have objected, and positively declined giving me any satisfaction, which, from your character and manners heretofore, I had always conceived might be had on demand, I shall take the liberty to advise you, if ever you in future use any insulting language to me, I shall be driven to the very painful and distressing situation of laying, as gently and delicately as the laws of society will tolerate, a horsewhip over your shoulders. In stating this determination to you, I have no intention to irritate your feelings, or inflame your mind, or use any improper threat; and I must request you will confer upon me the additional obligation (besides the one I have already had the honour of receiving at your hands) of paying the most strict attention to what I have said.

Mr. Norton.—Mr. Browne, I have only to mention that nothing you can say will irritate my mind, and that in future you will not bring or send to me any papers on any business whatever.

Mr. Browne.—Good morning, Sir.

To this we subjoin an extract of a private letter, dated Bombay, April 28th:—" In consequence of some improper language made use of by Mr. Norton, the Advocate-General, to Mr. Browne, the attorney, in the Court, the latter sent a military officer to his house demanding satisfaction forthwith; but it was refused on the plea" [Here there is a slight variance,] " that the Advocate-General only went out with gentlemen; and he threatened immediately to prosecute both Browne and his friend. This not being satisfactory to Mr. Browne, he went to the Advocate-General's office with a horsewhip and brandished it over his head." [Another variance in the record.] " The Advocate-General complained to the Court of Browne's conduct in the shape of a long affidavit; but Mr. Browne got upon his legs and prayed it might be filed, which was of course granted, being by consent of both parties; so that the matter at present stands thus: The Advocate-General's own affidavit, acknowledging and complaining that Mr. Browne threatened to horsewhip him, is recorded by and with his own consent. But Browne is not obliged to answer it: indeed it is not to be expected he would do any thing to criminate himself."

The 'Bombay Courier' of the 24th of February, says:—" We understand that a great number of the natives in Bombay believe that the building now erecting on the green, for the purpose of containing the

[illegible]

of religious worship. We have ourselves heard it called the Chota Dewull, and a friend of ours told us, that a very respectable well informed Hindoo asserted to him that it was an Irish church, and that the images were on their way out."

It is stated in the 'Gazette,' that, " by accounts dated January, from the Persian Gulf, the survey was making rapid progress. It commenced

this season at Grane harbour, which has been minutely examined. From thence the coast line has been completed to Core Abdullah, formerly a mouth of the Euphrates; all the islands have been laid down between that and Grane; and to the southward, about twenty miles of coast have been surveyed. No discoveries have yet been made of any importance, but in the progress of the vessels to the southward something of interest is likely to be found, as the coast is nearly, if not quite, unknown between Grane and El Katif. The harbour of Grane is described as very extensive, being sixty miles in circumference, with good anchorage and shelter. The town is said to be large, very populous, and to carry on an immense trade with India and all parts of the Gulf. The greatest civility was shown by the Sheik to the officers of the surveying vessels, and he appeared very desirous of forwarding their views.

"Accounts from the surveying vessels state, that up to the 10th of February, they had not explored the coast further than seventy miles south of Grane harbour, owing to the most innumerable reefs extending off it, many of which were out of sight of land. It is described as the most dangerous part of the Gulf that has been met with in the course of the survey. The vessels were at Bushire on the 15th of last month procuring provisions, and were to leave the day following for the Arabian coast."

The same feeling, it appears, exists at Bombay as to the hostility of the Government to an "East Indian Club;" and the writer of the following, ('Bombay Chronicle,' April 12th,) is in doubts whether the club will be productive of the most momentous consequences, or of nothing at all; in either case foreboding evil. We take a middle course, believing that it will produce at least something, and that beneficial.—He says, "we are unwilling to pass a hasty judgment on this public spirited undertaking of our Eurasian fellow-subjects, but cannot conceal from ourselves that we think the institution is likely to prove of ephemeral duration. So many of the country-borns are employed under Government, that the apprehension of exciting *its displeasure* will alone operate considerably in preventing their participation in the new establishment. Add to this, the inability of many (perhaps the greater part) of them to meet the heavy draw upon their incomes arising out of subscriptions, dinner bills, &c., and their natural want of the energy and perseverance so essential to the proper foundation of an extensive club like the one in question, and it will not require much skill in prognostication, to foretel an early dissolution of the concern. *If*, however, it should turn out, contrary to our expectations, that the club acquires a radical foundation, and increases its strength and resources with its rise, (which it must do if it rises at all,) why then we shall contemplate its existence, according to circumstances, either as a body that may at some future period go a great way towards raising the Eurasian character, or as an institution *fraught with danger*, in a *political point of view*, to the interests of the Honourable Company." Its power must be felt to rest on a tottering basis indeed, when the meeting of *seventeen* persons at Calcutta to form a dinner-club, raises a note of alarm from the Burrampooter to the Indus, which is re-echoed again from the confines of Hindoostan to the recesses of Leadenhall-street. Those dependent on Government are generally understood to be threatened with its high displeasure, if they venture to meet together for social interchange of sentiment over a rump and dozen. We know not what restrictions on intercommunication of thought can

exceed this, unless we revive the laws of the Brahmins, and treat the East Indians as Soodras, whose tongues must be cut out whenever they presume to speak on affairs of state.

SINGAPORE.

The 'Singapore Chronicle' of 3d February last, has given some interesting particulars regarding the trade and population of the settlement, which show the rising importance of this valuable mart of trade for Eastern Asia.

"The value of the exports from Singapore in 1824, was Spanish dollars 6,604,601, and of the imports 6,914,536; the first exceeding 1823 by 1,643,488 Spanish dollars, and the second by 1,263,988. The increase in the quantity of goods imported and exported, however, is much greater than what is implied by these values, in consequence of the great fall of prices in almost every article of both. This may be explained by one or two examples. In 1823, pepper was from 10 to 11 dollars the picul, and opium near 2000. In the past year, the first has not exceeded 8 dollars, nor the second gone beyond 1100 or 1200."

The last accounts mention, that the country ship *Horatio* was blown up at this place, and, with the exception of the Captain, all on board perished.

NETHERLANDS INDIA.

It is mentioned under date, Rotterdam, Oct. 12, that letters from Pedang, of the 3d of June, state, that Colonel Staers, commandant and resident there, has returned from Bencoolen, after having passed a month in completing the organization of that establishment. He has sent a commission and troops to the other English establishments, Natal, Air Bangi, and Tapanooly, to organize them in the same manner as at Bencoolen. At Padang perfect tranquillity prevailed, and the seasons were healthy. The coasting trade was very active, commerce flourishing, and the exportations continually increasing. The interior of the island of Sumatra is now divided into two regencies."

Late Singapore Chronicles report, that "the town of Minto has been burnt to the ground, nothing escaping without the fort, save the hospital and a public warehouse. Colonel de la Fontaine, the resident, the next in authority, and the medical officer, had all died within a few days of each other. The whole town, consisting principally of Malay houses, and a Chinese bazaar, was entirely consumed in the short space of three hours.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

We have been favoured with several communications respecting this colony, which our space does not admit of our noticing in the present Number; but the following brief extract from a letter, dated July 25, gives some particulars worthy of attention:—

"Business is still in a languid state here, and is likely to continue so; the paper currency question appears to engross the thoughts and conversation of all classes in the colony. The colonists have long anxiously hoped, that when Government called in the paper created and issued in 1810 and 1811, the remainder would regain its original value. On the other hand, the civil servants appointed from England would no doubt be glad to see it remain as it is: for instance, the present Colonial Secretary receives three thousand pounds sterling per annum, which, at

the value of the rix dollars soon after the settlement was captured in 1806, would be about sixteen thousand rix dollars, but which at the present value is forty thousand rix dollars. It is here curious to observe, that the Dutch General Jansens, when Governor of the Cape in 1804, received only twenty-five thousand rix dollars per annum, being fourteen thousand dollars less than our Colonial Secretary is now receiving. This will show how heavily the colony must be taxed to pay these enormous sterling salaries, and it will also show the interest which the sterling salary men have in keeping down the value of the Colonial paper currency"

It is stated in the public prints that General Bourke has now been appointed Lieutenant-Governor at the Cape; and that he is expected to sail for that colony by the middle of next month. Lord Charles Somerset is to remain there, it is said, until his successor arrives to relieve him, notwithstanding the leave of absence granted him some time ago that he might return to this country, and defend his many acts of oppression. This delay is considered as a sort of reprieve to his Lordship from the necessity of appearing so soon before the bar of the Public.

INCIDENTS AND EVENTS IN EUROPE CONNECTED WITH THE EASTERN WORLD.

NEW GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

SPECULATION has been exceedingly busy during the last few weeks to discover who is to be the successor of Lord Amherst, as Governor-General of India; for that he is to have a successor immediately is now considered a settled point. If personal qualifications alone were to determine the selection, it would fall on the Marquis of Hastings, whose name alone in India, to say nothing of his tried merits, would be a host. But as it would be vain to expect of those who have treated him so unworthily, that they should have the magnanimity to confess that he has promoted their interests, and is capable of still promoting them more effectually than any other individual now living, Ministers have probably entirely abandoned this prospect as hopeless. The personal claims of Lord William Bentinck are next generally acknowledged to place him above any other competitor on the scale of known qualification; but, like Lord Hastings, he also is probably considered by the Directors too good for their system, which was, is, and "ever must be," a despotism! In fact, aspirants to this office labour under great disadvantages, if men of known and tried abilities, since in their public career it is a thousand to one but they have proved themselves to be steady friends to liberty, to free trade, to colonization, to freedom of the press, or to some one of those many sound British principles which lie under the bann of the Company. Ministers would therefore seem to be restricted in their selection to those who have not yet taken so leading a part in public affairs. Although this be a disadvantage, it should not be inferred that talents for empire do not exist, because they have not yet been tried. In the present case, at all events, a *change* of Governors-General is good for its own sake, as there is hardly a chance we can get a *worse*; and if the successor of the present

carry with him to the office no positive fame, he will, at least, free it from the negative quantity—the odium and discredit, the rooted opinion of total incapacity, which attach to, and weigh down, the present head of the Indian Government. It is a great point gained to get rid of this: for the incompetency of Lord Amherst is not the only evil: there is another and, perhaps, more dangerous one still, which is, that he has proved it to the world.

It is stated that the office had been offered by Ministers to the Duke of Buckingham, who is willing to undertake it; but that the Court of Directors objected to the appointment of an untried Governor, saying, that the country was in a dangerous state, and that it was necessary Lord Hastings, a pilot of known skill and experience, should be put at the helm. That some of them might express, and that most of them entertain this opinion, is by no means improbable; but is there magnanimity enough amongst them to pay this just tribute to his Lordship's merits publicly? Their real objection to the Duke of Buckingham is said to be, that his uncle, Lord Grenville, has spoken so strongly against the Company's dominion, and they are therefore afraid that if this powerful family be led from personal connexion with India to feel a deep interest in the welfare of its now neglected millions of inhabitants, the dawn of a better era would soon chase away the deadly incubus of that monopoly which now weighs them down. It remains to be seen whether the Ministers and the aristocracy will submit to bargain on such principles for the Government of India with the merchants of Leadenhall-street.

The 'Bucks Gazette,' a paper which advocates the Duke of Buckingham's interests in the county from which he takes his title, states the following as if from the best authority:—

"The Duke of Buckingham, we have heard, has been recommended by his Majesty's Ministers to fill the important office in question, and his Grace, it is understood, has expressed an inclination to accept the proposed appointment. To confirm the appointment, the concurrence of the Court of Directors is required; but from the political sentiments of the Duke, and under the circumstances by which his Grace is connected with the Board of Control, the refusal of the concurrence of the Court of Directors cannot be apprehended. The concurrence of that Court with the recommendation of Ministers cannot, however, be always counted on as a matter of course. When the Earl of Lauderdale was recommended by the King's Ministers to fill the station in question, about twenty years ago, the recommendation was resisted by the Directors, on account of the political principles which his Lordship, at that time, professed; and although Lord Grenville held several long interviews with the Directors to urge their acquiescence in the recommendation, and though Lord Lauderdale's suite had been filled up on the suggestion of his present Majesty, (then Prince of Wales,) and although his Lordship's stock and baggage was on board a ship of war at Spithead, prepared to sail, Lord Minto was hastily appointed in his room, and induced to take the Noble Earl's stock and baggage at the invoice-price."

On this subject, the 'Globe' says, that "Lord Amherst is understood to have been sent out to oblige Mr. Canning, a fact for which he ought to be (and no doubt must be) heartily ashamed. Mr. Canning therefore probably cannot object to the Duke of Buckingham; but the present difficulties in which the Indian Government is involved should induce the

Government, with one common voice, to resist any attempt to job the appointment. The fact that the near connexions of the Duke of Buckingham have possession of the Board of Control makes the appointment of his Grace more suspicious, and strengthens the doubts most people entertain as to its propriety."

But if ties of relationship did not exist, would there not be a political connexion equally strong as to all important purposes? For who will receive the appointment without, at the same time, having the assurance that his friends in office who gave it him, will support him in all his acts as long as they are capable of being defended; and what more could they dare do for the nearest relative? Probably, family connexion might even make them more scrupulous of defending acts manifestly unjustifiable, as their motives for so doing must then be so palpable and obvious to all, that they could not possibly shelter them under the assumed mask of public principle.

It has been said, in one of the public prints, that the ribbon vacant by the death of Lord Carlisle is likely to be given to the Duke of Buckingham, not to the Earl of Dorset; but Lord Talbot, or Lord W. Bentinck, are mentioned before the Duke as Lord Amherst's successor in the Governorship of India; and last of all, Lord Palmerston is named as one of the probable candidates.

Upon the whole, all parties seem to have come to the conclusion, that there must be an immediate change; and that any change must be for the better: an argument supported by the logic of Milton's infernal parliament, which is now aptly applied to the present state of India:—

"What can be worse?"

DECCAN PRIZE MONEY.

We regret that it is yet not in our power to communicate any thing satisfactory on this subject. On the contrary, fresh injury and disappointment is now seriously apprehended for the army which has been so long cruelly harassed by suspense and delay. To our astonishment we learn that an "interested individual," a distinguished ornament of the Indian army, distinguished both by his sword and his pen, has been exerting his personal influence with the Duke of Wellington, to get him to reverse the decision of the Cock Pit Lords settling the principle of distribution. This was, "to adhere, as nearly as the circumstances of the case might admit, to that of actual capture; and although they were aware that the principle of constructive capture must, under certain circumstances, in a degree, be admitted, the disposition should be to limit rather than to extend that principle."—(Decision of the Lords of the Treasury, Feb. 5, 1824, parag. 1.) In another paragraph, (4th.), it is again said: "My Lords have felt it to be inconsistent with their duty to recommend to his Majesty to give his sanction to any agreement for the common division of booty, into which the several divisions of either army may have entered; it is their decided opinion, that, if the principle of actual capture be not adopted in this case as the rule of distribution, no other correct or equitable rule could have been adopted than that of a general distribution amongst all the forces of the Presidencies engaged in the combined operations of the campaign."

It was, however, lately reported, that the warrant, dated the 22d of

March, was about to be reversed, and that a general distribution amongst the Deccan army (without regard to actual or constructive capture) was to take place. This is considered not only an express violation of the decision above quoted, but repugnant to the spirit of Lord Hastings's General Orders, 9th of December, 1817, on which that decision was founded.

A writer in the 'Morning Herald' observes, "that their Lordships took such a view of the case as that above quoted, even at that period when it was supposed a general distribution would be satisfactory to the Deccan army generally; and we may therefore rest assured, that however desirable such an arrangement may now be to *some individuals*, their Lordships would never, at the expiration of two years and a half, by a direct contradiction of a judgment solemnly delivered to the public, sanction a proceeding they have recorded as a measure which would be neither correct nor equitable.

"Were it necessary to illustrate the injustice of a revisal of the warrant, I need only mention, that in consequence of the delays which have taken place in the distribution, several individuals have been under the necessity of raising money on their expectations from property, in which, after so solemn a decision and adjudication, they considered they had a vested right, and of a large proportion of which a general distribution would now deprive them."

EXPLANATION OF DR. J. B. GILCHRIST.

This learned Orientalist has published an extract of his Report to the Court of Directors, on the subject of Oriental instruction in this metropolis, to remove the misconception of it by the Deputy-Chairman, noticed in our debate at the India House. A careful construction of the passage must relieve him from the imputation of having dissuaded or discouraged attempts to teach the Eastern languages to youth before leaving this country. He says,—

"In a recent debate at the India House, copied into your respective papers, and which I had an opportunity of perusing at Brussels, about two weeks ago, my name was introduced as having stultified myself in my last Manuscript Report to the Court of Directors, by a species of *felo de se*, which it becomes my duty now to contradict; and I fondly hope you will have the goodness to permit both the bane and antidote to appear in your popular prints, as an act of justice to a man who wishes to merit esteem in the eyes of his fellow-citizens, and prizes a consistent good character above every other enjoyment or prospect in life.

"Till the report be published in due time and place, pray insert the following quotation from it by way of test, how far I am right, or those who have misconceived me are wrong on this occasion, because no other sentence in the whole can be misrepresented, either by hook or by crook, to my disadvantage as a practical Orientalist:—'It seems evident to my mind, that without constant *bona fide* examinations, conciliatory precepts, convincing examples, and an irresistible impetus from patrons in high authority, extraordinary advancement cannot be achieved in London, or any luxuriant city, by the majority of grown up students, who, generally speaking, in such situations, are not less averse to the development of their intellectual energies than savages are to manual toil all over the world; and the most efficient step for eradicating the existing evil would

be, to commence tuition as early in life as possible, to create reflecting habits, by inculcating a due knowledge of the English tongue on rational principles; of which, it pains me to know, that the British youths are commonly as ignorant as the Hottentots are of bodily purity; or social beings of generous, noble sentiments; in nations, too, far advanced in civilization, and its consequent train of vices, connected with intemperance, venality and selfism.'"

ORIENTAL TUITION.

It has been stated in another part, that there are in this country above a score of different places where persons destined for our Eastern dominions, may acquire a knowledge of the Oriental languages; and it is therefore to be hoped, that with such facilities presented to them, the Directors of the East India Company will no longer send out their military officers without giving them this most requisite qualification, on the childish plea, that "it is easier said than done." Besides Dr. Gilchrist's well-known seminary, (lately supported by the Directors, now solely by himself,) we are happy to find that there are others also of high reputation in the very neighbourhood of this metropolis, and therefore easily available to the greater number of Oriental students. On a late examination of one of them, (that under the care of Dr. Myers at Blackheath,) Dr. Gilchrist, whose qualifications to judge are of the highest order, expressed himself as follows, in a letter printed by his permission, addressed to Dr. Myers:

"After a careful examination of your Oriental pupils for three hours in their pronunciation, rudimental knowledge, and proficiency in reading both the Hindoostanee and Persian tongues, in the Persi-arabic and Nagree characters, it gives me great pleasure to state that their progress continues, with only one exception, truly satisfactory."

And after particularizing the individuals, he adds:—

"On the whole, I am glad to state that every one of your pupils is on the high-road to become intelligible and intelligent interpreters, translators, and colloquial proficients in one or more of the languages of British India, should their studies be conducted on the admirable plan which your son has adopted since his commencement of this duty. Were respectable parents in general as well aware of the advantages which their sons would reap under your tuition, in occidental and oriental classics, as I am, your establishment would always greatly exceed the limited number to which you judiciously restrict it. Wishing you all the success which I can honestly say you deserve from your mode of tuition and management of youth," &c.

At a late examination of another establishment where Oriental instruction is given, (that of Dr. Jamieson, at Heston House, by Hounslow,) the same distinguished Professor of Eastern literature expressed himself as follows, of the pupils examined:—

"The progress which they have already made in the accurate pronunciation of the Hindoostanee language, convinces me, that their knowledge of the grammar, from their present proficiency, will shortly enable them all to become practical colloquists in that most useful tongue for British India; and at no distant period there, it will be in the power of each of those young gentlemen, with little additional trouble or expense, to distinguish his self as an excellent Oriental scholar."

DEBATE AT THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.

On Wednesday, September 28th, a Quarterly General Court of Proprietors was held.

After the usual preliminary business had been disposed of,

The CHAIRMAN laid before the Court certain papers relative to the establishment at Addiscombe.

Mr. HUME said he would take that opportunity of making a few observations upon a subject of the utmost importance to the welfare of India. It appeared, from the papers which had been laid before the Court, that, during the last year, four hundred and twenty young men had been sent to India to serve as officers in the Indian army. They were Englishmen, sent to command foreigners. Yet these individuals were unacquainted with the language of the country in which they were to serve. The Court of Directors did not do their duty to India nor to the young men themselves in sending them out in such a state of ignorance. He wished the Court of Directors to come to a resolution that no young man should, in future, proceed to India, to serve as an officer in a Native corps, who had not previously proved, under examination in England, that he was acquainted with the Native languages. It was impossible for him to learn the languages in India, so as to be qualified for entering on his duty, unless some previous knowledge of them had been obtained in England; for on the arrival of the cadets in India, there was such a demand for officers, that they were, in a few days, sent into the interior, often despatched by dawk to join their regiment. Then, where was the time or opportunity for study, before they were called to active service, when the knowledge of the Native tongues, that should have been previously acquired, was absolutely needed? What would be said of the folly of those who should send English officers into France, to command French troops, with whose language they were totally unacquainted? Precisely the same thing was done with respect to India. Great inconvenience had resulted from the present system; and, when the proper time arrived, he would be prepared to show that the late unfortunate events at Barrackpore had their origin in it. How was it possible that young men could perform the duties of their offices, when they were incapable of speaking the language of the men with whom they might be appointed to negotiate, or fight? When he was in India, he knew of a young man, who did not understand a word of the Native languages, being sent at the head of 500 Native troops against the enemy. Events of that nature were frequently occurring. Under these circumstances, it became the Court of Directors to adopt some immediate resolution on the subject. The only seminary in London calculated for affording instruction in the Native languages, was that of Dr. Gilchrist. He was sorry that the parsimony of the Court of Directors had induced them to withdraw the stipend of 200*l.* per annum from that learned individual, who had been so many years in their service. These were the liberal patrons of education! This was part of the system of which he complained, and of which the people of England had a right to complain. The hon. Proprietor concluded, amidst much applause, by declaring it to be the paramount duty of the Court of Directors, from that day, to take steps to compel every individual who proceeded to India to serve as an officer in the army, to qualify himself for his situation, by acquiring a competent knowledge of the Native language.

The CHAIRMAN said there could be no doubt that it would be productive of great benefit if every cadet who proceeded to India understood the Native language. The Court of Directors had given every encouragement in their power to individual cadets to study the Oriental languages; but he doubted whether, if a general rule were adopted which would require young men to remain in London until they were instructed in those languages, the inconvenience would not be greater than the advantage proposed to be gained. It should be recollected, that the young men, whilst they remained in London, would be separated from their parents and friends, and would have no one to watch over their conduct. His own opinion was, that six months' study in India would be of more service than two years' application in England, whilst there could be no doubt of the

superior advantage of the former plan, as regarded the morals and health of the young men. (1) He must say, that he considered the statements of the hon. Proprietor exaggerated. He had never heard that the British officers in India were deficient in that knowledge, which was requisite for the efficient discharge of their duties. (2) He beseeched the Court to be cautious how they adopted a rule to compel young men to remain in London to acquire a knowledge of the Eastern languages. From his knowledge of young men, he would strongly disapprove of such a measure; and, rather than see it adopted, it would, in his opinion, be better to *leave the matter to* CHANCE. (3)

MR. HUME said, the hon. Chairman seemed to be labouring under a mistake throughout the whole of the observations which he had addressed to the Court. He (Mr. H.) did not propose that cadets should be educated in London exclusively. There were twenty-two seminaries out of London where the Oriental languages were taught. All that he desired was, that young men should be grounded in the language before they arrived in India. Any person of ordinary talent, who received two months' instruction in England, and improved himself during his six months' voyage to India, would be fit for his situation on arriving there. But to suppose that young men, on arriving in India, would set

(1) When the "young men" read these notions of the superior advantages of Indian study, they will, no doubt, excite a smile at the simplicity of the Chairman. Are there no temptations to immorality in India as well as in England? Or, is it more wholesome or pleasant to study under a tropical sun than in the atmosphere of London? It is quite a mistake to suppose that six months' study in the country is better than two years' study before going out. We are convinced that the very reverse is the case; and satisfied that those who can speak from experience will testify, that of those military servants of the Company who attain any proficiency in the Native languages, especially Hindoostanee, nine out of ten have laid the foundation of it in England; that they have either been the actual pupils of Dr. Gilchrist, or have derived the rudiments of their knowledge indirectly from him—that is, through the assistance of his pupils, by joining them in continuing their studies on the voyage out—a most useful practice, always strongly enjoined by him, for which he is entitled to great credit. This is so notorious, that the Indian public cannot but be astonished to find the Company's rulers, who ought to be best informed, on the contrary entirely ignorant of the matters about which it is their duty to legislate. Two or three months' diligent study under Dr. Gilchrist before leaving England, if rendered imperative on the cadets, would do more for the military service than all the Moonshees in India. As to the cant about "morals and health," since most of the cadets, before embarking for India, must spend several weeks or months in the capital, securing their appointment, and then getting themselves equipped, whether is it better for their morals that they should be kept close to their studies, by the fear of an examination, or left to idle their time about the streets of London? Those who advocate the latter, are evidently the real enemies to their moral as well as to their intellectual improvement.

(2) Unless it could be supposed that whatever really happened in India *must* be heard by the Chairman of the Court in England, his not having *heard* of any particular deficiency is no proof whatever that it does not exist. This would be undeniable, even were all the channels of communication open: but, with a press fettered and a people gagged like those of India, how should he hear *any thing* but that which is favourable? for it is that alone which is now permitted to be heard in India.

(3) This is a specimen of the "wisdom" by which the affairs of great empires are conducted. The only way in which we can account for the preference here given to *chance* over means adapted to an end, is by supposing that the Chairman's acquaintance with Indian history must convince him that family interest, good luck, and other adventitious circumstances, not at all allied to labour or merit, have a much more powerful agency in forming great men, (*i. e.* men who receive large salaries and come home with great fortunes,) than any measures taken to secure their fitness for office, by suitable qualifications for the discharge of their public duties. There is no doubt that a poor man who had toiled all his life for a bare subsistence, and grown grey in laborious poverty, would, if he should in the end obtain a prize of 20,000*l.* in the lottery, think *chance* a much better means of making a fortune than industry or application: and on the same principle, those who look around them and see that men of merit, vastly superior to their own, are pining in want while they revel in luxury, must think chance a deity worth their grateful homage.

about studying the language, was preposterous. They had no time or opportunity to do so, for they were almost immediately posted off, to fill the situations for which they were incompetent. In conclusion, he remarked on what the hon. Chairman had said of leaving the matter to *chance*. He could not but regret that it was too much the fashion now-a-days to leave the affairs of India to chance. He would only say, from such a system of government "Good Lord deliver us!"

MR. R. JACKSON said, that Dr. Gilchrist would undertake, in a few weeks, to enable a young man, on his arrival in India, to understand and make himself understood in the Native language. But Dr. Gilchrist was not the only person who taught the Eastern languages. There were no less than thirty-seven establishments in England, in which those languages were taught. He hoped that his hon. Friend (Mr. Hume) would give notice of a motion on the subject.

MR. HUME said, he felt it to be a matter of reproach to him that he had deferred a motion on the subject so long. He had, indeed, once made a motion on the subject, which was, he believed, negatived by a large majority. The Court was now, however, better informed with respect to the question, and a similar motion might meet with a different result. It was well known that there was one language which it was pre-eminently useful to persons in India to know: he meant the Hindoostanee. No British officer, serving in India, should be ignorant of that language; and yet (would it be believed?) he knew officers who had been twenty-seven years in that country, who were quite unacquainted with it. (*Hear.*) (4) When he was serving in India, it happened that he was the only person in a detachment, on one occasion, that was acquainted with the Native language; and, in consequence, the chief officer was obliged to have recourse to him for assistance in emergencies. After some further observations, the hon. Gentleman concluded with the following motion:—

"That this Court, considering the great importance of a knowledge of the Hindoostanee language to European officers destined to act with and command the Native corps in India, do recommend to the Court of Directors to take into consideration the propriety of making a regulation, that no cadet shall proceed to India unless he shall, upon examination, be found to be sufficiently qualified in his knowledge of the Hindoostanee language."

General THORNTON seconded the motion.

The CHAIRMAN did not think that the hon. Gent. had dealt fairly or candidly in submitting such a motion without notice. The hon. Gent. had not rightly interpreted his (the Chairman's) sentiments. He had not said that it was better that cadets should not receive any instruction in the Native languages. He merely observed that they could not receive that instruction in this country without great inconvenience. (5) The hon. Gent. had, in his remarks, spoken of what India was twenty years ago. He, (the Chairman,) on the contrary, spoke of it as it was at the present moment in its improved state. (6) He must again repeat, that

(4) There is not an *Indian* Director in the Court who must not know many such individuals who have been still longer in India, and are equally ignorant of the vernacular tongue. We may now mention, as a striking instance of this, the late worthy and amiable Col. Mackenzie, Surveyor-General of India, who, though a professed antiquarian and collector of all that belonged to the Native languages and literature of India, could not express the commonest sentence either in Bengallee or Hindoostanee, though he had visited every part of India in person, and resided in Bengal as Surveyor-General for a long series of years. His private worth was beyond all praise; but he himself, were he alive, would not, we are persuaded, feel at all hurt at this statement of a deficiency which he had always the manliness and candour to avow, and the good sense and right feeling to lament as an evil of no ordinary kind.

(5) It would have been well to state explicitly what that inconvenience was. It is "inconvenient" to many persons to learn any thing at any place, or at any time; and, indeed, the most ordinary duties of life are "inconvenient" to some. But mere existence requires exertion; and to state "inconvenience" as a reason why any thing should not be undertaken, is to encourage an indolence degrading to civilized man.

(6) It is, as usual, begging the question, to say, that the state of India, in this particular, (as to the knowledge of the languages possessed by its functionaries,) is "improved." We have no doubt that Warren Hastings, and the early governors, knew Hindoostanee

of the advantages of a knowledge of the Native languages he entertained no doubt.

Captain MAXFIELD contended, that great injury resulted to the service from officers being ignorant of the Native languages. When he was in India, he happened once to step into a court-martial, and upon listening to what was going on, he found that the interpreter, either from ignorance or roguery, was making the grossest mistakes. He interfered, and set matters to right. Had he not happened to be present, injustice must have been done. He would vote for the motion.

Mr. TRANT wished for time to refer to documents not immediately under his eye. He believed that Mr. Hume had been guilty of great exaggeration in what he had said respecting the difficulty of acquiring a knowledge of the Native languages in India. At all events, he could not make up his mind to come to a decision at the present moment, and, therefore, he would move the previous question. (7)

Mr. TWINING wished the question to be left to the consideration of the Court of Directors.

Mr. HUME replied, that the motion only requested the Court of Directors to take into consideration the propriety of what he suggested.

Sir G. ROBINSON said, the question under discussion had frequently come under the consideration of the Court of Directors; but it was found impossible to come to a satisfactory decision upon it. Dr. Gilchrist had lately, in a letter to the Court of Directors, acknowledged, that formerly he was as much wrong as many Members of the Court were right, respecting a permanent establishment in the British metropolis for teaching the Oriental languages. (8) The hon. Gent. (Mr. Hume) did not, however, confine his views to

much better than Lord Amherst will ever do; and that Lord Clive could more easily hold personal intercourse with his troops than Sir Edward Paget. There are, however, even now, men as ignorant of the languages in subordinate offices, as they ever could have been at any period; and the instance of Colonel Mackenzie, who filled so distinguished a post, and knew absolutely *nothing* of the languages of India, happened in our own day, as he has not been dead above three or four years.

(7) Mr. Trant is the most perfect specimen of an Indian functionary and a British Member of Parliament that one would desire to see. He has nothing on earth to do, yet he wished for more *time* to consider. He has access to every document he can desire to see, but they are not immediately *under his eye*. He has been thirty years in the Civil Service of India, and yet he could not yet *make up his mind* upon a question which he ought to have understood at least before he left the country. He is quite a proficient in the technicalities of Parliament, (of which he is for ever hinting that he has recently become a Member,) and, therefore, he moves the "previous question," by which he wishes to stifle inquiry altogether. Mr. Trant only requires to get into the Direction, for which he is a candidate, and his apotheosis will be complete.

(2) This report of Dr. Gilchrist's opinion may be supposed to have excited the same astonishment in the Court, as if they had been told that Mr. Brougham had declared the inutility of the London [illegible], or that Mr. Wilberforce had [illegible] advocate of the slave trade.

The quoting of Dr. Gilchrist as an authority against instruction in the Native languages, is equally extraordinary, and affords a striking illustration of the honesty and candour of East India rulers. The worthy Doctor, as explained by Mr. Hume, had declared, that while it was left optional with cadets to learn the Hindoostanee language or not, just as they pleased, before going out to India, it was vain to hope, in a place presenting so many amusements and attractions as London to withdraw their attention from their studies, that they would *voluntarily* pursue them with any degree of diligence or success. He has, therefore, strongly urged the propriety of making the cadets undergo an examination as to their acquaintance with the great vernacular tongue of India, before giving them their appointment, and thus making a certain degree of knowledge of at least the rudiments of the language, which could be acquired in a few months, an indispensable requisite; since this only can insure in all an early application to the language, and give a prospect of the greater number attaining ultimate proficiency. By suppressing one half of the facts, and stating the other, Sir George Robinson dexterously makes Dr. Gilchrist the enemy and opposer of what it has been the great object of his life to promote—he makes him "turn his back upon himself," as Lord Castlereagh would have said—condemn his own institution, and raise his voice against instruction in the Hindoostanee language; to promote which he has been labouring for nearly half a century past, and is labouring still with undiminished zeal, although the East India Company, which

the metropolis; but that, in his (Sir G. Robinson's) opinion, did not get rid of the difficulties which surrounded the question. He was decidedly of opinion that the inconveniencies which would result from instructing cadets in the Native languages in England, would counterbalance the advantages to be derived from it.

Sir P. LAURIE supported the motion,

Mr. WEEDING opposed it.

Sir JOHN DOYLE asked, would any man tell him that a person, who went out to command an army of men, not one word of whose language he understood, nor they of his, was competent to do his duty? He would say, that, *quoad* them, he might as well be dumb; and he should like to know whether a person who was dumb ought to be sent out as a General to India? (*Laughter.*) (9) He was glad that the motion proposed to refer the question to the Court of Directors, because they might calmly consider the subject, and come to a resolution upon it much better than the Court of Proprietors.

Mr. PATTISON thought that the Court had been taken by surprise in this motion being brought forward without a previous notice; and if the Court should adopt it, the Court of Directors would be placed in a very painful situation. (10) He recommended the hon. Proprietor to withdraw his motion, and then the Court of Directors might, at least, consider it, if not report upon the subject.

Mr. HUME was willing to do so, on condition that the Court of Directors would report upon it. Unless that was perfectly understood, he would have no security that the question would be considered at all.

The CHAIRMAN could give no promise on the subject.

Mr. HUME then said, he should press his motion. His only wish was to see who were the parties inclined to take into consideration the propriety of promoting education, and who were those who were not willing to consider it at all. Dr. Gilchrist had a hundred times lamented to him, that the Court of Directors permitted young men to go out to India, ignorant of the language, while they had it wholly in their power to have them subjected to a public ex-

has so long reaped the fruits of his literary toil, has entirely withdrawn from him its support; having taken away the miserable stipend which it hitherto allowed, and which was so totally inadequate and disproportioned to the merits of this distinguished Orientalist and to the value of his services.

(9) This is the usual display of heartlessness and indifference manifested in the Court of Proprietors, when any important interests are under discussion. To so forcible an illustration of the evil of ignorance in a commander, (to which, it is believed, most of the bloodshed that happened at Barrackpore may be attributed,) the Court, filled with persons calling themselves men, respond in a shout of laughter! It is almost a matter of wonder that gentlemen of refined feelings are not driven in disgust from scenes more suited to the arena of the Westminster Pit, than to the hall of a deliberative assembly.

(10) We thought Mr. Pattison had too much good sense to indulge in such a vague generality as this. If the motion had related to something that had never before been heard of, and had no relation whatever to India, the Court might have pleaded that they were taken by surprise. But here is a matter to which their attention has often before been drawn, and which, even had it never been mentioned at all, ought, at least, to have engaged their thoughts; and yet they pretend to be "taken by surprise," as if legislators, as well as admirals and generals, ought not to be always prepared for every possible event that could happen in the respective walks of their professions. The very phrase is an insult to the understanding, as well as to the integrity of the Court. A cunning rogue may be taken by surprise, when asked some unexpected question by a cross-examining barrister, and plead this as an excuse for hesitation in answering, lest he should betray his own guilt. But an innocent or honest man, when questioned only on that to which it is his especial duty to be able to give an immediate reply, can never be really taken by surprise; and the very admission of such a feeling is calculated to awaken the just suspicions of those who hear such a defence for procrastination set up by others. As to the Court of Directors being placed in "a very painful situation," by merely consenting to an inquiry whether their servants should begin to learn the Native languages here or in India, it would be almost ludicrous, were it not unhappily indicative of the fact that *all* inquiry is painful *to them*; and that they will neither make it themselves, nor permit others to do so, although they promise, *per*[illegible] sider the question; after wh[illegible] drawer of the motion, who is thus deluded by their fair words, is sure to hear nothing further of the matter.

amination as to their qualifications. Much did he regret that the Company had two civil servants in that Court, who stood up to-day, and stated that they did not think the subject worthy the consideration of the Court of Directors; and he regretted still more, that an hon. Gentleman should acknowledge that he had been twenty-five years reflecting upon education, and that he was not yet prepared to give an opinion on the subject! He did not offer his motion in the spirit of hostility, and, therefore, he did wonder that there were so many persons who could recommend to defer the consideration of so important a subject.

Mr. ASTELL said, the hon. Gentleman's reasoning was not at all just, that all those who opposed the motion were adverse to the consideration of the question itself.(11) The proposition was one on which there could not be two opinions,—he meant, as to the utility of persons entering the service being acquainted with the languages of India. But they must recollect that Dr. Gilchrist differed as to the best mode of giving them that knowledge, and had himself admitted that the scheme that had been attempted had failed. He should, therefore, oppose the motion.

Mr. TRANT explained.

Mr. JACKSON supported the motion; contending that the inconveniences could bear no comparison with the advantages to be derived from the course recommended.

The question was then put; and upon a show of hands, the Chairman decided that it was carried in the negative.

Mr. HUME requested the Court might be divided; when the numbers were—

For the motion, 26. Against it, 40.

The motion was consequently lost; although of those without the bar (or among all except the Directors, who sit within the bar) there was a large majority in its favour.

GRANT TO LIEUT. COLONEL STAUNTON.

The CHAIRMAN observed, that this Court had been made special for the purpose of considering a resolution to which the Court of Directors had come, for granting a pension of 500*l*. per annum to Lieut.-Colonel Staunton; but in consequence of the death of that officer on his passage to England, the resolution could not be acted upon, and he, therefore, had no proposition to offer to the Court.

Mr. TWINING said that it would be a great satisfaction to the widow of the lamented and gallant officer, who was accompanying him to England, to learn that it had been the intention of this Court to have made a suitable acknowledgment of twenty-six years' service in India.

Mr. HUME hoped, that should the widow of the gallant officer require any pecuniary assistance, the Court of Directors would take that subject into consideration.

The CHAIRMAN said, that the Court of Directors had no power to act upon such a case.

MR. SANDFORD ARNOT.

The CHAIRMAN moved that the Court do confirm a resolution of the Court of Directors, dated the 14th of September, granting to Mr. Sandford Arnot the sum of 1500*l*. upon the grounds therein stated.

The motion was carried unanimously by a very large show of hands. (12)

NOTICES OF MOTIONS.

Capt. MAXFIELD gave notice of a motion at the next General Quarterly Court respecting the rate of tonnage, the mode of conducting the commerce

(11) The motion of Mr. Hume was, that the Court should "take into consideration the propriety of making a regulation," &c. "And yet," says Mr. Astell, "it is not fair to say that those who oppose the *motion* are adverse to the consideration of the question." Then why do they oppose it? Really, the logic of the India House is something not to be found either in Aristotle or Locke. A Professor should be sent to Haileybury to expound it forthwith. The ordinary rules of reason and common sense are set at entire defiance by its doctrines; and what is logic at the India House is absurdity everywhere else.

(12) We have before expressed our sentiments on this subject; and are glad to find that there are still some things which we can conscientiously commend. The Directors have redeemed much of evil by this grant; and the unanimity of the Proprietors shows how deep must be their sense of the justice of the award. We trust that other occasions will yet arise on which they will evince a similar regard to the principles of justice and humanity in considering the claims of men unjustly injured by their distant and despotic servants.

of the Company with India and China, and also as to the manner of auditing and passing the Company's accounts.

General THORNTON gave notice of a motion for the next General Quarterly Court, that it be recommended to the Court of Directors to consider the propriety of instituting a regulation for the public examination of all persons who enter into the Company's service in India, both military and civil, to ascertain their proficiency in the Persian and Hindoostanee languages, not subject to the existing regulations.

THE OUDE PAPERS.

Mr. HUME wanted to know upon whose motion the Oude papers were submitted to the Proprietors.

The CHAIRMAN read the motion, which was that of Sir George Robinson, and seconded by Mr. Thornhill.

Mr. HUME asked if the Gentleman who moved for the production of these papers intended to make any motion upon them.

Sir GEORGE ROBINSON said it was not his intention at present to make any motion respecting them.

Mr. HUME then gave notice of a motion for the next General Quarterly Court. He said that the papers exposed a system of extreme irregularity and misrule; and deserved the serious consideration of the Court.

Sir G. ROBINSON begged to state, that he did not move for all the papers that were before the Court.

Sir J. DOYLE wanted to know if the publication of all the papers had been authorized by the unanimous consent of the Court of Directors.

The CHAIRMAN said, that as far as he remembered, there were dissents upon the occasion.

Sir J. DOYLE moved that the dissents be read, as he thought they ought to be made known to the Court.

Sir GEORGE ROBINSON said, the best way would be to move that the document be laid before the Court, and then ordered to be printed.

Sir J. DOYLE made a motion to that effect, and the dissent of Mr. Campbell, Mr. Lindsay, and Mr. Morris was ordered to be printed.

CONDUCT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Mr. HUME said, that at [illegible] neral Court of Proprietors, [illegible] mitted a motion respecti[illegible] duct of Lord Amherst in [illegible] therefore, wanted to know which would put the Court of Directors in possession of the facts relative to the unfortunate affair at Barrackpore in 1824, was arrived. He wished to know if the Government of India had sent any document respecting that affair.

The CHAIRMAN replied, that he had heard, only a few minutes before he entered this Court, that the *Euphrates* had arrived this morning, and he understood that documents had come by her, under the date of 30th of March; but he could not tell whether the report the hon. Proprietor alluded to was among them.

Mr. HUME expressed his regret that he should have occasion to point out a neglect of duty on the part of those whose business it was to transmit an immediate account of such an important event. This was another proof of the propriety of the motion which he brought forward five years ago, that the person, whose duty it was to remit despatches to England, and who neglected to do so, should be superseded. Without attaching blame to any individual, there must be some degree of apathy in those persons who viewed things in so different a light from other people. No steps had been taken to remove the Governor-General, and put into his station a more competent person, who would engage the confidence of the people of this country. If *any individual* would say, that the people of India had any confidence in the present Governor-General, he would directly drop any motion he might make on the subject. The natural barriers of the Company's power in India had been exceeded and broken through by the impolitic contest into which the Governor-General had entered. He appealed to the Court of Proprietors, and asked them if they would depart before they knew whether those who were intrusted with the executive power over their affairs were conscious of the dangerous situation in which they were placed? Through the conduct of Lord Amherst, or the neglect of those about him, the Court of Directors were kept entirely ignorant of the concerns of sixty millions of people; and it was by indirect channels only that their state and condition were made known. The press, as they well knew, was completely gagged in India, and he could therefore only speak upon the authority of private documents. It was much to be lamented that India should be so situated, that this Company must depend upon private information, when a universal conviction prevails that their servants in India were inadequate

to the duties of their station. He had a letter in his hand relating the manner in which Lord Amherst had conducted himself in the distribution of private patronage and of public offices. If the statements it contained were correct, a more unfit and incompetent man could not be placed in his situation. He could not press any motion on the subject for want of the official report; but he would ask the Court how long they would allow things to proceed in this manner? Nearly ten months had passed since the affair at Barrackpore, yet had no despatches arrived from the Government of India, to enable them to entertain a hope that the current story as to that affair was not correct. If not, he would ask, had the Court of Directors taken any steps in order to remove from their situations persons who were so unfit to govern India? Now that this unjust and impolitic war had lasted so long, he would be glad to know if any thing had happened since the affair at Ramoo, nearly twenty months ago, which could be satisfactory to the public.

The CHAIRMAN was of opinion that the public had as much information with respect to the war in India as the Court of Directors had. (13) He hoped the hon. Gentleman would defer any questions till the Court of Directors had seen the information just arrived by the *Euphrates*, and he trusted they would have something satisfactory to communicate. (*Hear!*) At this moment he should think a change of government had taken place in India. Mr. Harrington was now a member of council, and also Mr. Bayley, and, until they saw the effects of this change, censures and animadversions would be premature. (14)

Colonel STANHOPE observed, that he felt most thankful to the Chairman for the communication made to this Court relative to the Barrackpore mutiny. Nothing, however, had been said to do away the impression made on his mind of the imprudence and atrocity of the course pursued, which led to that dire catastrophe of the 2d of November last, which must prove so fatal in all its consequences. He entirely concurred in all that Mr. Hume had said as to the lamentable incompetency of the present Governor-General. Nothing surely could exceed the folly of Lord Amherst's administration. The Company, in the bright day of their wisdom, allowed seminaries of education to be established in British India. They sanctioned Lord Hastings's magnanimous conduct in establishing there a free press, by which we could make known in a thousand ways to the natives of India, the advantages of living under the rule of a civilized and enlightened nation. They allowed the proud friends of freedom to appeal to the reason of the people, that our institutions might make still stronger impressions on their ill-tutored minds; and to appeal also to their passions and natural affections against the tyranny of their unnatural superstition. They had permitted virtuous missionaries, and wise theologians of all castes, to discuss religious questions as freely in Hindoostan as is done in England or in America. And

(13) This then must be little indeed: for, with the exception of the public despatches, in which Sir A. Campbell gives so glaring a picture of one side of the subject, well knowing that the other can never be delineated, we know scarcely any thing, except that it was commenced in injustice, has been carried on with a waste of blood and treasure, of which the cause is quite unworthy, and must [illegible]d, let it terminate when it will, in a [illegible]llied reputation and great pecuniary [illegible]ss. Even this conclusion is drawn from [illegible]ate sources of information, which [illegible] Directors affect to despise, at the [illegible]e time that they stifle the voice of the press, through which, if it were free, we should hear so much more to the same purport and effect, no doubt, be[illegible]unded in truth. and sentiments of Mr. Harrington and Mr. Bayley have been as well known for years past as they now are; and there is no change which *they* can effect in the councils of the Government now, that their influence might not have effected before. But they are both civil servants, and of the school of Mr. Adam, to whom this war, and all its calamities, are chiefly owing. Will they then retrace their master's steps? Besides, the censures and animadversions alluded to, were directed to the conduct of other men, and on events that are *past*. But, says the Chairman, wait a little, and see what will be the conduct of *these* men, and the events that are to *come*, otherwise your censure on what happened *before* this time will be premature. This is India House logic again! and cannot easily be paralleled out of that mart of false principles in reasoning as well as in government and trade.

(14) [illegible] is worthy of the speaker from [illegible] it emanates. The talents

then, having laid the greater foundations of civil and religious liberty; having made a breach in the citadel of their superstition, which for ages has been the great bulwark of their despotism; the Company's Government had now swerved from this wise and safe path, and told the natives of Hindoostan that they must return to mental degradation and to slavery. What would be the consequence? For a time the Indian Government might grovel and tremble on in this dark and perilous course. But the time would come when they would either be obliged to return to Lord Hastings's wise measures, and re-establish the liberty of the press; or else they would promote licentiousness, mal-administration, and discontent, to such an extent that their empire must fall. Already, the honourable Proprietor said, he could perceive the sure symptoms of decline. That man must be ignorant indeed of history, or unmindful of its lessons, who did not know that the suppression of knowledge, that military mutinies, that unjust wars, that burthensome debts, and that general discontent, have ever been the forerunners of the decline and fall of empires. Now all these evils had actually arisen in British India under the government of Lord Amherst. The press had been stifled, and the foulest, basest principle of the Inquisition had been established in its place. A most alarming mutiny and wanton massacre had taken place at Barrackpore—

[*Here the Chairman rose to order, reminding Colonel Stanhope that the subject had been disposed of.*]

Colonel Stanhope said he hoped that no censorship was to be established in that Court. He well knew that the Pope had just restored the Inquisition to activity, and had increased the control of the censors at Rome; that he had sent his emissaries (the Jesuits) to France, to re-establish superstition, and to destroy the press there; and he saw that the same gloomy policy had been acted upon by Lord Amherst in Hindoostan. He trusted, however, that these demons of the Inquisition had not yet established their domination in the East India House, and that an English soldier might still be allowed in that Court to speak truth to its assembly. He should not, however, contrary to the Chairman's wishes, dwell further upon the subject of their mutinies. He should only repeat, that the press had been stifled—that a mad mutiny had been suppressed—that a flood of blood had been shed—that the Burmese war had been entered upon, contrary to all principles of prudence, and, though prosecuted with valour, conducted with imbecility; a war which, under the most favourable circumstances, must increase their enemies on the frontier, and invite those within to rebel against their power; that a ruinous expenditure has resulted from the war, which had already added not less than fifteen millions to the burthensome debt of this country, and would probably add fifteen millions more before it was terminated, besides the future wars, and the millions of debt which it would entail on England.—Under all these circumstances, the sooner they recalled Lord Amherst, and sent out the Marquis of Hastings, Lord W. Bentinck, or Lord Cochrane, the better. (*A laugh.*) Gentlemen might laugh, but where would they find a gentleman better qualified for the important office of Governor-General than Lord Cochrane, unless it were his hon. Friend on the floor. [Mr. Hume.] (*A laugh.*) (15) Gentlemen would seem to think that it was necessary that a Governor-General should be a Tory or a Lord. If so, there was no measure of Government more easy than that of making a man either or both. The rat family is so numerous, that it would seem invidious to mention any particular individual

(15) The *laugh* of the honourable Proprietors seems to be a sufficient answer to any thing. But one might ask, where have there been three other men among all those connected with Indian history, whose names deserve more honour than the three first men[illegible] Colonel Stanhope, each of wh[illegible] superior to Lord Amherst [illegible] gold to baser metal. And as to [illegible] where is there among the b[illegible] Directors—the masters of whatever Governors are sent, who ought at least to be *as* wise as their servants—one who can be named as his equal in devotion to the great interests of India, in zeal for her welfare, and extensive knowledge of her interests? If these be the qualifications which would make a good Governor-General—to say nothing of tried integrity and firmness of purpose—they might be found in Mr. Hume. But it will be long before worth *of this description* will be in esteem for such a purpose; and till then India must be content to be ruled by some more *noble* but less *useful* man. As to rank, however, Mr. Hume is at least equal to Warren Hastings or

of it as a conscientious convert to Toryism; and as for the facility of giving a title, they might take the following as an instance: 'Twas but the other day that our good King was graciously pleased to make two Knights; and what did the Court think the Knights proved to be?—why, a brace of quack doctors. (*A laugh.*) Whether Dr. Eady, or Dr. Solomon, or Widow Welch, with hat, cane and wig, and decked out in doctor's attire, or which of them was the fortunate Chevalier, the honourable Proprietor was not sufficiently versed in the history of chivalry and knighthood to pronounce, but this was certain, both were quacks. [*This sally of pleasantry excited much merriment in the Court.*] Among other proofs of the estimation in which Lord Amherst was held in India, the honourable Proprietor mentioned his Lordship having been hissed in a crowded theatre at Calcutta.

Mr. HUME, in consequence of what had been said by an hon. Proprietor, thought it necessary to advert to some appointments in the medical department. Lord Amherst had appointed Mr. Abel Apothecary-General, to superintend one of the most important departments in the service; there were thereby three Surgeons placed under his authority, although there were 257 Assistant Surgeons above him on the list, and though this gentleman was only of one year's standing, and those whom he had to superintend, his seniors by many years. Mr. Hume also pointed out another source of dissatisfaction; namely, the sentence of a court-martial, by which 970 lashes had been ordered to be inflicted on a sepoy, for desertion, whereas, formerly, instead of needing to have recourse to such revolting modes of coercion to keep their army together, there were always numerous candidates waiting for admission; they could in these days have got two for every vacancy that might occur in the ranks.

The hon. Mr. SMITH stated that he was the person who had given Dr. Abel his appointment of Assistant Surgeon, and did it because Lord Amherst had been highly satisfied of his professional merits in his embassy to China. He (Mr. Smith) knew Dr. Abel to be high in his profession.

Mr. HUME replied, that he had nothing whatever to say against Dr. Abel personally; that he believed him to be highly respectable. It was not the person he objected to, but the appointment of one so young in the service over the heads of hundreds by far his seniors, among whom were no doubt many meritorious individuals who had much stronger claims on the Government which they had served so many years, and also, by their knowledge of the languages and long experience in the country, must be better qualified for such an important duty than almost the youngest Assistant Surgeon on the list. He thought it would hardly be a greater violation of justice and decorum to make him now a member of the medical board.

[After some further conversation, the Court adjourned, about three o'clock.]

John Adam—both of them the best of men and governors in the eyes of the Directors. But, while there is such a man as Lord Hastings, who unites all requisites—rank, capacity, and experience—they need not hesitate a moment in their choice. We firmly believe, (with all our unchanged opinions respecting his weakness and inconsistency as to the press,) that his return to India as Governor-General would do more to repair the evils of the last two years, than any measure which the Court could devise, or any man they could select for such a purpose.

CIVIL AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

BENGAL.

March 3. Mr. J. F. G. Cooke, joint Magistrate, stationed at Nugwan, in zillah Midnapore; Mr. G. R. Paul, assistant to Magistrate and Collector of Ghazeepore.—17. Mr. M. J. Tierney, second Register of City Court of Benares; Mr. J. A. Irwin, Register at zillah Court of Mirzapore; Mr. Henry Lushington, Assistant to Magistrate and Collector of Midnapore; Mr. John Dunbar, ditto to ditto, and to ditto of Burdwan; M. E. L. Campbell, ditto to ditto, and to ditto of Sarun.—24. Mr. Charles Smith, Judge and Magistrate of Tipperah; Mr. John Hayes, ditto ditto, of Mymunsing; the Rev. R. Arnold, District Chaplain of Saugor.

MADRAS.

Mr. James Thomas, jun. Assist. to the Acountant-General; Mr. J. Macleod, Sec. to Government, to officiate in the Reven. and Jud. Depart. during the illness of Mr. Stokes; Mr. J. Casamajor, Acting Sec. to Government in the Public Depart.; Mr. W. Harrington, Sub Collect. in the North. Div. of Arcot.

BOMBAY.

Capt. Henry Pottinger, Resident in Cutch; Mr. J. And. Dunlop, Collector of Ahmednuggur; Mr. G. Moore, Collector and Magistrate in the Southern Concan, and Polit. Agent at Sawant Warree.

CEYLON.

April 1. John Huskinson, Esq. to be Assist. to the Collect. of Jaffnapatam.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ARMY.

BENGAL.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Head Quarters, March 7, 1825.—Lieut. and Quarterm. Polwhele to officiate as Adj. to 42d N.I. as a temporary arrangement, dated Jan. 1.—8. Lieut. Stainforth to officiate as Interp. and Quarterm. to 1st L.C. during absence of Brev. Capt. and Quarterm. Bontein, dated Feb. 24; Capt. H. C. M. Cox, 58th N.I. to the temp. command and formation of the 15th, or Bundelcund Prov. Bat.; Lieut. T. J. Rocke, 69th N.I. who obtained furlough to Europe for one year, is appointed to the charge of the European Invalids and Supern. of the H.C.S. under orders of embarkation for Europe in the ship Euphrates.—10. Lieut. W. G. Robe, 58th N.I. directed to proceed to Berhampore, and to take charge of detachment of Hill Rangers doing duty at that station.—11. Lieuts. Macdonald and Doveton, 4th N.I. permitted to exchange situations; the former is accordingly appointed Adj. and the latter, Interp. and Quarterm. from this date; Lieut. Lane, of Artillery, directed to [illegible] Dacca with a detachment of Nativ[illegible] tillery-men; Dep. Assist. Com[illegible] mance J. Watson to be Ass[illegible] and Conductor W. Claxton [illegible] p. Assist. Com. from Feb. 9, [illegible] to Laurence, dec.—12. Lieut. Baker [illegible]-ciate as Adj. and Quarterm. to the [illegible]-gor Div. of Artillery, vice Alexander, (who has proceeded with his Corps to Cawnpore,) until the arrival of Lieut. Watts.—14. Capt. Campbell to act as Dep. Assist. Adj. Gen. to Benares Div. of Army, from date on which office of major of brigade was abolished; Lieut. G. E. Carey, 15th N.I. to be Adj. of Agra Prov. Bat. vice H. V. Cary, gone to Europe.—15. Capt. Martin, 57th N.I. to officiate as Major of Brigade to Force, under command of Lieut. Col. Richards, in Assam, dated Feb. 19; Captain Webber to command the 6th, or Patna Prov. Bat., for three months, preparatory to application for leave to visit the Cape for health; Lieut. Col. Elrington, H.M. 47th Regt. to be a Brigadier with Force serving in Ava, from date of his arrival at Rangoon, and will draw same pay and allowances as Brigadier M'Creagh.—21. Brig. Maj. Pogson to act as Dep. Assist. Adj. Gen. to Presidency Division from date on which office of brigade-major was abolished.—23. Capt. Smith, 67th N.I. directed to remain at Benares to raise recruits for 45th Regt. dated Feb. 13; Lieut. C. W. Cowley, [illegible] be Adj. vice Brev. [illegible] moted; Cap[illegible] having retu[illegible] to resume his duties as Assist. to Surveyor-Gen. of India.—25. Lieut. Cautley, of Artillery, to be an Assist. to Captain Smith, Superintendent of Dooab ca[illegible] removal of Lieut. W. Buttenshaw, [illegible]-cutive Officer of Public Works, fro[illegible] or Saugor Div., to 3d, or Dina[illegible] of Department, ordered not at [illegible] take place; Lieut. J. T. Boileau, Corps

of Engineers, formerly nominated Executive Engineer of Public Works, appointed to 3d, or Dinapore Div. vice Elliott; Capt. and Brig. Maj. Pogson to act as Dep. Assist. Adj. Gen. to the Presid. Division, to have effect from 28th Jan. last.—25. Capt. Angelo, of the 3d L. Cav. to act as Maj. of Brigade, in the room of Capt. Frye, appointed a Deputy Assist. Adj. Gen. till the arrival of Brigade-Maj. Pogson. — 28. Lieut. Tweedale, 3d N.I. to officiate as Sub-Assist. Commissary Gen.; Lieut. Kinloch, 59th N.I. to act as Cantonment-Adj. on the depart. of Lieut. Parker; Lieut. Maclean, 11th N.I. attached to the 2d L. Inf. Bat. to join his regt. at Allahabad; —30. Captain J. T. Anquetil, 44th N.I. to officiate as Deputy Assistant Quarterm. General (of the 3d class,) with the Force under Brig. Gen. Shuldham; Capt. Pratt, lately appointed a Dep. Judge Adv. Gen. is posted to the Cawnpore Div. of the Army.—31. Capt. Sandys, Dep. Assist. Quarterm. Gen. to take charge of the 1st Comp. of Pioneers, on the depart. of Lieut. Nash; temp. arrangement.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Calcutta.—The Hon. the Court of Directors, in their General Letter in the Military Department, under date the 15th September 1824, having enjoined correctness in the wording of affidavits furnished by widows, applying to be admitted to the benefits of Lord Clive's Fund, the Governor-General in Council is pleased to publish the following Form, which is to be strictly adhered to in all future cases of application of that nature:

FORM.

"I (*full name*), widow of (*full name*), late a (*rank*) in the service of the Honourable Company, do hereby make oath and declare, that my husband did not die possessed of property, either real or personal, to the amount of £—— St., nor any person or persons in trust for him.

A. B.

"Sworn before me, at ——, this —— day of ——, One Thousand Eight Hundred and ——.

C. D. *Magistrate.*"

[illegible] following are the sums limited by [illegible]ations: any property left in excess will disqualify for Lord Clive's pension; viz.; widow of a Colonel, 4000*l.*; Lieutenant-Colonel, 3000*l.*; Major, 2500*l.*; [illegible]n, or Surgeon, 2000*l.*; Lieutenant, or Assistant-Surgeon, 1000*l.*; Ensign, or Cornet, 750*l.*; Commissary of Ordnance, 2000*l.*; Deputy Commissary of Ordnance, 1000*l.*; Assistant Commissary Ordnance of Deputy, ditto; Conductor, and all other inferior Warrant Officers, 750*l.*

The Honourable the Governor in Council is pleased to extend the provisions of the Government General Order of the 5th January 1816, regarding the mode of drawing the pay and allowances of officers of his Majesty's service, when absent *on Staff duty*, or "*on leave to proceed to Europe*," to the case of *all* officers who may be absent from their regiments, whether on duty or on leave.

PROMOTIONS.

Fort William, March 18.—24th Regt. N.I.: Brev. Capt. and Lieut. M. Ramsay to be Capt. of a Comp., and Ensign J. G. Sharpe to be Lieut. from the 25th Feb. 1825, in suc. to Turnor, deceased; Mr. Jas. Remington admitted to Inf. and promoted to Ensign.

34th N.I.—Lieut. C. W. Cowley to be Adj. vice Brevet Capt. Hodgson, prom.

ADJUSTMENT OF RANK.

Fort William, March 11.—Under the sanction of the Honourable the Court of Directors, the Governor-General in Council is pleased to restore the following Officers to their original rank:

Lieut. J. R. Stock, 61st N.I. as Cadet 1st class of 1807, Capt. by Brevet from 1st March 1823, next after J. Hoggan, 53d N.I.; Lieut. L. S. Bird, 24th N.I. as Cadet 4th class of 1807, Capt. by Brevet from the 4th June 1823, next after W. Turner, 54th N.I.; Lieut. David Sheriff as Cadet 4th class of 1808, with his present standing as Lieut.; Lieut. Louis Vansandau as Cadet 5th class of 1809, with his present standing as Lieut.

March 18.—The Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council is pleased to assign rank to the following Cornets and Ensigns, from the dates expressed opposite to their names respectively:

Cavalry.—Cornets D. G. A. F. H. Mellish, 23d May 1824; Archibald W. W. Fraser, 20th June do.; and J. Gordon Campbell, 9th July do.

Infantry.—Ensigns W. C. Carter, 1st May 1824; C. Cook, 2d do. do.; R. Proctor, (not arrived,) 4th do. do.; C. Cooper, 4th do. do.; A. F. Mackintosh, do. do.; W. Thursby, 11th do. do.; M. Nicolson, do. do.; H. W. Burt, do. do.; J. H. Blanshard, do. do.; W. Lyford, do. do.; C. J. C. Collins, 20th do. do.; W. Alston, do. do.; J. P. Sharpe, do. do.; W. Innes, do. do.; J. Campbell, do. do.; T. Gould, do. do.; W. H. C. Bluett, 23d do. do.; C. Campbell, do. do.; R. Fitzgerald, do. do.; W. F. Campbell, do. do.; E. T. Erskine, do. do.; T. Hutton, (deceased,) do. do.; B. W. D. Cooke, do. do.; A. Jack, do. do.; F. Irving, do. do.; J. J. Hamilton, do. do.; C. C. Jenkin, do. do.; C. Erskine, do. do.; W. Fenton, do. do.; R. H. De Montmorency, 13th June do.; G. Greene, do. do.; F. B. Lardner, do. do.; J. H. Phillips, 17th do. do.; R. Haldane, do. do.; W. J. Martin, 20th do. do.;

W. F. Phipps, do. do.; G. W. Hamilton, do. do.; A. P. Graham, do. do.; W. Fraser, do. do.; J. De Winter Charles James Moir, 21st do. do.; W. C. Birch, 28th do. do.; J. Sutherland, 9th July do.; M. Hyslop, 26th do. do.; G. P. Lloyd, do. do.; and J. Charleton, (not arrived,) do. do.

REMOVALS AND POSTINGS.

Calcutta, March 8.—Lieut. J. C. Sage, of the 61st, and Lieut. J. Macdonald, of the 69th Regts. permitted to exchange corps; the former is accordingly posted to the 61st, and the latter to the 69th Regts.; Lieut. Sage's suspension from rank and pay is remitted from this date. -14. Artillery. 1st Lieut. G. S. Lawrenson removed from 9th Comp. 2d Bat. to 13th Comp. 4th Bat.; and 1st Lieut. E. W. Huthwaite from 9th Comp. 4th Bat. to 1st Comp. 2d Bat.—19. Brigade Maj. Taylor posted to district of Rohilcund, and directed to proceed to Bareilly, his leave of absence being cancelled at his own request.—31. Ensign A. Tweedale removed from the 3d, and posted to the 24th, at Delhi.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William, March 8.—Assist. Surg. D. Mowatt to afford med. aid to the Detach. at the sev. Depôts at Berhampore; Mr. H. Bousfield to be Assist. Surg. date of arrival 11th March 1825, to proceed in med. charge of a Detach. of recovered men of H.M. Regts. proceeding to Rangoon.—9. Assist. Surg. Dennis to the med. charge of a Detach. of H.M. Royal Regt. and of the women and children of that Regt. proceeding to Fort St. George; Mr. J. Kelly, Surg. admitted to do duty as an Assist. Surg. on the Establishment. —11. Assist. Surg. J. Jeffreys to have charge of the Med. Depot at Cawnpore, vice Surg. Venour, removed; Assistant Surg. Motley appointed to the Mhairwarra Local Bat.—14. Hosp. Apprentice W. M'Leod removed from the Chunar Hospital, and appointed to the Gen. Hosp. at the Pres.—15. The name of Assist. Surg. D. Harding having been submitted by mistake to Government, his promotion to Surg. in succession to Russel, resigned, is cancelled, and Sen. Assist. Surg. James Hall is prom. to that rank.—17. Hosp. Apprentice J. Millard, now at Chunar, is appointed to the 1st Europ. Reg.—18. Assis[illegible]ke appointed to the 65th [illegible] urg. R. Limoud, Officiating Dep. Superintend. Surg. to be Officiating Superintend. Surg. with Forces under Sir Arch. Campbell, serving in dominions of King of Ava; Surg. D. Todd to be Officiating Dep. Superintend. Surg. vice Limoud; Mr. J. Douglas admitted, temporarily, to do duty as an Assist. Surg.; Superintend. Surg. Alex. Gibb to be third Member of Med. Board; Act. Superintend. Surg. W. L. Grant to be a Superintend. Surg.; Dep. Superintend. Surg. J. Ridges to be an Acting Superintend. Surg.; Assist. Surg. J. Langstaff to be Acting Superintend. Surg. to the Cawnpore Division.

The undermentioned Assist. Surgeons have rank assigned them as follows:

Assist. Surg. R. Rankine, 1st May 1824; B. C. Sully, M.D. 4th do. do.; W. Stevenson, M.D. do. do.; W. Thomson, 9th do. do.; J. H. Palsgrave, 16th do. do.; H. Taylor, 23d do. do.; and G. Cragie, M.D. (not arrived,) do. do.; Assist. Apothecary Hottinger appointed to act as Steward to the Hospital of H.M. 87th Regt. and directed to join; Hosp. Apprentice J. Thomson, now at the Gen. Hospital, is appointed to the Hospital of the Artillery at Dum Dum; Apprentice H. Leopold is appointed to officiate as Assist. Apothecary at the Gen. Hospital; Officiating Dep. Superintend. T. Todd attached to eastern Div. of Army; Superintend. Surg. Grant will continue, for the present, with the south-east. Div. to which he is attached.—24. Apothecary Jones is re-appointed, on his application, to the Hospital of H.M. 14th Foot; Apothecary Lamborn is appointed to the Depot at Saugor, vice Jones, and will proceed to join when relieved from his present situation at the General Hospital; Apothecary Wiltshire is appointed to the 59th Foot, vice Lamborn.—25. Assist. Surg. A. Wood appointed to the medical charge of the invalids of H.M. and the H.C. service, under orders of embarkation for Europe on the ship Euphrates.

MEDICAL POSTINGS.

Calcutta, March 21.—Surg. Venour to the 5th Regt. Lt. Cav. vice Langstaff; Acting Superintend. Surg. Ridges posted to western Div. of Army, and directed to join.

FURLOUGHS.

March 4th.—Lieut. J. W. Roworth, 11th N.I., Madras Estab. to Europe.—The permission granted to Capt. James Drysdale, 50th N.I., to proceed to Europe for health, is commuted to 12 months to the Cape.—7th. Maj.-Gen. Sir T. Pitzler and Capt. Wetherall, 11th Lt. Drag. Aid-de-Camp to the Maj.-Gen., for six months respectively in extension, with permission to proceed to the Cape.—8th. Lieut.-Col. Commandant James Nicol, 9th N.I., Adj.-Gen. of the Army, to Europe for health.—11th. The leave of absence granted to Capt. Burroughs, in General Orders of the 14th ult. is cancelled at his own request; Cornet Paxton, 6th Light Cav., from 26th Feb. to 15th May, to visit the Presidency, on Medical Certificate, preparatory to applying for furlough to Europe; Capt. R. Blisset, 18th N.I., to New South Wales for 12 months (via Singapore) for health.—22. Major A. Say, to Europe for health.

MADRAS.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George, Feb. 18*th*, 1825.—Lieut.-Col. Command. T. Pollock, C. B. of the Infantry, to Command the Field Force in the Dooab, vice Pierce, dec.; Lieut.-Col. Com. J. D. Greenhill, of the Infantry, to Command the Pres. Cantonment.—25th. Dep.-Assist. Commis. Gen. Lieut. J. Morison, to be Assist. Commis.-Gen., vice Cubbon; Sub.-Assist. Commis.-Gen. Lieut. T. Rooke, to be Dep.-Assist. Commis.-Gen. vice Morison.—14th. Assist. Commis.-Gen. Major M. Cubbon, to be Dep. Commis.-Gen. vice Purchas ret. to Europe.—March 4. Col. A. M'Dowel, C. B. of the Infantry, to the Command of the Nagpore Subsid. Force. —11th. Capt. W. G. Page, 48th N.I., to be Dep.-Assist. Quarterm.-Gen. to the Madras Troop on Foreign Service; Capt. Mitchell, 6th N.I., to act as Paymaster at Jaulnah in the absence of Capt. Kelso. —15th. Lieut.-Col. D. Kenny, of the Inf., to Command at Masulipatam; Capt. R. Murcott, 36th N.I., to be Aid-de-Camp to Lieut.-Gen. Bowser, vice Gordon, permitted to resign and proceed on For. Service.—18th. Lieut.-Col. C. Cleaveland, Artil., to act as principal Commis. of Ordnance in charge of the Arsenal of Fort St. George; Lieut. D. Douglas, 49th N.I., re-appointed as Sub. Assist. Commis.-Gen.—25th. Capt. G. Ogilvie 17th. N. I, is permitted to resign the Command of Troops in Wynaad in compliance with his own request.—April 5th. Lieut. J. Pinchard, 17th N.I. to be Quarterm., Interpreter, and Paymaster, vice Brook.—8th. Lieut. Bullock, 3d Lt. Cav., to resume the duties of Quarterm., Interpreter, and Paymaster at his own request; Capt. R. Shawe, 1st Lt. Cav., to act as Major of Brig. to the centre Div. of the Army during the absence of Capt. Aloes.—12th. Lieut. F. H. Ely, 42d N.I., to be Quarterm., Interpreter, and Paymaster, vice Scott, ret. to Europe; Lieut. J. Fitzgerald, 42d N.I., to act as ditto, ditto, ditto, during the absence of Capt. Ely.—15th. Lieut. H. C. Cotton, Superintending Engineer in Mysore, to act as Civil Engineer in the centre Division, vice Cleghorn.

Head Quarters, Choultry Plain, March 15.—Lieut. W. Macqueen, 50th N. I. and Lieut. M. Poole, 5th N.I., to do duty with 22d N.I., and will join the Detachment at Palaveram.—18th. Ensign H. Dixon, to do duty with the Infantry Recruiting Depot; Capt. H. Wiggins, 36th N.I., to do duty with 22d N.I., to join the Detachment at Palaveram, and take charge of the sick arrived from Rangoon. —April 2d. Lieut. J. Ross, 15th N.I., to do duty with 22d ditto.

PROMOTIONS.

Fort St. George.—Engineers.—Senior Capt. (Brig.-Major) J. R. Cleghorn, to be Major, to officiate as Chief Engineer till further orders, with a seat at the Military Board, vice Sen. 1st Lieut.; James Oliphant, to be Capt. vice Cotgrove, deceased, dated 14th April, 1825.

Artillery.—The Hon. the Governor in Council is pleased to order that Troop Quartermasters of Horse Artillery be eligible for appointment and promotion in the Ordnance Department.—Troop Quarterm. of Horse Artil. J. Denton, to be Dep. Assist. Commissary of Ordn. for his distinguished zeal and gallantry at Kittoor on the 23d of October last, and is attached to the Nagpore Subsidiary Force.

3d. Light Cavalry.—Lieut. G. A. Brodie to be Adj., vice Hyslop, resigned.

4th Light Cavalry.—Lieut. W. Sinclair to be Adj., vice Bridges, promoted; Sen. Lieut. R. Bridges, to be Capt. and Sen. Cornet; C. R. Flint, to be Lieut. vice Greenhill, deceased, dated Feb. 19.

4th N.I.—Sen. Ensign J. H. Cramer, to be Lieut. vice Marshall, cashiered, dated March 8.

9th N.I.—Sen. Ensign J. M. Macbraire to be Lieut. vice Campbell, dead of wounds received in action, dated 25th of March.

14th N.I.—Lieut. C. F. Le Hardy to take rank from 7th April, 1822, vice Agrew; Sen. Ensign F. W. Todd, to be Lieut. from 1st May, 1824.

16th N.I.—Sen. Ensign T. Coles, to be Lieut. vice Cook, deceased, dated Feb. 20, 1825.

35th N.I.—Sen. Ensign A. Trotter, to be Lieut. vice Edie, deceased, dated Feb. 22, 1825.

40th N.I.—Lieut. C. Wilford, to be Adj vice Newman, deceased; Sen. Ensign S. Peeshall to be Lieut., vice Newman, deceased, dated March 22, 1825.

44th N.I.—Sen. Ensign T. F. Baber to be Lieut. vice Phillipson, killed in action, dated Feb. 25.

50th N.I.—Lieut. H. W. Lardner to be Adj. vice Ewing, deceased.

2d European Regt.—Sen. Lieut. B. S. Ward, to be Capt., and Sen. Ensign W. Hill to be Lieut. vice Forbes, deceased, dated 27th March.

Horse Brigade of Artillery.—Lieut. W. Brook, to be Adj. vice Pinchard.

The following Cadets are admitted on the Establishment, in conformity with their appointment by the Honourable Court of Directors, and are promoted to the rank of 2d Lieutenants and Ensigns respectively:—

Artillery.—Messrs. Geo. Hall, John H. Gunthorpe, Fred. Burgoyne, Rich. C. Moore, and Phillip Austruther.

Infantry.—Mr. Henry Dickson.

Mr. Arch. M'Lachlan Glas is admitted on the Estab. as Cadet for Inf., and promoted to Ensign.

2d Nat. V. Batt.—Lieut. Hoofstetter,

to be Capt. of a Company, dated Jan. 1, 1819.

REMOVALS AND POSTINGS.

Fort St. George, Jan. 21.—Lieut. Kenny, 13th N.I., to the 3d ditto; Lieut. George, from latter to former.

Head Quarters, Choultry Plain, March 22.—The following Removals are ordered in the Artillery:—Lieut. J. Booker, from 2d Batt. to 4th Batt.; Lieut. P. J. Begbie, from ditto to ditto; Lieut. J. T. Baldwin, from 1st ditto to ditto; Lieut. J. Back, from ditto to 2d ditto; Lieut. J. G. B. Bell, from ditto to ditto; Lieut. S. S. Trevor, from 2d ditto to 1st ditto; Lieut. W. H. Miller, from 1st ditto to 2d ditto; Lieut. T. R. Whistler, from ditto to ditto; Lieut.-Col. E. Chitty, from 31st or T. L. I. to 17th N.I.; Lieut.-Col. T. Stewart, from 17th to 31st N.I. or T. L. I.; Lieut.-Col. C. M'Leod, C.B. from 32d to 45th N.I.; Lieut.-Col. G. Waugh, from 50th to 32d N.I.; Lieut.-Col. G. L. Wahab, from 45th to 50th N.I.; Ensign J. J. Losh, at his own request, from 1st Eur. Regt. to 9th N.I. and to join immediately.—April 3. Capt. R. Gray and W. Preston, lately transferred to the Non-effective Establishment, are posted, the former to the 2d N. V. Batt., and the latter to the Carnatic European V. Batt.—5th. Lieut. E. Ainslinck, from the 1st Batt. to the Horse Brig. of Artillery.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Head Quarters, Choultry Plain, March 16, 1825.—Assist.-Surg. J. P. Grant, doing duty with H. M.'s 69th Foot, to do duty with the 38th N.I., ordered to the Presidency.—April 2. Sub. Assist.-Surg. Watson, to afford Medical aid to the Detachment of H. M. 48th Regt. ordered to Trichinopoly.

Fort St. George, April 12.—Surg. W. C. Stirling, to act as Superint.-Surg. in the ceded districts, and Surg. Trotter to return to duty as Staff Surg.

FURLOUGHS.

Fort St. George, Feb. 18.—Lieut. J. W. Goldsworthy, 1st N.I., to Europe for health.—March 8. Capt. R. James, 7th Lt. Cav., on leave to the Cape, on sick Certificate, five months in extension.—15. Capt. Iltyd Gwynne, 43d N.I., to Europe for health; Lieut. W. Symes, Bengal Estab. to Europe for health; Lieut. J. W. Roworth, 11th Madras N.I., to Europe for health.—23. Assist.-Surg. J. R. Gibbs, to Europe for health; Lieut. R. Kerr, 3d Lt. Cav. to Europe for health.—24. Staff Surg. W. Haines, to sea, via Bombay, for health, with leave for 12 months, and eventually to Europe; Capt. Kelso, Paymaster at Jaulnah, to sea for 12 months.—April 8. Lieut. Brev. Capt. W. Scott, 42d N.I., to Europe for health; Lieut. G. Alcock, of Artillery, to Europe for health; Major S. Martin, 8th Light Cav., on leave to the Mauritius, six months in extension; Lieut. J. Harwood, 48th N.I., to Europe for health.

H. M. Royal Regt. has been transferred to this Establishment from Feb. 1.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Fort St. George, March 15.—Lieut. G. Marshall, and Ensign John H. Marshall, 4th N.I., having been cashiered by the sentence of a General Court Martial, their names are struck off from the strength of the army from 7th March and 22d Feb. 1825, respectively.

KING'S FORCES IN INDIA.

[*From the Indian Gazettes.*]

BENGAL.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Calcutta, March 11.—Lieut. Davis, 11th Lt. Drag., to hold himself in readiness to proceed in charge of invalids to England, and should his services be required he will be appointed to do duty with them in Fort William; Lieut. J. Kershaw, 13th Lt. Inf., to be Assist.-Surveyor with Sir A. Campbell's force at Rangoon.—12. Capt. Mathias, 59th Regt., to proceed to England instead of Lieut. Hill, of the 87th Regt.; Capt. Debnam to proceed to Berhampore; and Lieut. Young to deliver over the general charge of the several Depots of the 13th Lt. Inf., and 38th and 44th Regts. to that officer; Lieut. Young, 44th Regt., to place himself under the Brig.-Major to the King's Troops, and to do duty with the effective men belonging to the Regts. at Rangoon.

PROMOTIONS.

Calcutta, March 16, 1825.—*11th Light Drag.*—T. H. Pearson, Gent. to be Cornet by purchase, vice Astley, who retires, dated March 14, 1825.

59th Foot.—Lieut. John Luckie, to be Capt. by Brevet, in East Indies only, dated Feb. 22, 1825.

69th Foot.—Ensign H. D. O. Halloran, to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Penn, deceased, dated March 6, 1825.

MADRAS.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George, Feb. 18.—Lieut.-Col. A. Campbell, H. M. 46th Regt., to Command the Troops in Malabar and Canara, from date of departure of H. M. 20th Regt. from these Provinces.

PROMOTIONS.

89th Foot.—Lieut. P. Agnew, to be Capt. of a Company without purchase, vice Rose, killed in action, dated March 8, 1825; Lieut. A. Stuart, to be Capt. of a Company without purchase, vice Cannon, killed in action, dated ditto, ditto; Ensign W. Olpherts, to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Agnew, promoted, dated ditto, ditto; Ensign C. Arrow, to be Lieut. without purchase, vice Stuart, promoted, dated ditto, ditto,

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(From the London Gazettes.)

BENGAL.

11th Light Drag.—Cornet R. Bambrick, to be Lieut., vice Mulkern; A. Bolton, Gent. to be Cornet, vice Bambrick.

31st Foot.—Hosp. Assist. G. Minty, to be Assist.-Surg., vice Graham, promoted to 10th Foot.

38th Foot.—Capt. J. Seymour, to be Capt., vice Willocks.

44th Foot.—Lieut. A. G. Gledstones, to be Adj., vice Wollard, appointed to the 88th Foot; J. M. Dalway, Gent. to be Ensign, vice M'Crea, promoted.

59th Foot.—Lieut. J. Doran, to be Capt., vice Mathews; Ensign G. Clerk, to be Lieut., vice Doran; R. M'Gregor, Gent. to be Ensign, vice Clerk.

MADRAS.

PROMOTIONS.

13th Light Drag.—A. Brown, Gent. to be Cornet by purchase, vice Campbell, promoted.

1st Foot.—Ensign F. Ogilvy, to be Lieut. by purchase, vice O'Brien, appointed to the 20th Foot; F. Lucas, Gent. to be Ensign by purchase, vice Ogilvy.

20th Foot.—A. Scott, Gent. to be Ensign, vice Cumming; Lieut. D. O'Brien, from 1st Foot, to be Lieut., vice Thatcher, appointed to the 37th Foot.

45th Foot.—Lieut. E. Foster, from the Cape Corps of Cavalry, to be Lieut., vice Blakeway, who exchanges; Lieut. F. Kearney, from half-pay 31st Foot, to be Lieut., vice Forster, who exchanges.

54th Foot.—Capt. E. G. Smith, from Half-pay, to be Paymaster, vice Pillon.

69th Foot.—W. T. Smith, Gent., to be Ensign, vice Keiley.

89th Foot.—Lieut. F. Hawkins, to be Capt. vice Agnew.

BOMBAY.

4th Light Drag.—B. Ogle, Gent., to be Cornet by purchase, vice M'Caffrey, promoted; J. Elton, Gent. to be Cornet by purchase, vice Ramsbottom, prom.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

98th Foot.—Lieut. R. Wolfe, to be Adj., vice Stevens; Lieut. H. S. Maxwell, from half-pay 25th Foot, vice Dutton, appointed to New South Wales Company; Ensign A. C. Gregory, by purchase, vice Allan, promoted, to be Lieut.; J. H. Armstrong, Gent. to be Ensign by purchase, vice Gregory.

Cape Corps Cav.—Lieut. J. Blakeway, from 45th Foot, to be Adj. and Lieut. vice Foster, who exchanges.

Cape Corps Inf.—Lieut. A. B. Armstrong, to be Capt., vice Stuart, deceas.; Ensign H. D. Warden, to be Lieut., vice Armstrong; J. North, Gent. to be Ensign, vice Warden.

Brevet.—Capt. J. M'Farlane, Adj. in East India Company's Depot, to be Maj.

CEYLON.

16th Foot.—To be Ensigns: Hon. — Hay, vice M'Kenzie; J. W. F. Prettyjohn, Gent. vice Hay.

83d Foot.—Lieut. J. Swinburne, to be Capt., vice Sanderson.

97th Foot.—Lieut. T. Lynch, from 25th Foot, to be Capt. by purchase, vice Calthurst, who retires.

Ceylon Regt.—Lieut. F. Dempsey, from half-pay 81st Foot, to be Lieut., vice Woodhouse.

ISLE OF FRANCE.

56th Foot.—To be Lieuts.: Lieut. J. S. Keating, vice B. F. Noyes; Lieut. C. R. Murray, vice Brutt.

82d Foot.—Lieut. S. Holdsworth, from half-pay Col. Comp. at the Mauritius, to be Paymaster, vice Williams, dec.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

CALCUTTA.

Births.—March 3d. The lady of Mr. Agabeg, of a son and heir.—11. The lady of R. Stewart, Esq. of a son.—13th. At Chowringhee, the lady of R. M'Ronald, Esq. of a daughter.—16th. Mrs. G. S. Dick, of a daughter.—20th. Mrs. F. D. Kellner, of a son.—22d. Mary, the wife of the late Mr. Sandys, of Twins.—April 7th, Mrs. C. Rebello, of a son.

Marriages.—March 2d. At the Cathedral, Alex. Falconer, Esq. of Belnaberry, to Josephine, eldest daughter of the late J. Hume, Esq. and Niece of Jos. Hume, Esq. M.P.—31st. Mr. J. Moffat, to Miss Mary Redford.—April 2d. Lieut.-Col. R. H. Cunliffe, Commissary-Gen. of the Army, to Susan Emily, second daughter of the late Col. J. Paton, Bengal Establishment.—4th. Lieut. R. C. Jenkins, 61st N.I. to Miss A. B. C. Palmer; J. Grant, Esq. Ass. Surg. H. C. S. to Miss E. N. A. Hayes.

Deaths.—March 10th. At C——, Mr. W. H. Matthews, aged 56.—19th. Mrs. E. Maflin, aged 25.—20th. Mr. J. Macleod, aged 60; Mr. H. Palmer, aged 25.—28th. At Fort William, Edward, youngest son of Mr. B. Murphy.—April 1st. William, second son of A. Constantine, Esq. of Bushire.—6th. Mr. J. M'Konachie, aged 25.

MADRAS.

Births.—Feb. 17th. The lady of Capt. Matthews, 37th N.I. of a daughter.—March 16th. At Black Town, the lady of G. Ricketts, esq. of a daughter.—23d. At St. Thomas' Mount, the lady of Lieut. Blundell, of Artil. of a daughter.—25th. At the Presidency, Canton, the lady of Lieut.-Col. Webster, of a daughter.—Ap. 26th. The lady of Lieut.-Col. Cadell, of a daughter.

MADRAS.

Marriages.—Feb. 14th. At Life Church, Mr. P. De Castellas to Caroline daughter of J. Greenhill, Esq. M.C.S.—March 23d. Mr. E. D. Sena, to Maria Louisa, daughter of M. R. J. Pauchett, Com. of Ordnance.—30th. W. S. Binny, Esq. of the firm of Binny and Co. to Emma Mary, second daughter of S. Dyer, Esq., Mad. Med. Estab.—April 4th. Mr. T. Barrett to Mrs. Catharine Hatterley.—11th. Mr. V. D. Johnson to Miss G. M'Daniel.—25th. Lieut H. C. Cotton, of Engineers, to Louisa, 5th daughter of the late J. Brodie, Esq., M.C.S.—May 2d. Hugh Maklm. Elliott, Esq., to Mary, fourth daughter of George Lys, Esq.

Deaths.—March 5th. In Fort St. George, Lieut. J. Penn, H.M. 69th Regt., aged 25, second son of J. Penn, Esq., Commiss. of Ordnance at Vellore.—6th. At New Town, Mr. F. Almeida, Sub-Assist. Surg.—April 2d. Ann, wife of Mr. I. Lloyd, Examiner at the Board of Revenue, aged 40; Mrs. E. F. Hicken, aged 24.—3d. Mr. Antonie Munia, aged 39.—13th. Major R. J. Cotgrave, Engineer, aged 47; the lady of H. Chamier, Esq., H. C. Civil Service.—25th. At St. Thomas's Mount, the infant daughter of Mr. G. Gourley, Ordnance Department.

BOMBAY.

Birth.—Feb. 18th. The lady of T. Crawford, Esq., of a son.

Marriage.—March 1. Mr. H. Antone Clerk to the Resident of Nagpore, to Miss M. Fernandez.

Deaths.—Feb. 21st. At Capt. Campbell's, Broach, Lieut. J. Hay, 10th N.I.—26th. D. Ferguson, Esq., aged 26.—March 3d. J. Cumming, Esq., of the firm of Cumming and Co., of Calcutta.

INTERIOR OF INDIA.

Births.—Feb. 1st. At Cannanore, the lady of Capt. Calder, 1st Eur. Reg. of a son.—15th. At Moradabad, the lady of A. N. Forde, Esq. C. S., of a son.—18th. At Dinapore, the lady of Lieut. T. C. Maclean, of a daughter.—22d. At Cottyam, Mrs. Fenn, of a son.—24th. At Futtyghur, the lady of J. Bush, Esq. of a daughter.—March 3d. At Almora, the lady of Lieut. Jervis, Adj. 5th N. I., of a daughter.—5th. At Agra, the lady of W. Fane, Esq. of the Civil Service, of a daughter.—6th. At Allahabad, at the house of G. Skipton, Esq., the lady of Capt. Stacey, 32d N. I., of a daughter.—8th. At Merut, Mrs. C. Billings, of a son.—9th. At Midnapore, the lady of G. P. Thompson, Esq. of a daughter.—14th. At Allahabad, the lady of Lieut. Todd, 11th N. I., of a son and heir.—23d. At Chandernagore, the wife of Mr. J. Maclean, of a son.—24th. At Mangalore, the lady of Assistant Surgeon Ewart, of a son.—27th. At Mangalore, the lady of Lieut. and Q. M. Locke, 1st Eur. Reg. of a daughter.—29th. At Do. the lady of Lieut. Edgar, of a son.—28th. At Nagpore, the lady of

Capt. Keating, 41st Reg. N. I., of a son.—April 2d. At Royapooram, Mrs. J. A. Hicken, of a son.—8th. At Carangooly, the lady of B. Cunliffe, Esq. of the C. S., of a son.—14th. At Nagpore, the lady of G. Adams, Esq. Surg., of a daughter.—28th. At Berhampore, Mrs. Leggatt, of a son.

Marriages.—March 10th. At Bareilly, S. P. Tucker, Esq., H. M. 11th Light Dragoons, to Jamima, 4th daughter of the Rev. J. Slater.—27th. At Berhampore, Mr. J. Chesterman, of Poornea, to Eleanor Anne, 2d. daughter of Mr. J. F. Chopin, late of Calcutta.

Deaths.—Jan. 18th. At Rangoon, of wounds, Capt. G. W. Clark, 13th Light Infantry.—Feb. 2. At Berhampore, Charlotte Maria, wife of Lieut. J. Macaw.—7th. At Mangalore, Lieut. H. Ewing, Adj. 50th N. I.—23d. At Penang, J. W. Toosey, Esq., of the Madras C. S.—25th. At do., W. M. Williams, Esq., Madras C. S., aged 28.—25th. At Delhi, Capt. C. E. Turnor, of the 24th N. I.—March 5. At Secundrabad, Mr. J. Daly.—10th. At Cawnpore, J. Jones, Esq., aged 53.—13th. At do., the infant son of Mr. W. Dickson.—20th. At Dacca, the eldest daughter of Mr. G. Alexander, aged four years.—21st. At Aurungabad, Lieut. and Adj. H. Newman, 40th N. I.—24th. At Vepery, John Hay, Esq., formerly of Cawnpore, merchant, aged 64.—26th. At Musulipatam, Capt. C. Forbes, a victim to the fatigues and privations suffered at Rangoon.—27th. At Royapooram, Jane Helen, only daughter of Mr. R. Reid.—29th. At Chittoor, Thomas, only son of R. Gibbon, Esq., Surg. Madr. Est. At the palace of Kittoor, the infant son of Lieut. G. Perks, 23d Light Inf.—April 5. At Coimbatoor, G. Phillips, Esq., Sub-Collector at do.—19. At Bangalore, Ann, wife of Lieut. Ring, Dep. Com. of Ord.—26th. At Bangalore, Joseph, infant son of Lieut.-Col. J. Brodie, 28th N. I.—27th. At Chinglepnt, Capt. Hoofstellee, commander at that station.

CEYLON.

Birth.—April 10th. At sea, off Point de Galle, the lady of Geo. Cragie, Esq. M. D., H. C. S. Bengal, of a son, which died on the same day.

Marriage.—Feb. 12th. At Knitts, near Jaffnapatam, J. Price, Esq. Collect. of Batticaloa, to Eliza S. daughter of G. Burleigh, Esq. magistrate of Knits.

Deaths.—Feb. 25th. At Ceylon, Christiana, only daughter of Mr. B. A. De Vos, aged eight years.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Death.—July 14th. R. C. Plowden, Esq.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Marriages.—Sept. 22. At Bath, George Thomas, Esq. of Madras Light Cav. to Mary Ann, eldest daughter of the Rev. T. Broadhurst, Belvedere House, in that city.—27. John Hornidge, Esq. of Great Ormond-street, to Ann Maria, fifth daughter of J. Dickenson, Esq. of New North-street.—29. At Margate, Captain Sam. Hughes, Madras Army, to Mrs. R. Waters, widow of the late Lieut. Cole Waters, of the same army. At Kempsey, Lieut. Ch. Bracken, of the Bengal Establishment, to Jane Anne, daughter of Col. Ludovick Grant, of Bank House, Kempsey, Worcestershire.—Oct. 5. At Tottenham, Capt. Babington, Madras Cavalry, eldest son of Dr. Babington, to Adeline, 7th daughter of W. Hobson, Esq. of Markfield, Stamford Hill; at Rye, in Sussex, Mrs. Margaret Charron, widow of the late Lieut.-Col. Andrew Charron, E. I. C. S.—6. At the Ambassador's Chapel, Paris, C. S. Broughton, Esq. fourth surviving son of Sir Th. Broughton, Bart. of Doddington Hall, to Caroline, second daughter of the late Col. W. Greene, Mil. Auditor-Gen. at Bengal.—8. At St. George's, Hanover-square, E. R. Funno, Esq. of Upper Brook-street, to Caroline, 2d daughter of J. M. Raikes, Esq. of Portland Place.—9. M. C. Lear, to Catherine, third daughter of the late S. Brown, Esq. of the East India House—18. In London, Lieut. William Macgeorge, of the 6th Regiment of Bengal Native Infantry, to Theophila Louisa, only daughter of the late Richard Turner, Esq. of the Bengal Civil Service, and grand-daughter of Mrs. Scott, of Bryanstone-square.—20. At St. Christ's Church, Wells, Major H. C. Streatfeild, of the 87th Regiment, to Eleanor, daughter of the late Harry Darby, Esq.

Deaths.—May 29. On his passage from India, A. J. Robertson, M.D., E. I. C. Med. Estab. of Bombay, aged 26.—Sept. 23. In London, a few months after her return from India, Sophia, wife of the Rev. Joseph Bailey.—Oct. 16. At Melina Place, W. M'Gillivery, Esq. one of the Members of the Legislative Council of Lower Canada. At Chiselhurst, Andrew Reid, Esq. Bengal Civil Service.

COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE.

MADRAS, MARCH 14, 1825.

Government Securities, &c.

6 per cent. paper 32 per cent. prem.
5 .. .. par to 6 per cent. prem. according to Registry.
4 0

Exchange at 106¼ Mad. Rs. per 100 Sa. Rs., the rate now adopted by the Merchants and Agents at Madras, in all purchases and sales of Government Securities.

Exchange on England 1 | 8¼ at 3
.. .. 1 | 9 at 6

Ditto on Bengal 104 at 107 Mad. Rs. per 100 S. Rs.
Ditto on Bombay par.

CALCUTTA.—APRIL 17, 1825.

COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

Buy.]			[Sell.
s. d.	s. d.		s. d. s. d.
1 10¼	1 11¼	On London 6 Months sight, per Sicca Rupee	1 11½ a 2 ½
		Bombay 30 Days sight, per 100 Bombay Rupees	92
		Madras ditto, 94 a 98 Sa. Rs. per 100 Madras Rupees	

BANK OF BENGAL RATES.

Discount on Private Bills	5 0	per Cent.
Do. on Govt. Bills of Exchange	4 0	
Interest on Loans on Deposit, open date	4 8	
Ditto 3 months certain	4 4	

BOMBAY.—APRIL 20, 1825.

EXCHANGE.

On London 6 months sight 1s. 8d. per Rupee.
Calcutta, 30 days, 1004 B'y. Rs. per 100 Siccas.
Madras, do. 99½ B'y. Rs. per 100 Madras.

COMPANY'S PAPER.

Remittable, 113 B'y Rs. per 100 Siccas.
Unremittable, 110 a 114 do.

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date. 1825.	*Port of Arrival.*	*Ship's Name.*	*Commander.*	*Place of Depart.*	*Date.*
Sept. 29	Liverpool	Hero	Steele	Bombay	May 15
Sept. 29	Off Falmouth	Corsair	Robinson	Singapore	April 23
Sept. 30	Off the Start	England	Reay	Bombay	May 7
Sept. 30	Cadiz	Union	Cadozar	Manilla	
Oct. 1	Off Torbay	Brothers	Potts	Cape	July 21
Oct. 4	Off Dover	Regalia	Henning	Bombay	May 8
Oct. 4	Isle of Wight	[illegible]	Norquay	Singapore	Mar. 15
Oct. 6	Cork	Bridget	Leslie	Bombay	April 17
Oct. 8	Downs	Persia	Elwell	Penang	June 10
Oct. 10	Off Cowes	Calcutta	Helm	Bengal	June 23
Oct. 10	Downs	Portland	Snell	Madras	May 6
Oct. 10	Off Dover	Hero	Rutter	Mauritius	June 30
Oct. 24	Antwerp	Perseverance	Day	Penang	
Oct. 25	Off Portsmouth	Providence	Rennington	Bengal	April 7
Oct. 26	Off Dover	Franklin	Tillinghurst	China	April 10
Oct. 27	Isle of Wight	Adelaide	Gordon	Bengal	April 20

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Date. 1825.	*Port of Arrival.*	*Ship's Name.*	*Commander.*	*Port of Depart.*
Mar. 28	Madras	Aurora	Earl	London
April 18	Madras	Louisa	Wells	Cape of G. Hope
April 26	Batavia	Jane	Tankersley	Liverpool
May 2	Bengal	General Kyd	Nairne	London
May 4	Bengal	Duke of Lancaster	Harmer	Liverpool
May 4	Batavia	Margaret	Simpson	London
May 5	Bombay	Ogle Castle	Weynton	London
May 5	Singapore	Harriet	Fulcher	London
May 8	Bengal	Hythe	Wilson	London
May 13	Bengal	Navigator	———	Nantes
May 18	Bengal	Lady Campbell	Irvine	London
May 20	Batavia	Woodlark	Brown	London
May 23	Bengal	Bridgewater	Manderson	London
June 10	Mauritius	General Palmer	Truscott	Cape of G. Hope
July	Cape	Emulus	Wellbank	Rio Janeiro
July 10	Cape	Spring	Hackman	London
July 12	St. Jago	Mary Ann	O'Brien	London
July 30	St. Helena	Two Brothers	Meek	Calcutta

DEPARTURES FROM EUROPE.

Date. 1825.	*Port of Depart.*	*Ship's Name.*	*Commander.*	*Destination.*
Sept. 26	Cowes	Robert Edwards	Sherborne	China
Sept. 27	Deal	Eliza	Faith	Bengal
Sept. 27	Deal	Columbus	Brown	Bengal
Sept. 27	Deal	Sir Wm. Wallace	Brown	Mauritius
Sept. 29	Liverpool	Meridian	Syme	Batavia
Sept. 29	Liverpool	Ospray	M'Gill	Bengal
Oct. 3	Deal	Catharine	Mackintosh	Bengal
Oct. 10	Deal	Perseverance	Graham	Mauritius
Oct. 11	Plymouth	Helicon	Acland	Cape
Oct. 12	Deal	Ellen	Patterson	Cape and Mauritius
Oct. 12	Deal	Leda	Northwood	Cape
Oct. 12	Deal	Patience	Kind	Cape and Mauritius
Oct. 15	Deal	Thames	Fraser	New South Wales
Oct. 18	Deal	John	Freeman	Mauritius & Eastward
Oct. 19	Deal	Exmouth	Owen	Bombay
Oct. 20	Deal	Joseph	Christopherson	Bengal and Singapore
Oct. 20	Deal	Cornwallis	Henderson	Singapore and Penang
Oct. 20	Deal	Layton	Campbell	Mauritius
Oct. 20	Deal	Soulworth	Embleton	Mauritius
Oct. 21	Portsmouth	Kains	Sinclair	Mauritius
Oct. 21	Deal	Leander	Richmond	Mauritius & Eastward
Oct. 22	Torbay	Clyde	Munro	Bengal
Oct. 23	Deal	Castle Forbes	Ord	Madras and Bengal
Oct. 23	Portsmouth	Prince Regent	Lamb	Van D. Land & N.S.W.
Oct. 23	Liverpool	Leander	Leitch	New South Wales

SHIPS SPOKEN WITH AT SEA.

Date. 1825.	*Lat. and Long.*	*Ship's Name.*	*Commander.*	*P. of Depart.*	*Destination.*
May [illegible]		Condé		London	China
June [illegible]	15 8 S. 30 52 W.	P. Ch. of Wales	Biden	London	Bengal
June [illegible]		Warren Hastings	Mason	London	Ceylon
July [illegible]	1 S. 21 E.	Sparrow	Hawk	Clyde	Mauritius
July 2[illegible]	6 42 S. 28 10 W.	Marq. of Welling.	Blanshard	London	Bengal
July 3[illegible]		Mary	Hutton	St. Helena	Cape
Aug. 7	30 S. 26 E.	Madras	Fayner	London	Madras
Aug. 7	[illegible] 23	Wm Franklin	———	London	Batavia
Aug. 19	1[illegible] 33 32	Mellish	Cole	London	Bengal
Aug. 19	1[illegible] 34 40	Thos. Grenville	Manning	London	Bengal
Aug. 20	8 N. 17 30 W.	Triumph	Green	London	Bombay
Sept. 11	34 [illegible]	Malay	Richardson	Sumatra	Gibraltar
Sept. 14	6 N. 18 W.	Star	Bond	London	South Seas
Sept. 30	49 30 N. 7 30 W.	Nautilus	Tripe	London	St. Helena
Oct. 17		Leda	Northwood	London	Cape

GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

PASSENGERS HOMEWARD.

By the *Euphrates*, from Bengal: Mrs. Mathers and child; Capt. G. Mathers, H. M. 59th Regiment, died at sea, 13th Sept. 1825; Lieut. J. Ship, H. M. 87th; Lieut. J. Roche, 69th N. I.; Lieutenant Humphreys, H. C. Artillery, died at sea 21st April; A. Wood, Assistant-Surgeon H. C. Service; P. Milne, Esq. merchant; Mr. Geo. Boorman.

By the *Alexander*, from Ceylon:—Lieut.-Col. Sullivan, 1st Ceylon Regt.; Capt. Wilson, Royal Artillery; Captain Sanderson, 83d Regt. died at sea; Lieut. Haggerston, 83d Regiment; Dr. Hume, Staff; Dr. Burkley, 66th Regt. died at sea; Dr. Tigh, 83d Regt.; Mr. Wilson; Mr. Vanderstraat; Sergeant Stapleton, wife and two children; Mr. Biddle, wife and two children.

By the *Regalia*, from Bombay:—Mrs. Robinson and three children; Dr. M. Robertson, died at sea, 29th May 1825; Mrs. Robertson; J. H. Little, Esq. Madras C. Service; Ed. S. West, Esq.; Lieut. J. Harwood, H. C. Madras Service; Lieut. S. Quinton, 17th Lancers; John Kentish, Esq. Bombay C. S., and Geo. Bird, Esq. Madras C. S., left at the Cape.——From the Cape: Dr. Stewart, Bombay Establishment; Alex. MacDonald, Esq.; Lieut. M'Quarrie, 89th Infantry; Miss S. Keys.

By the *Bridget*, from Bombay:—Col. William Brooks, and Dr. James Boyd.

By the *Portland*.—Capt. Scott, Madras N. I.; Lieut. Hill, H. M. 69th Regt.; Lieut. Childers, H. M. 41st Regt.; Lieut. Butler, Madras N. I.; Lieut. Smith, Madras N. I.; Major Cleghorn, Engineers, died at sea; Mr. E. Liss, died at sea; Mr. Armstrong; Lieut. Lang, Madras Cavalry.

By the *Providence*, from Bengal:—Mrs. M'Kenzie; Col. Nicol, Adjutant-General; Mrs. Smith, died in the Bay of Bengal; Captain Henry Ferrier, late Commander of the Henry.

PASSENGERS OUTWARD.

By the *Castle Forbes*.—For Madras and Bengal: Mrs. Taylor, Mrs. Grant, and Mrs. Sandyson; Capt. Taylor; Messrs. Lynch, Frith, Bayler, Walsh, Middleton, Haydon, Innes, Fullerton, Middeson, and Cardozo.

By the *Clyde*.—For Bengal: Lieut. Col. Dundas; Messrs. Innes, J. R. Colvin, Chas. Garnet, Meeke, John Hickey, Maxwell, Kirby, Bell, Fullerton, and Younger; two Engineers; two Native Women.

By the *George*.—For Bengal: Mr. and Mrs. Rogers; Miss Renfrew; Mrs. Twisden and child; Capt Franklin; Messrs. Meiklejohn, Larkins, Willis, Mayne, Richardson, Murray, Downs, and Cameron; Master Jones; seven Servants, Native and British.

By the *Exmouth*.—For Bombay: Sir Thomas Bradford, K.C.B., and Lady; Col. Rainey; Mrs. Barber; Misses Ainsley, Welch, and Delly; Dr. Strachan; Capt. and Mrs. Seely; Messrs. Malet and Hamilton; Mr. and Mrs. Slater; Messrs. Fuljames, Harris, Valliant, Cartwright, Shutt, Frederick, and Ramsey; Lieuts. Rae and M'Caffrey; Mr. Lanaise; Mr. Fullerton; three Servants, Native and British.

THE ORIENTAL HERALD:

No. 24.—DECEMBER 1825.—Vol. 7.

CONTROVERSY BETWEEN LORD HASTINGS AND COLONEL BAILLIE, THE LATE RESIDENT AT THE COURT OF LUCKNOW.

In our last Number, we brought the examination of the Oude Papers almost down to the period when the Marquis of Hastings became personally an actor in the political drama at Lucknow. When the former Vizier, Saadut Alee, died, as has been stated, in July 1814, his Lordship was on his way to the Upper Provinces, to make the necessary dispositions for the prosecution of the war in Nepaul. The Resident took the precautions requisite to insure the tranquil succession of the Vizier's eldest son, Refaut-ood-Dowlah, to the musnud; which could not be a matter of difficulty when the Company's troops formed the military force of the province. Shums-ood-Dowlah alone, a younger brother, made a murmur of opposition, and was, with reluctance, induced to resign the keys of the treasury, which had been intrusted to his charge during the lifetime of his father. He had enjoyed a much larger share of his father's regard and confidence than the heir-apparent, having greater capacity for public affairs, and probably evincing a warmer attachment to the interests and honour of his family, by firmly adhering to his father in his struggles to preserve his remaining shred of authority. Remembering how Lord Wellesley had set aside the rights of Nuwaub Vizier Alee with so little ceremony, Shums-ood-Dowlah imagined that the important part he had hitherto occupied in the administration of Oude, would be regarded by the Company as giving him a superior title to that of his elder brother. This claim, aided with a piece of seraglio-scandal, the story of a perjured eunuch, or the promise of a Begum's plunder, might have easily passed in former times; but these days were gone by when Lord Moira ruled the fates of Indian princes. Shums-ood-Dowlah was soon after removed by his Lordship to Benares, with a suitable income assigned him by his brother.

We shall now enter a little more deeply into the arcana of Oude politics, which are a labyrinth of endless windings, one within another, requiring many clues to unravel them. It is the custom of historians to give the character of their kings at the end of their histories; but for the proper understanding of them, it would be more useful to reverse the process. We shall, therefore, here observe, that the new Nuwaub, Refaut-ood-Dowlah, is represented by Colonel Baillie as a man of very weak capacity; but Lord Hastings considered him rather timid than deficient in intellect. Either of these defects (and it is probable he had a degree of both) rendered him liable to be imposed upon by favourites, or to

become a mere tool in the hands of the Resident. He was, besides, the less qualified to conduct the affairs of his government, from having been excluded from court, as well as from public business, in his father's lifetime. With so very different a subject to work upon, Col. Baillie now carried through his scheme of reform without opposition. Amongst the people, however, it excited very great dissatisfaction, goading them into open revolt; but the military force was unsparingly employed to compel submission. The troops soon after began to be required for the more important purposes of the war then waging; and the Vizier, seeing the consequences of the "reform," became more and more averse to it. This the Resident ascribed to the pernicious counsels of Hukeem Mehdee, the person represented as the main instigator of every thing contrary to his will. This Hukeem is confessed to have been almost the only man in the kingdom qualified for conducting public affairs; he had, on former occasions, been strongly recommended by the Resident himself as alone capable of superintending the disturbed districts, which he did with much credit and success. He had adhered, with great steadiness and fidelity, to his old master, Saadut Alee, and attached himself firmly to his sons, Shums-ood-Dowlah and the present Vizier, successively as they came into power. Although the only man qualified to act as minister, the British Government would not allow the Nuwaub to appoint him, on the ground that he was not friendly to the British interest. No proof of this is given, except that he was a man of too great ability, and too firm attachment to his prince, to become a mere tool in the hands of the British Resident; Colonel Baillie, therefore, regarded this talented and faithful subject of the Nuwaub with the most jealous, and latterly, a most hostile eye, attributing to him the Nuwaub's new dislike to the reform. Another cause of this feeling he supposed to be the *ukhbars*, or letters of intelligence, by which (as is usual with Native princes) the Nuwaub acquired a knowledge of what was going on in the various quarters of his dominions from persons appointed for the purpose of sending him an account of every thing worth notice. The Nuwaub by this means becoming acquainted with the effects of Colonel Baillie's reform, according as these were good or bad, would be his satisfaction or dissatisfaction. This may explain the remarkable fact, that a British subject, born in a free country, accustomed from his youth to see the liberty of the press guarding the public interests, should be found teaching an Asiatic Prince, nursed in the midst of despotism, to shut his eyes entirely to the condition of his subjects, or see it only through the officers who had the power of oppressing them. At the accession of the new Nuwaub, when Colonel Baillie was in the plenitude of his power, he actually abolished the ukhbar system; but in spite of the Resident's strong opposition, the Prince revived it, that he might have a proper check on the proceedings of the Minister and his dependents, as well as the subordinate officers of his household and court. (p. 682.)

The pretence assigned by the Resident for keeping the Nuwaub in the dark, was, that the writers of intelligence made *false* reports against the Minister and other officers. If so, then the best remedy was, to employ a still greater number of reporters, and these trustworthy persons, in order to ascertain the truth, by comparing the various statements of different witnesses. Colonel Baillie's plan was to have no such witnesses at all, and in this Lord Hastings joined him;—another example of his con-

sistent adherence to "the salutary control of public scrutiny." The repugnance of the Company's servants to the freedom of the press may be conceived, when they carry their aversion to this "salutary control" to a pitch unknown to Asiatic despots. These are called upon to "reform," by stifling the only free channel through which truth can reach them, in order to assimilate their administration to our "deaf and inexorable system," as it has been well designated by Colonel Matthew Stewart.

The clearest account of the "extraordinary transactions" which took place during the Governor-General's residence in the Upper Provinces, in 1814, is contained in his minute of the 30th of November, given at page 919. He says:

When I arrived at Cawnpore, *viz.* on the 8th October, I had not the remotest suspicion that Major Baillie was not to the highest degree in the good graces of the Nuwaub Vizier. The letters of Major Baillie, my only source of information, pictured the confidence and attachment of the Nuwaub Vizier towards him in the most glowing colours: and although Major Baillie made some complaint about his Excellency's hanging back from the reform of the revenue administration, I did not put upon the circumstance any construction beyond this: that the Resident had used an indiscreet importunacy on that particular point, which had made the Nuwaub Vizier regard the subject with some distaste.

The visit which the Nuwaub Vizier first paid to me was a matter of such ceremony, as left no room for deducing any conclusions. I only made it the opportunity of testifying to his Excellency such dispositions as were calculated to invite his fullest reliance on me.

On Thursday, the 13th October, I returned his Excellency's visit. After breakfast, I requested that I might have some private conversation with him. I had the day before desired the Resident to apprise him that I should do so. On his proposing to retire to an inner tent, I begged that Mr. Ricketts (Mr. Adam was unwell) and Mr. Swinton, as well as the Resident, might accompany us, stating that the two first were necessarily to be apprised of all that might there take place, and might, therefore, as well witness the conversation as have it subsequently retailed by me. This was admitted. The conversation commenced by the tender by the Vizier of the loan (see despatch to his Excellency the Vice-President in Council, dated 29th October[1]) to the Honourable Company of one crore of rupees, and which was accepted with suitable expressions of my sense of the friendly spirit in which the offer was made, and then entered into the views of the British Government regarding his Excellency's situation, which were calculated to excite great satisfaction in him; for they not only extinguished some apprehensions which I am sure he entertained, but they must have gone beyond his hopes in the security they afforded for his future comfort. I entreated him to repose himself, without reserve, on Major Baillie, whom I stated as possessing my entire confidence; and I told his Excellency, that if any thing capable of promoting his respectability and ease were left unarranged, it would be his own fault in not suggesting the points to me. It did strike me that this address was not met by his Excellency with as much display of gratification as I thought it might naturally have produced; but I ascribed this, on reflection, to the habitual gravity of countenance which the Asiatics are accustomed to preserve. His Excellency then presented a paper,[2] containing, as he said, certain articles to which he solicited my attention. I handed it to Mr. Swinton, saying that it would be translated by that gentleman, and that I would then lose no time in answering it. Major Baillie took the paper, and began to examine it with an apparent anxiety, which proved that such a production was unexpected by

[1] Oude Papers, page 711. [2] Vide Document, marked No. I.

him. I interrupted this by a remark, that no comment could be made on the sudden upon a document of that nature, and that I must see its contents in English before I could discuss them.

Mr. Clarke had been introduced to my secretary, Mr. Thompson, by a letter from Mr. Alexander, in which the latter represents Mr. Clarke as not only a person of tried integrity, but as one so possessed of the language, and so conversant with all concerns at Lucknow, as that he might be very useful to Mr. Thompson in his arrangements for our progress; on which ground Mr. Alexander recommended him to acquaintance and attention. Captain M'Leod's sister was intimately known by Lady Loudon when in Scotland, whence civilities had been shown to him while he was in Calcutta. From this cause those gentlemen were asked to dine with me on the same day.

When they arrived at Cawnpore, they went to Mr. Thompson's tent. As a mere loose topic of conversation, he said that he trusted I had left the Nuwaub Vizier's mind thoroughly comfortable. He was astonished at their answering, "So far from it, he is in a state of absolute despair." On his asking the meaning of such an assertion, they told him that the Nuwaub Vizier had reckoned upon being delivered from the despotism of Major Baillie, but that I had, on the contrary, rivetted his chains, by declaring that Major Baillie possessed my entire confidence. Mr. Thompson very properly judged that I ought not to be left ignorant of the circumstance, and communicated it accordingly. I desired to see the two gentlemen, and I received them separately. I could not have the least doubt of the Nuwaub's having imparted to them all that passed at the interview, for the course of the conversation which I had held was accurately detailed by each of them. No minister or attendant of the Nuwaub had been present, therefore his Excellency himself was the only person capable of imparting what had then passed. In answer to my questions, many matters felt as grievances by the Nuwaub were mentioned by them. Not either of them spoke with the slightest asperity of Major Baillie, and Captain M'Leod appeared to me not frank enough in his replies. I had, either on the preceding day, or the day before that, endeavoured to obtain from him information about a story current in the camp, of a servant of the Nuwaub's having been wounded by the Suwarree of the Resident, and the tone of his answers had really made me believe that he was labouring to give a favourable colour to the transaction from attachment to Major Baillie. I said to both those gentlemen, that, though I could not doubt the accuracy of their information, the statement did not come in a form which I could recognise; that the Nuwaub himself was the only person from whom I could formally know particulars of such a nature; and that I had reason to complain of his not unbosoming himself, when I had given him such ample encouragement in the morning. Their remark was, that his Excellency's mind was in such subjection to Major Baillie, as that he would never attempt to complain of that gentleman in his presence.

This passed on Thursday. The Nuwaub Vizier was to dine with me on the Saturday. In the interval a letter came from Mr. Clarke, requesting, on the part of his Excellency, that when he should arrive at my quarters, I would give him the opportunity of speaking to me in private without Major Baillie's being present. I requested Mr. Ricketts to answer the letter, intimating that the desired opportunity should be given to the Nuwaub Vizier; but observing, that the application should have come through the official channel of one of the government secretaries, and cautioning Mr. Clarke against bearing any further part in such a correspondence.

When the Nuwaub came, viz. on the 15th of October, I expressed my wish that he would retire with me to a private room, telling Major Baillie that I thought it would be most delicate to dispense with his attendance. I told the Nuwaub, however, that I must take the liberty of having Mr. Ricketts, Mr. Adam, and Mr. Swinton present, as they were my confidential assist-

ants, sworn to secrecy, and as I had made the resolution that I never would have a private conference with any Native prince unless they witnessed the interview.

His Excellency did not object. I then asked if he wished that any of his suite should be present. He said it was unnecessary. My first question to his Excellency was, whether he had authorized Mr. Clarke to request that I would give his Excellency the opportunity of a conference without Major Baillie's being present. He answered that he had authorized Mr. Clarke to that effect. My reply was, that I was happy to meet his wishes; but that as I could not rest on what Mr. Clarke had loosely said, I entreated his Excellency to explain himself to me without reserve.

The Vizier took this occasion to observe that he had proposed to advance to the Honourable Company a crore of rupees by way of loan, but that this was nothing, and he begged that it might be accepted as a free gift. The obvious objections to my receiving the money on any other terms than that of a loan were explained to his Excellency. I repeated my assurances, that it was the sincere disposition of the British Government to uphold his dignity and to promote his comfort. He still maintained an unaccountable silence as to particulars, but he said that he had drawn up a paper explaining the objects for which he looked to my justice and kindness, though he had not brought it with him; and he added, that he would transmit it on the morrow, with every hope that I would attend to it. I assured him that the contents of the paper should be duly weighed; but I observed, that the duration of my stay at Cawnpore must be short, and that we should expedite matters much if he would now enable me to discuss with him the outline of what he had committed to writing. He appeared so shy, that I doubted whether he really thought me sincere in the invitation I had given him to speak; so that I repeated again with energy the assertion that the British Government had no indirect views, and only required to know what would best advance his prosperity and satisfaction.

Still his Excellency maintained the same caution, only referring me to Hukeem Mehdee Alee Khan. This he did twice. It appeared to me awkward to take the Hukeem into consultation after I had entertained an objection to that individual's being contemplated by his Excellency for his Minister, on account of recorded obstructions attempted by Hukeem Mehdee Alee Khan to purposes of the British Government: the interview therefore closed. Mr. Clarke afterwards declared that the Nuwaub Vizier had pleaded his knowledge of Mr. Swinton's peculiar attachment to Major Baillie, as the reason for his not having availed himself of the opening thus afforded to him.—pp. 919—922.

The Nuwaub having one day invited Captain Gilbert, with whom he was previously acquainted, to breakfast, the latter, not imagining it was with a view to any private conversation, requested Lord Hastings to permit his Aide-de-camp, Capt. M'Rae, to accompany him. His Lordship thus getting notice of the intended visit, asked Captain Gilbert to take the opportunity of ascertaining, dexterously, as if merely from his own curiosity, whether his Excellency preferred Dr. Law or Dr. Wilson as a physician; as the latter, being patronised by the Resident, his Lordship was in doubt what was the Nuwaub's real choice. After breakfast, the Nuwaub having taken Captain Gilbert into a private room, the latter took occasion to ask, (as if merely a sudden thought of his own,) which of the two he preferred. The Nuwaub exclaimed earnestly that he wished for Mr. Law, and reprobated Colonel Baillie's attempt to force Mr. Wilson upon him. He then unfolded a long tale of grievances against the Resident, declaring that while that person continued to hold the office, he (the Nuwaub) could never enjoy one hour's comfort.

Next day, while Lord Hastings and his Excellency were in a phaeton together, his Lordship informed the Nuwaub,* that he had learnt from Captain Gilbert his wishes in favour of Dr. Law, and said that the gentleman should be appointed accordingly. The Nuwaub immediately clasped his Lordship's hands eagerly, saying, with a more candid expression of countenance than usual, he "had no hope but in his Lordship's favour."

Lord Hastings afterwards sent Mr. Ricketts to apprise the Nuwaub that there should be a private conference at the Resident's, from which Major Baillie should be absent, and to beg of his Excellency to consider speaking before Mr. Ricketts, Mr. Adam, and Mr. Swinton, exactly the same thing as if he spoke to his Lordship alone; then the Nuwaub confirmed to Mr. Ricketts all he had said to Captain Gilbert, and closed with an apparently unpremeditated ebullition of "Cannot you get Major Baillie removed?"

At this conference, which took place in the evening of the 31st of October, those present being Lord Hastings, the Vizier, Mr. Ricketts, Mr. Adam, and Mr. Swinton, his Excellency was asked again "to state without reserve, what his real wishes were." He then presented a paper, (p. 879,) (containing a recapitulation of the grievances expressed to Mr. Ricketts in the paper given at p. 876,) saying, that this paper contained all his complaints of Colonel Baillie. What shows the contemptible littleness of the Nuwaub's mind is, that the only grievance he earnestly insisted on, was about the sounding of a nobut, or large drum, which he wished to have beat at the gate of his new palace; but this being close upon the Resident's house, he had been afraid to do so, lest the noise should annoy Colonel Baillie. He begged Lord Hastings to let the nobut be beat on the next morning: his Lordship said there must be some mistake about it, and that a reference should be made to the Resident. This incident, trifling as it may seem, was attended with important consequences; the delicacy and deference thus shown to Colonel Baillie by the Governor-General having made a strong impression on the Nuwaub's mind as to the power and favour enjoyed by the Resident. At the same conference, the Nuwaub's proposition of having Hukeem Mehdee, for whom he expressed great esteem, as his Minister, was expressly rejected; this being the person to whom Colonel Baillie was so much opposed.

These and other proofs of the Resident's great influence working on the Nuwaub's feeble mind, during the night after this conference, he became terrified about the consequences of giving offence to so powerful a personage as the British Representative. The Resident's partisans were, of course, attentive to second these apprehensions. Captain M'Leod relates, (p. 924,) that Hukeem Mehdee, and two others whom he named, were present when Agha Meer, a tool of the Resident's moonshee, used the Governor-General's name to frighten the Nuwaub into an opposite course. The language said to have been used was to this effect; that, "the Nuwaub had ruined himself; that the Governor-General was outrageous at his complaints against Colonel Baillie, and even talked of removing his Excellency from the musnud; and that there was no remedy but to declare that he had been misled by the artifices of others; to profess what was most opposite to the wishes or dictates of his heart." Colonel Baillie's own statement, (p. 959,) strongly confirms this, and proves that it was Agha Meer, who, by the above or similar argu-

ments, induced the Nuwaub to retract all his complaints, and accuse Captain M'Leod and Mr. Clarke of having instigated him to profess dissatisfaction with the Resident, contrary to the real sentiments of his own heart. We may here ask, what possible motive or inducement could these gentlemen hold out to the Nuwaub for such mad hypocrisy; or what prospect of advantage, in pursuing so extraordinary a course as that of expressing hatred where he felt love, and removing from him the person whom he really regarded as "his uncle and his best friend?" The supposition is monstrous, not to say incredible. (See p. 959.)

The result of the foregoing intrigue was, that the day after the Nuwaub had given in his statement of grievances, the said Agha Meer came to Mr. Swinton and Mr. Adam with a message from the Nuwaub, entirely disavowing all he had done, alleging that the paper of complaints had been given him by Mr. Clarke, and that he had merely presented it at his solicitation, because he was led to imagine it would gratify the Governor-General. (p. 880.)

Next day, Lord Hastings deputed Mr. Swinton and Mr. Adam to the Nuwaub, to ascertain whether the above message was authentic; when his Excellency confirmed it, repeating the same story himself somewhat improved. On being asked about the other paper of grievances delivered to Mr. Ricketts, he replied, with great appearance of confusion, that Mr. Clarke had given him that also; and now extended his accusation to Captain M'Leod, Dr. Law, and Mr. De L'Etang; adding, that because they had instigated him to make false complaints, he had dismissed them all from his service.

Perplexed with the Nuwaub's contradictory statements, Lord Hastings again deputed Mr. Ricketts, Mr. Swinton, and Mr. Adam, with written instructions, to ascertain his real sentiments on certain essential points, for his Lordship's guidance. To these gentlemen the Nuwaub again confirmed the sincerity of his recantation, and persevered in attributing, what he had before said, to Captain M'Leod, Mr. Clarke, and the other gentlemen; alleging that they had used the Governor-General's name to induce him to make the complaints; but that no one had used it to make him retract them. Captain M'Leod earnestly solicited permission to prove the fact by the evidence of Hukeem Mehdee and two other Natives, proposing to have them examined in the Nuwaub's presence. The course Lord Hastings took he thus describes:—

I told Captain M'Leod, that after the positive declaration of the Nuwaub on the subject, I could not do any thing which would so distinctly impeach his veracity by implication, as the examining his servants on the point. Another solicitation made by Captain M'Leod and Mr. Clarke was rejected by me on the same ground of delicacy. His Excellency had charged them with having impressed him with the notion that I disliked Major Baillie, and that his Excellency could not gratify me more than by affording me ostensible ground for removing that gentleman from his situation. Captain M'Leod and Mr. Clarke severally denied having ever uttered any insinuation of that tenor, and they implored that I would sit as in Council and receive their declaration on oath, in face of the Nuwaub Vizier, as to the absolute non-existence of any colour for that charge against their probity. Awkward as the procedure would have been, I know not that I could have brought myself to refuse to those gentlemen the means of expurgation equitably due when their honour was so arraigned, had I not felt myself ready to record the most unwavering conviction of their entire innocence in that particular. The charge carries no probability on the face of it.—p. 924.

It is to me perfectly clear, that the Nuwaub Vizier has had floating dissatisfactions against Major Baillie. I myself have witnessed in the latter, towards the Nuwaub Vizier, little points of behaviour which could not but wound his Excellency. When the Resident, who had received checks from me by letter on that very head, could not avoid sliding into the error while I was present, it must be imagined that at other times he has been still less measured in his deportment.—p. 925.

Lord Hastings strongly conjectures that Hukeem Mehdee was really the person who instigated the Nuwaub to make known his grievances against the Resident. But his Lordship argues, that if the Nuwaub had, as pretended, acted merely on the supposition that it would gratify him to receive charges against Colonel Baillie, his Excellency would have taken the step roundly, and not have kept the thing hankering on his mind, fearful of bringing it out in presence of Mr. Swinton or Mr. Adam, because he knew them to be favourable to the Resident. His seeking a private interview with Captain Gilbert, as if judging him, from his having married a near relation of Lady Loudon, to be therefore an eligible channel to insinuate complaints secretly into his Lordship's ear, was not the course he would have taken had he merely wished to accuse Colonel Baillie, in order to gratify his Lordship, by furnishing a pretext for his removal; for a public accusation would have been the only one thought of, or available for such a purpose. The real state of the Nuwaub's mind may also be judged of, by what he felt after Major Baillie's party had finally prevailed, and his leading partisan, Agha Meer, had been installed as Minister. Lord Hastings says,—

On the night when we took our leave, the Nuwaub Vizier went up to Captain Gilbert, and taking the hand of the latter, placed it on his (the Nuwaub's) breast, saying with a look of uncommon distress, "whatsoever has happened, do not think I have cast off your friendship: I hope to prove it to you in happier times." Why was not the present moment happy, when he had obtained a security for his dignity, his internal dependence, and his comfort, beyond what his fondest hope could have expected? It requires very little perspicacity to see that the intrigue of Hukeem Mehdee Alee Khan was overset by some other intrigue, in which a more efficacious influence was employed; that a branch of the practice on the mind of the Nuwaub Vizier, was the recalling him to a sense of the obligations under which he lay to Major Baillie, contrasting their magnitude with the frivolity of what his Excellency urged as grievances; and that his Excellency, to extricate himself from the embarrassment, threw upon the shoulders of others the burden which belonged only to his own. The reward of success in this intrigue, was the raising to the situation of Minister, Agha Meer, a low man, who had waited behind the Nuwaub's son at my table at Cawnpore, and whose name had never been mentioned in the list of persons eligible for such an appointment, in any of the frequent previous discussions. The issue of the intrigue was none of my business. I had only to accept the Nuwaub Vizier's own statements, and to concur in what he chose to say was his wish. It was solely incumbent on me not to let the European gentlemen labour under an imputation, which I conscientiously believe they have in no shape merited. The laxity with which the accusation was hazarded, cannot be estimated better than by the following fact. Mr. De L'Etang was charged by the Nuwaub Vizier with having acted in concert with Captain M'Leod, Dr. Law, and Mr. Clarke, in this conspiracy. Each of those gentlemen has declared in the most solemn manner, that he never conversed with Mr. De L'Etang on the subject, or was aware that Mr. De L'Etang was privy to it. I mentioned this to Major Baillie, who answered that he believed their assertion to be strictly true; adding, "I believe the Nuwaub has been sorry

to have incurred the expense of inviting Mr. De L'Etang into his service, and lays hold of this excuse to get rid of him." The circumstance affords an impressive comment on the rest of the transaction.

The plain truth is, that the Nuwaub having proved himself to be a man of weak and base mind, by falsifying and retracting his own statements, his mere assertion is worth nothing. Therefore, on one side, we have the testimony of four English gentlemen of unblemished character, besides the proffered evidence of Hukeem Mehdee, and other respectable Natives. In opposition to this, we have merely the tale of Agha Meer, the tool of Colonel Baillie's moonshee. That tale itself, supposing it true, is sufficient to show that he practised on the Nuwaub's weakness for his own ends, to raise himself into power, by doing so signal a service to the Resident. How highly the latter estimated the service, may be judged by his declaration, (p. 950,) that it was "more honourable to his character than a long line of ancestors ennobled!" No doubt the achievement ennobled him in Colonel Baillie's eyes, as well as raised him to the rank of Minister. But Lord Hastings conceiving it to be his duty (without descending to unravel or mix himself up with these secret intrigues) to take things according to their outward appearance, took for granted that the Nuwaub was satisfied with the Resident; acquiesced in his appointment of Agha Meer as Minister; sanctioned the removal of the gentlemen above named, who had been in the Nuwaub's service,—at the same time declaring his full conviction, that they were innocent of any unworthy practices; reprimanded Captain M'Leod, however, because he had been unfortunately drawn into political conversations by the Nuwaub; and having cautioned Colonel Baillie to be more circumspect in future, both in treating the Nuwaub with due deference, and not saddling him with his own Native followers at large salaries,—his Lordship finally intimated to the Nuwaub, at a parting interview, that he "should justly require of him to support his professions in favour of Major Baillie, by manifesting to that gentleman thorough reliance." (p. 927.)

Throughout the whole of these perplexing transactions, Lord Hastings's conduct is characterised by a straightforwardness, a disregard of all petty motives, and a refined delicacy, the pure dictate of highly honourable feeling, which ought to have secured him the applause and admiration of all parties. So far from showing any favouritism or partiality on account of family connexion, he allowed Captain M'Leod to suffer, although innocent, because technically in error; and, on the other hand, confirmed Colonel Baillie in his situation. This gentleman, however, so far from being grateful, harboured a secret grudge against his Lordship, which broke out a considerable time after. It appears to have been fomented by the turn which affairs took in Oude. Notwithstanding the temporary triumph of the Resident's party at court, in the intrigue which raised Agha Meer to be Minister, this favourite, although bolstered up with all Colonel Baillie's art and influence, soon after fell into utter disgrace. The shame and anguish with which he regarded the downfall of his party seem to have dictated the desperate course of attributing it to corrupt machinations, promoted by the ignorance and misconduct of Lord Hastings. In this he was encouraged by Mr. Adam, who, with Mr. Swinton, was his sworn friend, and entered, it is believed,

much more deeply into these intrigues against Lord Hastings, than is apparent from these papers.

With the advice and approbation of Mr. Adam, he sent in a despatch to the Supreme Government, in September 1815, giving a long detail of the events at Lucknow, and throwing out a multitude of insinuations against the Governor-General, his family, and suite. On the receipt of this despatch, Lord Hastings declared that he could no longer place confidence in Colonel Baillie as his representative at Lucknow; and moved, in Council, that he should be immediately removed. The other members of Council, although not personally interested, or rather, friendly to Colonel Baillie, were also unanimously of opinion that he should be instantly removed, and Mr. Strachey was accordingly appointed to supersede him. As the despatch, in question, occupies twenty-four folio pages of these papers, we can only give the substance of his charges against the Governor-General; and we shall, at the same time, compare them with the most striking passages of his Lordship's defence.

Colonel Baillie sets out with stating, that for the first three years after his arrival at Lucknow, the greatest cordiality subsisted between him and the late Vizier; that (in the Oriental style of compliment, we suppose) the Vizier had declared him to be the only Englishman he had known (with one exception) who could address a Native of rank, and reason with him on subjects, whereon they differed in opinion, without forgetting proper courtesy of expression. That this cordiality began to be interrupted in 1810, when the reform discussion commenced: that Hukeem Mehdee was the cause of the Nuwaub's opposition to the reform, and to defeat it, inspired him with personal enmity to the Resident, persuading him that it was a personal object of Colonel Baillie's to increase his own influence, and undermine the Nuwaub's authority; and that the Government having little or no interest in the matter, would, by persevering resistance, be induced to abandon it. One of the means contrived to accomplish this, it is alleged, was the opening, or attempting to open, a direct communication with some of the members or officers of Government at Calcutta. The Resident's views, however, prevailed through the strenuous support of Lord Minto; and in token of their reconciliation, the Nuwaub, in October 1813, gave him publicly "an affectionate embrace." The banishment of Hukeem Mehdee from court "had, at the same time, been passed as a *natural* and *necessary* consequence of this reconciliation." On the retirement of Lord Minto, and the arrival of the new Governor-General, Hukeem Mehdee was, in a few weeks after, again taken into favour, and is said to have persuaded the Nuwaub, that as the demands made upon him by Marquis Wellesley had been abandoned by his successor, so Lord Hastings, whose character resembled that of Lord Cornwallis, would relinquish the propositions of Lord Minto. The friendship and intimacy of Captain M'Leod's relatives, at home, with Lady Loudon, is supposed by Colonel Baillie to have pointed him out as a proper channel of communication with the Governor-General; and he having obtained, about this time, permission from the Vizier, in whose service he was, to proceed to Calcutta, is represented as being a deputy from his Highness, and as connected with a Native called Mirza Jaffier, said to be the deputy, at Calcutta, on the part of Hukeem Mehdee. Through these deputies, as they are called,

and the influence of Captain M'Leod with Lady Loudon, Colonel Baillie alleges that *private* assurances were obtained by the Nuwaub from the Governor-General, which upset the "reform." This allegation rests merely upon the fact, that Captain M'Leod went to Calcutta, and was the depositary of the Nuwaub's complaints; but there is no proof whatever that Lord Hastings then made known his sentiments on the subject beyond the precincts of the Council Chamber. There is also evidence of official documents, that his opinions at this time were really hostile to the Nuwaub's views as to the "reform." Colonel Baillie's charge, therefore, merely rests on this, that if Lord Hastings had hypocritically entertained views favourable to the Nuwaub, contrary to those he publicly expressed, and if he had made Captain M'Leod the channel of communicating them, there was time for them to reach Lucknow by the period at which the Nuwaub's renewed opposition commenced. Because of this mere *possibility*, Captain M'Leod is represented as a political emissary, and Lord Hastings as acting with the basest hypocrisy, undermining, privately, that reform which he publicly commanded to be carried into effect in the most imperative tone.

Captain M'Leod's statement is, that having some time previously obtained permission to proceed to Calcutta in order to see his family, it was only on the eve of his departure, about the beginning of October 1813, that on his going to take leave of the Nuwaub, Saadut Alee, this Prince, for the first time, opened to him his distress of mind, imploring him, with tears in his eyes, to take the opportunity of this visit to Calcutta to make known his miserable situation to the Governor-General. He entreated him to represent to Lord Moira, that he (the Vizier) was made one of the most wretched beings on the face of the earth by the Resident and his Native partisans, and wished that death would put an end to his miseries. Captain M'Leod, unable to resist this appeal to his feelings, promised that, if an opportunity presented itself, he would bring the matter under his Lordship's observation. This Colonel Baillie denounces as an act of the darkest treachery—a foul conspiracy to make the Governor-General acquainted with the real politics of the Court of Oude! It was an unpardonable sin against the regular channel—HIMSELF—through which the truth could not pass; as the Nuwaub, knowing the strength of Colonel Baillie's interest in the Council, dared not again attempt a formal complaint against him, the former one having been met with a reprimand to himself; and he was afraid to offer direct opposition to this Resident's measures. So far from the opening of another channel being in such circumstances an evil to be deprecated, it appears to us most essential to the interests of our Indian empire; and that nothing could tend more to its security. To prevent such sores from festering unseen and unsuspected, it would be well if, instead of depending on casual information, a regular envoy on the part of the Nuwaub were established at Calcutta, to make his real situation and sentiments known, as a check upon the interested representations of the Resident.

As the Nuwaub's pathetic appeal to Captain M'Leod, on the subject of his grievances, was made in October, (1813,) Colonel Baillie supposes the expression of such complaints against him at that time, to be incompatible with the reconciliation that had lately taken place between them. The great ostentation and parade with which this reconciliation was accompanied—"the affectionate embrace" in the presence of all the

courtiers, English and Native assembled in full durbar,—show very clearly its nature and object. The Nuwaub wished to part on friendly terms with Lord Minto, who was then on the point of returning to England, where he might be a useful friend or a dangerous foe. His representative was, therefore, flattered and caressed; the Nuwaub encircled him publicly with his "affectionate" arms; and the despatches to Calcutta breathed nothing but peace and harmony. This end being served, Hukeem Mehdee, the leading anti-reformer, was speedily recalled to court, and the opposition to the Resident's plans and encroachments again renewed. These things agree well enough with the bitter complaints secretly made by the Nuwaub at the very period of the apparent reconciliation, and altogether prove with certainty, what might easily have been inferred, that it was nothing more than an art of policy.

On the return of Captain M'Leod from Calcutta, in March next year, he says, (p. 901,) "I stated to the Nuwaub that I had ascertained through satisfactory sources what Lord Moira's sentiments, in regard to the Princes of the country, were, and that from these I ventured to assure him with confidence, that they held out every prospect of his wishes being accomplished on his stating them to his Lordship without reserve." His Highness then told him, that his information was strongly confirmed by some very friendly communications received from his Lordship through the Resident; and especially by his Lordship's abolition of a most *obnoxious* measure which had been sanctioned by the late Government. This was the official intimation (noticed in our last Number) relieving the Nuwaub from the compulsory introduction of the scheme of reform dictated by Colonel Baillie; for the reason then stated, that a plan forced upon the Nuwaub, contrary to his wishes, could not be attended with success.

It is easy to see that, as the Vizier's repugnance to that system never ceased in reality, he would omit no opportunity of opposing and retarding its introduction notwithstanding his specious acquiescence. Nothing more is required to account for this opposition up to the time when he ascertained, as above stated, both through public and private channels, the liberality of Lord Hastings's views towards the Native Princes. It is besides extremely probable that he might speculate, as Colonel Baillie states, on the mere chance of such a change of principles with a change of rulers. It suits Colonel Baillie's purpose, however, much better to attribute this conduct to a secret negotiation carried on between the Vizier and the Governor-General (p. 942) through two agents in Calcutta, "a European and a Native, the one supposed to be in connexion with Lady Loudon, and the other tutored by Hukeem Mehdee." He connects this with the deputation (as he calls it) of Captain M'Leod to Calcutta, and speaks in the same paragraph, made up of loose insinuations from beginning to end, of "charges for secret services, and presents to English gentlemen and ladies," which appeared in Hukeem Mehdee's accounts, submitted to the present Vizier for adjustment in his (Colonel Baillie's) presence.

On this surmise, Lord Hastings has remarked in his minute, (p. 979,) "When officially required to specify who the ladies and gentlemen were, he (Colonel Baillie) answered, that he understood Lady Hood to be the lady, but he could not recollect whether Major-General Gillespie, or some other General, was the gentleman. From subsequent passages, one

cannot doubt (his Lordship thinks) but that he must have believed these items to have been a fraudulent attempt to account for money never disbursed; yet he leaves this indistinct accusation to stick, as it may, on the dignified persons in question, because the existence of a supposition that bribes could be given was useful to his purpose."

We shall also give here, as connected with this part of the subject, Lord Hastings's reply to Colonel Baillie's insinuation about the Nuwaub's double agency at Calcutta, partly Native and partly English, the latter branch of it in connexion with Lady Hastings. His Lordship says,—

It is quite unnecessary for me to expatiate on the quality of that hazarded insinuation directed against Lady Loudon; the object of it, as will be clear to every body, is to have it inferred that Lady Loudon, prejudiced against Major Baillie by Captain M'Leod, swayed me to extend to Captain M'Leod and Hukeem Mehdee a countenance which Major Baillie describes thus:—"The encouragement, unintentional I am persuaded, which their joint views must have received from an authority paramount to my own." I fear the candour of Major Baillie, in leaving the loophole of unconsciousness by which the Governor-General may escape from the charge of turpitude in undermining his own representative, will not pass current, when he has assumed the existence of the encouragement in question on such indecent surmises. I thought it fitting to declare, upon my honour, to the Council, and I repeat the declaration with the same solemnity of asseveration, that I or Lady Loudon could recollect but one conversation (if conversation it could be called) relative to Major Baillie, before the period when the present Vizier's supposed dissatisfaction was communicated to me at Cawnpore. Major Baillie had been earnestly recommended to me and to Lady Loudon, in England, by a relative very dear to us both, shortly before her death, and we were thence solicitous to show him attention. One day, after perusing an extraordinary acrimonious despatch of his respecting Saadut Alee, I mentioned to Lady Loudon the regret I felt at perceiving such a spirit of rancour in Major Baillie's statement. She met the observation with an expression of concern; and nothing further passed relative to Major Baillie, either on that occasion or on any other, till we met him in the Upper Provinces. Major Baillie, I am aware, would contend that he had not made a charge on any one of these subjects; and I would subscribe to his assertion. It was not his policy to make charges; he has only indulged himself in little disfigurations of circumstances. Petty distortions might have the chance of being thought not worth the trouble of a comment, while the multiplicity and repetition of them would mislead others into the false conclusions which it was an object to establish, but which it would have been unwise to bring forward in a shape that could be grasped. There is undoubtedly much dexterity in this; but it is a dexterity which Major Baillie's cooler reflection would have condemned. I ought to add the distinct assurance of Lady Loudon, that she never had the slightest conversation with Captain M'Leod respecting Major Baillie during the former's residence in Calcutta.

Colonel Baillie's theory, that Captain M'Leod was an active conspirator to work his downfall, is the more incomprehensible from what he tells us himself (p. 937): "An intimacy, almost fraternal, had subsisted between Captain M'Leod and myself from the period of his arrival in India." Hence, it appears that all the persons whom he would represent as his most powerful enemies, were, on the contrary, strongly biassed in his favour. Lord Hastings subjoins to the part just quoted, this explanation, which is far more intelligible:—

I have connected these instances, in order to show that the distortion of circumstances was systematic, and practised with the hope that, by means of

such colouring, Major Baillie's loss of influence might be accounted for in a manner less mortifying than should it appear to have been entailed through his own want of judgment. Hence arise his identification of himself with the interests of the state, his lamentations over the injury sustained by the British Government through the interruption of his plans, and his reference of these mischiefs to the unhappy prejudice against him instilled into me either by Captain M'Leod, or by Native agents who beset me on the river. With regard to the latter, it is difficult to persuade oneself Major Baillie ever should have believed that any such persons could possibly have had the slightest influence on my counsels, directly or indirectly, or that they could have had access to information with respect to what was passing in my mind. —p. 982.

As Captain M'Leod was attached to Colonel Baillie by the strongest ties of friendship, as well as the most important obligations, (see p. 949,) it is quite incredible that he should have been actuated by a desire to fabricate complaints against him; putting character out of the question. The following extract from this gentleman's declaration, (p. 901,) is therefore decisive, to our minds, of the feelings of the young Nuwaub respecting his treatment by the Resident:—

Soon after the death of the late Nuwaub, his present Highness having always evinced a considerable degree of regard and consideration by his manner towards me, told me that he knew I was his father's well-wisher, and that I had interested myself in his case: that he hoped I would observe the same friendship towards him, in which case he would look forward to relief from his degraded situation.

His Highness then, from time to time, as opportunities offered, either in the carriage of an evening, or in a private room, detailed to me his grievances; the general purport of which were, that Major Baillie had availed himself of peculiar circumstances to assume the sole authority in his country by interfering in all matters, and although business was conducted in the name of the Vizier, yet his power was merely nominal: that he had gained over to his views, by promises or otherwise, almost all the public servants of the state, as well as the higher classes of his private servants: that he (the Vizier) thus felt he had scarcely a Native officer on whose fidelity he could rely: that he was daily insulted by acts of disrespect and disobedience by his own servants, under the influence of Major Baillie, and that he could not punish or remove them because they were supported by him.

That from the moment of his Highness's accession to the musnud, Major Baillie had placed the sons of Mirza Jaffier about his person as spies and a check on his conduct: that those people were detestable to him, as was their father, whom, he said, the Resident wished to appoint Minister. That Major Baillie expressed his desire that he should take his medicine, when he required any, from Dr. Wilson, and said that if he took any from Dr. Law, he (Dr. Law) would kill him, from his ignorance of the duties of his profession; that to all this he felt himself compelled reluctantly to agree for the present. His Highness repeatedly told me, that Mr. Wilson attended him contrary to his wishes; that he disliked Mr. Wilson; that he had always been partial to Mr. Law, was yet attached to him, and wished him, to the exclusion of all others, to be his personal physician. My compassion being excited by the wretched state of mind in which I saw him, I was induced to listen to these complaints, tending to accuse the Resident of an intolerable assumption of his authority, in the shape of interference, not only in the higher offices of the state, but descending to the more trifling and interior arrangements of his household, and at length complied with his earnest and repeated solicitations, that I would, if opportunity offered, communicate to Lord Moira the abject state to which he was reduced by the unbounded and uncontrolled influence of Major Baillie.—p. 901, 902.

This view of the Nuwaub's sentiments and situation being fully supported by the declarations of the other English gentlemen to whom he unbosomed himself, it is impossible to hesitate about its accuracy. Captain M'Leod having kept his promise of bringing it to the knowledge of the Governor-General; at an interview with his Lordship soon after, Colonel Baillie complained of this as a most enormous offence. "I regretted, (says he, p. 960,) the encouragement that had been afforded to the base designs of my enemies, by his Lordship's ignorance of the Native character, and of the intrigues which had now been developed to weaken his confidence in me. On his Lordship's evincing a disposition to vindicate the conduct of Captain M'Leod and Mr. Clarke, [who had given the self-same intelligence,] which I described as in direct opposition to the positive orders of Government, I went so far as to state, with submission, that agreeably to the view which his Lordship had taken, I must consider them as authorized spies on his Lordship's representative; a mortification to which I humbly presumed his Lordship never meant to subject me."

Lord Hastings (p. 984) disputes the accuracy of Colonel Baillie's account of this interview; and asks whether it were probable that the Resident would venture to hold such language to him? On the remark, that he "evinced a disposition to vindicate those gentlemen," his Lordship observes: "The disposition was, in truth, evinced pretty unequivocally; for I checked Major Baillie with great austerity, observing, that if I did not ascribe the proposition to the intemperate agitation of his mind, and thence regard it as an argument which he would not seriously maintain, I should feel it incumbent on me to remove him directly from his station. I explained that it was the duty of every English gentleman to apprise the Governor-General of any incorrect conduct in the Resident, who might otherwise continue in a course of behaviour deeply injurious to the state, without the Governor-General's obtaining knowledge of so serious a mischief."

Here his Lordship gave vent to some of his heterodox notions against the hoodwinking system, so great a favourite with the Company, and all those in its employ who are afraid of their acts being known. But the gentlemen who are confessed to have, in this case, done a great public service, were nevertheless condemned and dismissed from their employments. The latter injustice was done them by the imbecile Nuwaub himself, who, through dread of Colonel Baillie, was fain to retract his accusations against him; and to appease him more completely for having made them, he basely sacrificed the persons whose only fault was, their generous sympathy with his distress. Captain M'Leod, Mr. Clarke, Mr. Law, and Mr. De L'Etang, were all at once, although innocent of blame, dismissed from the Nuwaub's service, and, at the same time, one of them reprimanded by the Governor-General, it would appear, for his too great honesty. For he says, (p. 905,) that "he attached perfect faith to their respective statements," and that "they stood, in his judgment, perfectly free from any unworthy practices." But Captain M'Leod was told that "his own candour had made an acknowledgment which fixed upon him personally no inconsiderable degree of blame." "You confess," says his Lordship, "that when urged by the Nuwaub Vizier's repeated complaints, you agreed with his Excellency in regarding the removal of Major Baillie as the only means of establishing his own legitimate authority in

his dominions." Lord Hastings then lays down this distinction, that, although it was lawful for him to listen to the Nuwaub's complaints, and to advise him to lay them before the Governor-General, it was wrong to offer any opinion upon the merits of the case to be submitted. There is a wonderful nicety in this distinction: for suppose a lawyer is asked to give his opinion of a case, what difference would it make whether he answered that it was "a good case," or that it was such a case as he thought it quite advisable to carry into court? Both would, in effect, amount to precisely the same thing; but, according to Lord Hastings, the one is "perfectly regular and licit;" the other "reprehensible." So very minute are the distinctions between right and wrong in the East! It was an additional severity to condemn a gentleman on the evidence of his own declaration, made in honour and in confidence, when called upon for public objects. Through the imbecility and baseness of the Nuwaub, these four gentlemen had all their prospects in life destroyed, for merely making his true situation known; but Colonel Baillie still thinks them treated with too much leniency; yet he every where boasts of his humane and forgiving spirit! Verily, the tender mercies of some men are cruel.

In order to confirm the notion that these gentlemen were engaged in a conspiracy against him, Colonel Baillie repeats a piece of loose scandal resting on the authority of his creature, Moatum-ood-Dowla, alias Agha Meer. "Captain M'Leod and Mr. Clarke," he says, "are reported to have each had a promise from his Excellency of the sum of a lac of rupees, as the reward of their labours in ascertaining the sentiments of the Governor-General with regard to the reform and the Resident." Is not this, at least, a confession that the Nuwaub was exceedingly anxious to get rid of him and his reform, when he would pay so much to ascertain merely the possibility of such a deliverance? "His Excellency," he adds, "had further engaged to make good such other douceurs as Captain M'Leod and Mr. Clarke might recommend to be given to their friends who assisted in the progress of their inquiries. Mr. Clarke was to be aid-de-camp and major, with the salary annexed to those offices when held in former times by Mr. Ouseley; and Mr. Law was to be appointed to the office of personal surgeon to the Vizier."

When such detestable imputations are thrown out upon the motives of all opposed to him, Colonel Baillie might with justice be asked, what reward he was to merit for supporting a khidmutgar (a footman) as minister of Oude? what return from sharing in the patronage of the Nuwaub's officers, for which he so long struggled? what acknowledgment for securing pensions, places, and jahgeers, to his moonshee, Ulee Muckee, and innumerable other partisans, who were, of course, all exceedingly grateful for his favours, and willing to requite them after the *Oriental* fashion? He seems not to be aware that, by showing such readiness to suspect others of corrupt motives, he affords the strongest presumption against himself; since it is a general rule, that people judge of other men's hearts by their own.

The following is of a similar cast, introduced to confirm a notion that Lord Moira, when at Lucknow, deputed Captain Gilbert to the Nuwaub, for the purpose of eliciting charges from him against the Resident, to serve as a pretext for his removal. "The visit," says Colonel Baillie, (p. 954,) "appeared to me to be irregular; yet in consideration of Captain Gilbert's connexion with Lord Moira, and a natural belief that

his Lordship's sanction had been previously obtained, precluded all objection on my part. I afterwards understood that Captain Gilbert had been introduced to the Vizier by Mr. Clarke as Lord Moira's confidential friend; and that presents of some jewellery and shawls, inconsistent with established observances, since Captain Gilbert had no official character, had been sent by the Vizier to his house. Mr. Clarke was reported to be the medium of transmission of the presents to Captain Gilbert, and also of a sword to Major Davison; and this circumstance struck me in such a light as to open my eyes as to the conduct of *Mr. Clarke.*" This gentleman, who was under the deepest obligations to the Nuwaub's father, and who was actually in the service of his son, was only *guilty* of making the unhappy situation of his master known to the Governor-General, and of desiring that the former might have an opportunity of freely communicating his sentiments to the latter. As to Captain Gilbert's share in the transaction, he has stated in evidence before the Council, (p. 1008,) that in consequence of his previous acquaintance with the Nuwaub, he received from him an invitation to breakfast. That no private interview had been solicited by him, or obtained; that he had not been *deputed* by any one, (as Colonel Baillie surmises;) and that his intention of going became known to the Governor-General only incidentally. That after breakfast, some trays, containing three pieces of shawls and a surposh of false stones, were laid before him. On expressing his wish to decline all but one pair of shawls, he was told by the gentlemen of the Nuwaub's household, that it was unusual to refuse such presents, and that the Nuwaub would feel hurt if he did so. The shawls and the surposh were afterwards sent to his house; the latter present being valued only at forty or fifty rupees, about *5l.* sterling.— With respect to the sword to Major Davison, Lord Hastings says:

"Its mention, I suppose, is meant to furnish a presumption that it was an attempt to purchase his influence with me against the Resident. Major Baillie was the person who informed me that seven trays of presents were prepared for each of my aides-de-camp. On my saying that I should not allow them to be accepted, Major Baillie observed, that the Nuwaub Vizier would be wounded, if, on the occasion of his recent accession to the musnud, a compliment of that kind from him were wholly declined; on which account he recommended that I would permit something to be taken. As it was my peculiar wish to conciliate the Nuwaub Vizier, I agreed that each aide-de-camp should accept a sword of the ordinary Lucknow fashion. The kind of sword is so well known, that I need hardly mention their being, though neat, of no intrinsic value. It was so settled. Major Davison happening to be the aide-de-camp sent to meet the Nuwaub Vizier, with the established compliment of my inquiries after his health on his Excellency's arrival at his camp on the other side of the river, the sword was then given to him singly; and this was a circumstance which Major Baillie represents as having opened his eyes!"

Besides his attempts to get up the appearance of a plot against him through European agency, Colonel Baillie has another resource,—the alleged machinations of emissaries in the "suite" of the Governor-General. To this Lord Hastings replies, that, although the word "suite" is repeatedly pressed into the service, in order that it might be inferred the persons were in some way connected with him, the fact was, that the Natives in his train were merely petitioners, who repaired from

all quarters to have memorials, or alleged grievances, laid before the Governor-General, or persons who mingled with his fleet to evade the customs; but not one of them having, in any manner, access to his presence. The following passage deserves notice, as showing the rectitude and circumspection of Lord Hastings's conduct. It is from his minute, at page 982:

I had no Native near my person. From a caution, the entire value of which I did not till now appreciate, I had resolved that there should not be a channel for communications to me through any Native; therefore, though I was anxious to make progress in the Hindoostanee language, I would not suffer my own moonshee, under whom I was studying it, to attend me on the tour; and throughout the fleet there was not, within my knowledge, a single Native who could have thought of addressing conversation to me. I believe there was not an individual in my suite at all connected with, or who gave his confidence to persons of the description alluded to by Major Baillie, in any such manner as to admit of their having been, even unconsciously, instrumental to such intrigues. On the same ground of prudence, I was careful to select an individual[3] to be intrusted with the charge of reading the petitions I might receive, who needed the assistance of no moonshee or other Native, on purpose to prevent the possibility of mischief from such intervention. The whole story of these intrigues may, therefore, be dismissed, as having been the result of a suspicion altogether loose and groundless.

Lord Hastings had cursorily mentioned to Colonel Baillie, at Cawnpore, his having received a letter from the Nuwaub, Saadut Alee, through a private channel; meaning Lady Hood. Though it was stated to be only " a complimentary profession of the satisfaction which the Vizier had experienced in an opportunity of showing attention to a lady, for whom he thought *me* interested, (says his Lordship,) I nevertheless remonstrated with Lady Hood, by letter, for having forwarded even such a paper, in breach of the Regulation, which requires all communications from foreign princes to go through the Residents at the respective courts." Besides the insignificant purport of the letter, of which the Resident was pointedly informed, the spontaneous and candid avowal of its existence ought to have freed Lord Hastings from unworthy suspicions connected with it. But Colonel Baillie, as if catching at every straw to save his case from sinking, insinuates that this letter was one of the secret trains of the grand plot against his authority; inferring that Lord Hastings sent a secret reply, which upset the projected reform. The fact was, however, that Lord Hastings sent no reply; that he returned the note *untranslated* and *unread*, without looking even at the superscription; and, on inquiry afterwards, it turned out to have been *not* addressed to his Lordship AT ALL, but a mere complimentary epistle to Lady Hood herself!

Dismissing now entirely all these distortions of fact and vague insinuations, supported by no evidence, and which completely fail to establish against Lord Hastings the shadow of a charge of using clandestine artifices, or having a wish even to undermine his representative; we have direct proof, furnished by Colonel Baillie's own statement, (p. 959,) that the very reverse was the case; the countenance and support given him by Lord Hastings having terrified the Nuwaub into a retraction of his charges against him. This imbecile Prince, after having preferred these charges, was distracted with apprehensions about their result; not knowing whether he would succeed in getting the Resident

[3] Mr. Prinsep, author of the Work reviewed in our last Number.

removed, or whether the latter, by his strong interest in the Council, the friendship of Mr. Swinton, Mr. Adam, &c., together with the favour probably of the Governor-General himself, might not have influence enough, in revenge for the Nuwaub's charges, to get him removed from the musnud. His own father was an example of such a revolution through cabals with Lord Wellesley, and there existed now also an avowed pretender to the throne in the person of his brother. As the Resident's interest with the Council and Secretaries was completely predominant, the Nuwaub had no hope of success but through the favour of the Governor-General. Should this be thrown into the scale against him, he felt that he was utterly lost. While his mind was thus on the rack of suspense, he was visited by Agha Meer, (alias Moatum-ood-Dowlah), a tool of the Resident's moonshee, to whom he expressed his alarm of not having the support of the Governor-General (according to Colonel Baillie's own statement) in these words:

But whence this support, said his Excellency: Lord Moira gave me no such assurance; he did not appear pleased by my complaints: he rejected expressly my proposal for the appointment of Hukeem Mehdee [Colonel Baillie's opponent] to be minister; and with regard to the *nobut* [another request disagreeable to the Resident] he observed, that a reference should be made to Major Baillie. When I came out, too, from the conference, I observed Major Baillie, to whom Mr. Adam had been speaking, as confident and as totally unconcerned as if nothing had passed to displease him; yet it was obvious he was displeased, for he would not come to hand me down stairs till Lord Moira desired him to do so, when he must have seen my regret and confusion. I can never look him in the face; far less can I repeat the contents of that horrible paper.—p. 959.

The paper he alluded to, was the representation of grievances he had laid before Lord Moira against the Resident. Can any thing speak more plainly, that it was the high favour he saw Colonel Baillie enjoy with the Governor-General and his Secretaries which terrified the Nuwaub into a recantation? The effect was aided by the Resident's confident air, which bespoke victory, and the contemptuous neglect with which he already began to treat the Nuwaub, not deigning even to hand him to his carriage, as if a prelude to tumbling him from the musnud. Colonel Baillie admits, that Agha Meer (the tool of his own moonshee) took advantage of the alarm with which, from these circumstances, he saw the Nuwaub overwhelmed about the consequences of what he had done, to bring about a reconciliation between them; and the result was, a retraction of the Nuwaub's complaints. Colonel Baillie's own statement, then, is quite enough to prove that it was the countenance and support afforded him by Lord Moira, which were taken advantage of by his own creatures to intimidate the imbecile Vizier into silence and submission under his galling yoke. But a much fuller explanation of the affair is given (at p. 999) in the anonymous paper sent to the Governor-General, (which, though anonymous, is quite as good an authority as the self-interested statement of Agha Meer,) and also in the Governor-General's minute before quoted, (p. 924.)

The anonymous writer gives the following account of Colonel Baillie's mode of governing Oude, after this measure had been effected, which ended in the elevation of Moatum-ood-Dowlah to the station of Minister.

First, the Resident causes the Vizier to understand, that if he does the slightest thing contrary to his wishes he will have Shums-ood-Dowlah raised

to the musnud in his room. Then he says to Agha Meer, "Were you not a khidmutgar before I raised you to the rank you now hold? In the event of any opposition I will again reduce you to your original state." Then he writes to the Governor-General that the Vizier is a fool, and if affairs go on well it is only through the management of Agha Meer, assisted by moonshee, Ulee Nuckee, both of whom are devoted to the English Government. (He writes also) That the Vizier is not displeased at any thing that passes. In short, there has been a wonderful exhibition of juggling and sleight-of-hand tricks.

A striking proof of the state of the subjection in which the Nuwaub was kept, is noticed by Lord Hastings. "The expression of joy, (says he,) on the part of his Excellency, (witnessed by Mr. Ricketts, Mr. Adam, and Mr. Swinton,) when he was told that the retention or dismissal of Mirza Hajee, and the other sons of Mirza Jaffier, depended entirely on his own pleasure, sufficiently manifested his acute sense of impending thraldom. Wretched, indeed, was the subjugation, when he could not think himself at liberty to remove one of his own household servants!"

This Mirza Jaffier was one of Colonel Baillie's creatures, whom he wished to saddle on the Nuwaub as his Minister; an arrangement which Lord Hastings rejected, on the ground that "the naming for Minister a moonshee who had been the Resident's confidential agent for a long term of years, would have been to hold up the Vizier to all India, as more strongly shackled than ever in those trammels from which his Lordship had professed his determination to liberate him." The fittest person for Minister, and the Nuwaub's own choice, Hukeem Mehdee, the adviser of his father, was objected to by Lord Hastings agreeably to the advice of the Resident, who represented him as an enemy of British power. This also his Lordship thought a legitimate ground of objection; but beyond that he would not interfere with the Nuwaub's choice. Colonel Baillie then got the appointment for Agha Meer, who had done him so important a service.

Though this man was said to be the Nuwaub's personal favourite, Lord Hastings states, that he had never before been placed in any high situation, nor employed in the transaction of important business. He was reported to be of low origin, and though alleged to be a Syyud by descent, the fact, if proved, would not militate against the supposition of his having been nurtured among the dregs of the people. "His birth, however," his Lordship proceeds, "would have been of little consequence, had his personal qualities recommended him to distinction. Unfortunately this was not the case; his figure was coarse, his manners unpolished, and his intellect generally estimated below mediocrity. He had not had the opportunities of drawing, either from study or active employment, any tolerable degree of information requisite in his position. Of course, the appointment occasioned general surprise, and was, I believe, very unfavourably regarded at Lucknow."

In a few months after, Agha Meer fell into complete disgrace, the cause of which is supposed to be the Vizier's discovery, that he had been made through him the dupe of the grossest artifices, by which his real interests were sacrificed to the views of the Resident. The latter being quite unable to support his Minister's waning credit, requested Lord Hastings to show him particular attention, that he might be supposed to possess much of the Governor-General's confidence and favour. Even

this extraneous aid, which was granted him by his Lordship, could not avert Moatum-ood-Dowlah's complete downfall: he was loaded with disgrace and put in confinement. Afterwards, on the arrival of Mr. Strachey, as Colonel Baillie's successor in the Residency of Lucknow, the Nuwaub entreated him not to employ Ulee Nuckee as his moonshee at the Residency; saying, that he had been the cause of all the differences with Major Baillie. Now this man was the link between the latter and Agha Meer. The subsequent restoration of this Minister to favour, and his long enjoyment of power, is now triumphantly appealed to by Colonel Baillie, as a proof that his temporary disgrace was the effect of conspiracy. The fact is, that the Vizier had long entertained a real regard for Agha Meer, but became jealous of him from his too close connexion with Ulee Nuckee and the Residency. When, by the removal of Colonel Baillie from Lucknow, this compact was broken up, it is not at all surprising that the Vizier (weak and changeable as he is by Colonel Baillie declared to be) restored his confidence to his ancient favourite. Another equivocal circumstance, now appealed to by Colonel Baillie as proving that the Vizier was not really dissatisfied with his treatment of him, is a complimentary letter addressed to him by the Vizier, at the time of his removal from his station of Resident. This is an exact counterpart of the hollow reconciliation with his father on the departure of Lord Minto. Is it surprising that these helpless Princes should have recourse to every art to secure the good-will of powerful men, who, after returning to England, may become the arbiters of their fate? The Nuwaub is still extremely kind, Colonel Baillie says, to his friends in India; and he receives almost every year "manifestations of gratitude and respect from Lucknow." We cannot but applaud this courtesy; and think the Nuwaub would do well to carry such policy still farther. It would be well for him, if, either by flattery or any other means, he could gain not only the good-will of Colonel Baillie, but of all his brother Directors. In that case he might probably expect more indulgent treatment. But while the present influence prevails in their councils, we are not at all surprised to learn, that since Lord Hastings's retirement from power, the old system of domination which he abolished in Oude has been restored. This is surely no proof of its goodness. But what his Lordship thought of it he has expressed as follows :—

On accepting, or rather on insisting upon the provinces in question, (those ceded in 1802,) as an extinction of the annual money-payment secured to us, it is indisputable that we renounced all pretension to intermeddle with the administration of the remaining territories of Saadut Alee, unless in cases where the evident peril of the common cause should sanction remonstrance. This line was not well understood in practice. The supremacy of the British power was thought to be relinquished, if it were not rendered visible in every transaction. The representations of the Nuwaub Vizier against what he thought a breach of faith, and which he attributed more to the dictatorial temper of the Resident than to the plan of Government, occasioned perpetual contestation. The spirits became acrimonious on both sides. Statements from the Resident, naturally more favourable to his side than strict equity would have borne out, betrayed Government into steps whence it could not recede, and which established pretensions never in its cool contemplation. The matter had been gradually getting worse and worse till the time of Major Baillie. He adopted the system which he found fashioned to his hand, and from its nature the dissensions with the Nuwaub Vizier could not but become virulent. The Resident, backed by an authority against which resistance

must be fruitless, had no terms to keep with his Excellency beyond the screening himself from having direct indecorum proved against him. A similar policy was incumbent on the Nuwaub, so that, under the display of every civility, and the observance of every etiquette, reciprocal malevolence was indulged by the practice of every covert artifice that could be irritating and offensive. To sustain himself in this warfare, Major Baillie was under the necessity of embodying round his standard such Natives as could, by influence, dexterity, and boldness, best aid him in rivetting the fetters which he thought it necessary to impose on the sovereign of the country. They were essentially recognised depositaries of his power, and that power was understood to be undistinguishable from the authority of the Governor-General. Confident in this irresistible support, those Natives had no restraint on the ostentatious parade of their influence. Prosecuting their private gain by means of this trust, they contumeliously disregarded the Nuwaub Vizier, thwarted his measures with impunity, and treated with undisguised contempt the legitimate functionaries employed by him. It was impossible that this behaviour, and the abuses which accompanied it, should not outrage the feelings of the Nuwaub Vizier. The Resident could not sacrifice those dependants to his Excellency's indignation, without giving up all hope of keeping together a party. He was therefore constrained to uphold them in confessed opposition to their sovereign: nay more, he was obliged to pay their services by extorting for them advantages from that sovereign; and to maintain his own power in this ruinous contest, he was (however unintentionally) forced to assume, by the identification of himself with the British Government, an appearance of sway over the Nuwaub Vizier, that carried with it the most poignant insult.

Soon after I had occasion to advert to our position relative to Saadut Alee, I became aware of impending consequences which filled me with the utmost alarm: that Prince was driven to actual desperation; he had even openly declared it in full durbàr. The mischief had proceeded so far, that if we continued to assert the principle advanced for us, there was no avoiding a decisive struggle. I saw that we were on the brink of being forced, in self-defence, to possess ourselves of Saadut Alee's dominions and riches, to prevent his throwing himself with all his treasures into the hands of any power that would take the field against us. Whatsoever might have been the exigence that impelled the procedure, it would have entailed eternal stain on the British name; for the case was in no manner capable of explanation sufficient to do away the presumption of our having forced a quarrel on the defenceless, as a colour for atrocious plunder. Under the impression of the first information received by me on the subject, I had urged the Nuwaub Vizier to the enforcement of the plan of reform, which it was said he had agreed to undertake. His explanation of its having been his conception that the measure was to be carried into execution gradually, as success should encourage its extension, came to me at a moment when I had obtained from different unprejudiced and unquestionable authorities, a tolerable notion of the state of society in Oude. I was thoroughly satisfied, that there were not to be found there enough functionaries, uniting sufficient capacity with honesty, to conduct the plan at once on the wide scale demanded by us; since it was evident to me that nothing but the unremitting vigilance of European superintendence in each of our zillahs, prevented the grossest abuses under that system in the Company's possessions. From this conviction sprang the modification expressed in my letter of the 25th March 1814: but I should have thought that I had contemplated the evil very imperfectly had I stopped there. I meditated a more radical assuagement of the Vizier's ulcerated mind, the nature of which I explained to my colleagues in Council, namely, the defining the duties of the Resident, in such a manner as should preclude the affectation of control, so inevitably irritating to that Prince.

The policy which appeared to me, recommended no less by our convenience

than by our good faith, was to observe strictly the true and obvious spirit of our engagements with the sovereign of Oude, by leaving him a free agent in the internal government of his own dominions, interfering with that advice which to him must be injunction only in cases where the real importance of our mutual interests required it. By the adoption of this principle, I obtained from Refaut-ood-Dowlah, in an hour of exigency, an assistance for the Company which never could have been procured during the miserable bickerings of former management.—pp. 987—989.

As to the manner in which this was accomplished, we shall now quote the celebrated passage in his Lordship's 'Summary of his Administration,' (p. 9,) which occasioned the voluminous production before us. Having now examined the evidence so fully, it is full time to come to a decision on the point at issue, which is the correctness or incorrectness of the said passage. It is therefore here submitted verbatim:—

Soon after my arrival, some British officers came to me from the Nuwaub Vizier, Saadut Alee, sovereign of Oude, bringing to me a representation of the painful and degrading thraldom in which, through gradual, and probably unintended, encroachments on his freedom, he was held, inconsistently with the spirit of the treaties between the two states. The system from which he prayed to be relieved, appeared to me no less repugnant to policy than to equity. On my professing a disposition to correct so objectionable a course, these officers, who had been long in the Nuwaub Vizier's service, assured me that any persuasion of my having such an intention, would cause Sadut Alee to throw himself upon me with unbounded confidence, and to offer from his immense hoard the advance of any sum I could want for the enterprise against Nepaul. The gratitude with which such a reply would be felt was professed. But while I was on my passage up the river, [says his Lordship,] Sadut Alee unexpectedly died. I found, however, that what had been previously agitated by him, was perfectly understood by his successor; so that the latter came forward with a *spontaneous* offer of a crore of rupees, which I declined, as a PEISHCUSH or tribute, on his accession to the sovereignty of Oude, but accepted as a loan to the Honourable Company. Eight lacs were afterwards added to this sum; so that the interest of the whole, at six per cent., might equal the allowance to different branches of the Nuwaub Vizier's family, for which the guarantee of the British Government had been pledged, and the payment of which, without vexatious retardments, was secured by the appropriation of the interest to the specific purpose. The sum thus obtained, was thrown into the general treasury, whence I looked to draw such portions of it as the demands of the approaching service might require. My surprise is not to be expressed when I was shortly after informed from Calcutta, that it had been deemed expedient to employ fifty-four lacs of the sum obtained by me, in discharging an eight per cent. loan; that the remainder was indispensable for current purposes; and that it was hoped 'I should be able to procure from the Nuwaub Vizier a further aid for the objects of the war.' Luckily, I was upon such frank terms with the Nuwaub Vizier, as that I could explain fairly my circumstances. He agreed to furnish another crore; so that the Honourable Company was accommodated with above two millions and a half sterling, on my simple receipt.

On this successful financial measure, hinged, in a great degree, the fortune of the war then approaching to a dangerous crisis, through which it was conducted to a most triumphant termination. Lord Hastings's enemies would, therefore, gain a great point if they could rob him of the merit of having effected these loans. In contradiction to his statements, Colonel Baillie asserts, (p. 1024,) that—

"Any understanding between the late Vizier and the present sovereign of Oude on pecuniary, or other subjects connected with the British Go-

vernment, is not only utterly unfounded in fact, but absolutely inconsistent with the total estrangement that had subsisted between them for years; the second son (Shums-ood-Dowlah) being the declared favourite and constant minister of Saadut Alee, and the elder excluded from the court till the hour of his father's demise. Lastly, that the present sovereign of Oude, so far from making a *spontaneous* offer of a crore of rupees, or *any* sum of money to Lord Moira, was induced by my earnest entreaty, at the express desire of his Lordship, to offer with reluctance his first loan of a crore of rupees, in terms that were any thing but gracious, as the words of his letter demonstrate. So true and so striking a picture of that first pecuniary transaction is given at the time of its occurrence, in my letter of the 19th of October 1814, to a member of the Government in Calcutta, now my colleague in this court, [Mr. Edmonstone,] that I have been induced to give an extract from that letter among the documents appended to this statement."

We shall here quote the letter referred to, which Colonel Baillie has published; thus bringing forward himself as a witness in his own behalf:

Shall I tell you (he says to Mr. Edmonstone) any thing of my trip to Cawnpore, to meet the Governor-General? I had better not, I believe, for I have nothing very pleasant to communicate. I was desired to propose to the Nuwaub, that his Excellency should propose to Lord Moira to make a voluntary loan to the Company of a crore of rupees: his Excellency did so accordingly, and his proposal was graciously received. To reconcile a proposal like this with my original disinterestedness,[4] was an effort of diplomatic effrontery, you must admit; but mark the sequel, and admire. His Excellency has proposed, in return, that Lord Moira should propose to his Excellency to put a stop to the system of reform; that is, Hukeem Mehdee Alee Khan has drawn up a long string of extraordinary propositions, (the above being one of them, of course,) which he induced the poor Nuwaub to give in without understanding them himself, or informing me of their nature, and afterwards to support it, I am told, with an offer of the crore of rupees as a gift instead of a loan, at a second conference with the Governor-General, *indirectly* and irregularly obtained, from which the Resident was excluded, and at which the poor Nuwaub forgot the speech that was prepared for him, and made all the parties ashamed of themselves. (p. 1027.)

In another letter which Colonel Baillie has published, addressed by him to C. M. Ricketts, Esq., Secretary to Government, dated 10th of January, 1815, he says:

You told me, I also remember, and so did Swinton and Adam, that at a conference from which I was absent, his Excellency had offered the first crore as a GIFT instead of a LOAN, and *as much more* as might be wanted. (p. 1032.)

Colonel Baillie best knows how he can reconcile these things with his assertion, (p. 1024,) "that the sovereign of Oude never made a spontaneous offer of a *crore* of rupees, or *any sum of money* to Lord Moira"!

His Lordship's remark, that what had been provisionally agitated with the late Saadut Alee, "was perfectly understood by his successor," appears to mean nothing more than this: that the present Nuwaub, on his accession, entered fully into the feelings which had actuated his father; and was equally willing to make any pecuniary sacrifice in order to obtain the Governor-General's protection against the encroachments of the Resident or his authority. This is sufficiently proved by Colonel Baillie's own letter, just quoted, independently of the many collateral

[4] This, we should suppose, refers to the refusal of the peishcush.

evidences elsewhere developed. It may, indeed, be inferred, that the young Nuwaub's original offer of the peishcush was made with a view to secure the British sanction to his title against the pretensions of his brother, Shums-ood-Dowlah, as the former practices of our Government might have led him to suppose that our friendship and good faith were to be secured by such sordid motives. But Lord Hastings is in no manner accountable for the impressions that may have been left by the conduct of his predecessors. He did nothing to confirm them, but rather the reverse. A present of a million and upwards was magnanimously refused. It was intimated to the Nuwaub, that he would confer a very acceptable service if he would offer the money as a loan. He did so without any difficulty, and would have granted it with the same ease as a free gift, which was a spontaneous offer of his own. Lord Hastings's colleagues at Calcutta having dissipated this sum, or its equivalent, on other objects, it became necessary to apply to the Nuwaub for a second pecuniary supply. Knowing that his former aid was not exhausted, and being persuaded by his advisers that the British Government were making the public exigencies a pretence for stripping him of his treasure, while they were not really in want of money, he had considerable reluctance to comply with their request, and first offered half the amount asked, namely, fifty lacs. Lord Hastings declined accepting of this sum, as being inadequate; at the same time, he instructed the Resident how to remove the Nuwaub's suspicions, which rested on very plausible grounds. Besides his knowledge that they had not already expended the crore advanced by him only a few months before,—the professed object for the present demand, the necessity of raising more troops, did not accord well with a previous occurrence which deserves mention. The Nuwaub had, out of friendship, offered to raise some battalions at his own expense, to serve in the Nepaul war, which the Governor-General declined, on the ground that the urgency of the case did not require them. Consequently, as observed in the official document, (p. 1034,) we appeared to him to be blowing hot and cold with the same breath; for, it is said, " we decline the offer of his troops, because the urgency of the case did not require it, but we solicit pecuniary aid, because a necessity has occurred for raising troops." To remove effectually the doubts justly caused by these equivocal appearances, the Resident was directed to explain fully to the Nuwaub our actual difficulties, and to impress strongly on his mind the important service he would perform to the British Government by a pecuniary advance at this critical juncture; that, in fact, the military expenses were now so burdensome, as to render it necessary to seek for extraordinary resources to meet them; that though our resources were sufficient to meet the charges of the Goorkah war, had we to attend to that alone, our expenses at present were equal to those of a double war; and a necessity arose of placing the Madras and Bombay armies on a war-establishment, for the protection of that side of India; that the charge alone of the troops employed against the Goorkahs, amounted to twenty-five lacs of rupees per month; and the times were, in truth, most critical. According to a statement of Mr. Edmonstone, nearly three crores, in addition to the surplus revenue, would be necessary to meet the war-extraordinaries up to April 1816, (about a year from that date.) Unless, therefore, they should succeed in getting another crore from the Vizier, fifty lacs from the Begum, and fifty lacs from the monied men

about Lucknow, "we should be in a deplorable state." When the Nuwaub was thus satisfied that there actually existed an urgent necessity for the money, and that it was no hollow pretence, as he had been led to apprehend, (p. 1033,) to strip him of his wealth, he agreed to the loan. We see no menace used, no vague warning of the danger of our displeasure, which, in case of refusal, would be suspended over his head. The arguments addressed to him were such as one friend would use to another in soliciting a similar favour. Lord Hastings was, therefore, in our opinion, fully justified in speaking of the loans as "spontaneous" (quoad the first,) and "voluntary," (quoad the second,) to distinguish these amicable transactions from the former proceedings in Oude of a very different character, such as were the concessions extorted by Lord Wellesley.

We are totally at a loss to conceive in what manner Colonel Baillie proposes to deprive Lord Hastings of the merit of raising this most seasonable pecuniary supply. He cannot surely claim it entirely for himself, merely because he was the instrument used for carrying on the negotiation. So far from being the author of this prosperous measure, both his public and his private letters, before quoted, show that he entered into it with great reluctance. The first crore was granted not all in consequence of his diplomatic eloquence, but evidently in return for the kindness and protection experienced by the Nuwaub. An expression in Colonel Baillie's letter (p. 1037,) shows that he then felt that a similar motive, the desire of securing the friendship of his Lordship, would be by far the strongest inducement for the Nuwaub to grant another crore. On this very ground he recommended a letter to him from the Governor-General direct, appealing to his friendship for a larger supply as the means of surmounting all our difficulties, saying, "A letter of this kind, I am certain, would have a much greater effect on his Excellency than any representation on my part without such introduction of the subject." He immediately adds the reason: "It would show his Excellency at once, that the obligation he has the means of conferring is to be conferred on the Governor-General." Colonel Baillie's negotiation had been completely stopped in its progress, till Lord Hastings thus stepped in with his personal influence to help him to its conclusion. Then the object was accomplished at once. At this time, Mr. Secretary Ricketts says, (p. 1037,) "The financiers below were sounding the alarm-bell most dolefully, and which he feared would not be stopped without the prospect of borrowing the two crores and a half to meet the current and ensuing years' extraordinaries."

These "financiers below," (Mr. Edmonstone and his colleagues,) who had dissipated the funds prepared by Lord Hastings to meet the coming tempest, and who were then also magnifying the real dangers of his situation by their loud alarms, should not now grudge him the honour of having supplied their deficiencies, and by carrying on in spite of their fears, brought the vessel of the state through the storm with safety and triumph. But, as envy follows merit like its shadow, the world can hardly mistake the motives of those who have concocted and sent forth from the India House this huge mass of papers, in the vain hope of clouding his fair fame. The few who can submit to the drudgery of reading them, will be convinced that there is no charge whatever against his Lordship but a collection of vague surmises and mean suspicions of possible turpitude, supported by reasoning (if it deserves the name) equally

discreditable to the head and the heart from which it issued. Some allowances may, perhaps, be made for the spiteful recrimination of a little Oriental dictator, curbed by Lord Hastings in his proud career. But this excuse will not extend to that portion of the Directors, under whose auspices this nauseous farrago of scandal has been ushered into the world. As the public, however, from inability to judge of transactions so remote and intricate, will be apt to imagine there must be something in charges so long treasured up and pertinaciously maintained, Lord Hastings certainly owes it to his own reputation, and that of his friends, to bring the matter to the decisive ordeal of public discussion ; and, should another six day's war at the India House ensue, we are convinced that his Lordship's character will come forth the brighter, like pure gold seven times tried in the fire.

THE SPIRIT OF THE YEAR.

Come, thou spirit of the year,
Come, into my eager ear
Pour the secret of thy change :
Tell me why thou lov'st to range
O'er the fragrant meads of spring,
Where, in many a mazy ring,
Fairies dance the live-long night
'Neath the horned Goddess' light ;
While the dusky streams run by
Conscious of their revelry ;
And the cowslips raise their head
From their dewy moon-light bed,
With the primrose pale, to hear
Titania's tripping footsteps near.
While, perchance, some musing bard,
Stretched along the velvet sward,
By some lulling river's sound,
Sees the impish people bound,
And their tiny music hears
Creep, like dreams, into his ears.

Then thy servant-sun displays,
Painted bright with summer rays,
Longer glimpses of thy train
Sweeping through heav'n's azure plain,
Soon as that showman of the world
Close the pictured spring has furled,
To delight thy eyes anew
When thou hast looked thy treasures through.
Why dost thou from thy sultry bower
Drive far away the cooling shower,
And the vapour, and the cloud,
And the tempest roaring loud?
And hold converse, in their stead,
With burning days, that widely-spread
Langour slow, and pale disease,
And discontent, whom nought can please?
Tell me, too, what make they there,
In thy chambers warm in air,
The crooked lightning, and the sound
Of thunder muttering loud around?

And the sultry drops that fall
Through the storm's distended pall,
When those guests of thine retire,
Wrapped in darkness, noise, and fire?

Then, how is it thou dost love
The nut-brown field and crumpled grove,
And the golden ridges, where,
With elated Bacchic air,
Autumn sitteth among sheaves,
Crown'd with a wreath of fallen leaves?
Now do thy eyes delight to dwell
On the wild Hesperian dell,
Where Andalusian damsels sigh,
Or the loose fandango ply,
When the jovial vintage hours
Call them from their jealous bowers?
Or, on this our northern strand,
Dost thou love to take thy stand,
When morn th' eastern heights doth scale
In her cloud-embroidered veil?
Or with misty sandals treads
Mountains huge, or sparkled meads;
While Night hides her Afric skin
Deep the dusky woods within?
Or to roam the dewy vale
Specked with wild flowers few and pale,
And with many a fallen leaf
Stript of all its beauty brief,
While dawn views the fretted bed
Where the fairy Frost his head
Laid, in close embrace with Night,
Slumbering 'neath the starry light?
Ah! why does this cold antic come
From his polar halls, to roam,
With the snow and bitter breeze,
O'er our temperate fields and seas?

Certes, Time! the mind doth feel
A cooling of its summer zeal,
As thy stealthy feet draw near
The Alpine regions of the year,
That rear their stormy heights between
Autumn's golden, mellow scene,
And the buds and blossoms gay,
And the trembling vocal spray,
And the fluttering amorous wing,
That around the meads of spring
Life, and love, and beauty fling!

Changing spirit, com'st thou now
Engirt with squadrons light of snow,
And tempest fierce, and beating rain,
To drench the earth, and toss the main?
Well! thy brow again will clear,
Proteus-spirit of the year!
And thou again with Spring wilt ride,
And lead young Love thy steed beside.

BION.

MILLS'S HISTORY OF CHIVALRY.[1]

The institution of chivalry is generally believed to have exerted a very powerful and beneficial influence on the manners of Europe. Poets and romance-writers speak in enthusiastic terms of its pomp and courtesy. The public passively imbibe their sentiments, and repeat their admiration; and thus chivalry is become synonymous with every thing gallant and heroic. It is seldom that any person gives himself the trouble to examine the foundation of these feelings, for notions they can scarcely be denominated, or at all thinks it worth his while to suspect that he may possibly be under the guidance of a gross delusion. Grave and acute minds, capable of discriminating and seizing the truth, have hitherto occupied themselves but sparingly with chivalry; while such as, through deference to popular prejudice, would willingly promote error, have not been wanting.

Writers who affect to speak philosophically of the matter, endeavour to trace back several important improvements in modern manners to the fountain of chivalry; as, for example, the superior delicacy with which they fancy that women are treated in the present age. It is difficult exactly to discover the motives of men; and, therefore, we shall not presume to say positively that all such deductions are the offspring of a passion for singularity. But it is not a little remarkable, that the very persons who so ingeniously derive our respect for women from the influence of chivalry, are the first and most eager to show that even knightly devotion to the sex was surpassed, before chivalry was thought of, by the savages of Germany and the North. The excuse we make for the oversight of these writers, is the extreme rapidity with which their notions flow from their imaginations into the press, before it is possible for them to have dived down to the understanding, or been examined by the judgment. The same apology must serve for their false ideas of the virtues of chivalric times, which they suppose to have been lofty and exemplary, full of amenity, and superior in every respect to the virtues of paganism. But whatever indulgence we may extend to their weakness, the veneration which every man ought to feel for truth compels us to expose the errors and absurdities it engenders. In doing this, it is our wish to be impartial and just. We have no particular pique against chivalry, nor its advocates; but, on the contrary, a secret predilection for its dazzling magnificence, derived from our early acquaintance with the poets who describe it.

It is easy, however, to be convinced that we ought not to expect from poetry a correct picture of chivalry. Poets never conceive themselves bound to describe the whole of any thing. They seize upon the striking, the fanciful, the agreeable, the picturesque, and leave the rest to history. As the greater part of our ideas of chivalry had been taken from poetry and romance, a history of its origin, nature, and progress, was wanting; and Mr. Mills's attempt to supply this deficiency was extremely praiseworthy. We wish we could say he had succeeded. But, if our conceptions of what history should be, are any thing better than mere vulgar prejudices, Mr. Mills's account of chivalry is not history, but a mass of

[1] 2 Vols. 8vo. Longman and Co. London, 1825.

ill-digested notions and facts, tending to convey to the public a false idea of his subject. He appears to have undertaken his task with a kind of childish enthusiasm, excited, apparently, by the perusal of the old romances, of some few of them, at least; and to have executed it hastily, and therefore ill. His defective arrangement, his tautology, his contradictions, may consequently be the effect of hurry and negligence; but his weak reasoning, his unmeaning reflections, his absurd comparisons, can have proceeded from nothing but sheer incapacity.

It is the misfortune of mediocrity to be always aiming at effect, and never to produce it. And the reason is obvious. We are never struck by a multiplicity of little efforts, which agitate without removing a difficulty; but when a great author pours out his energies upon a subject, all impediments appear to vanish before him, and we are moved and astonished by the exertions of his power.

Now, mediocrity is the very characteristic of Mr. Mills's writings, of such of them, at least, as we have seen. We find him perpetually hazarding paradoxical assertions, indulging very lofty notions of his own superiority, and treating the most respectable writers with disdain. He might have the tables turned upon him, if it were worth while. His style, both of reasoning and composition, affords ample room for reprisals. But let this pass; for the present, our attention must be directed to his picture of chivalry. And here we ought perhaps to remark, that we by no means intend to make a catalogue of *all* his faults, as that would be somewhat long and difficult, but only of a few of the most glaring and palpable.

Like a skilful rhetorician, Mr. Mills recapitulates, at the end of his book, what he considers the good points of chivalry; and, in order to come as soon as possible to the bright side of the institution, we shall begin at the end, and copy a very wonderful passage for the delectation of our readers:—

The *patriarchal system of manners*, shaped and sanctioned by Christianity, formed the fabric of chivalry; and romance, with its many-coloured hues, gave it light and beauty. The early ages of Europe *gaily moved in all the wildness and vigour of youth*; imagination freshened and brightened every pleasure; the world was a vision, and life a dream. The common and palpable value of an object was never looked at, but every thing was viewed in its connexion with fancy and sentiment. *Prudence* and *calculation* were not suffered to check noble aspirations: army after army traversed countries, and crossed the sea to the Holy Land, reckless of pain or danger: duties were not cautiously regarded with a view to limit the performance of them; for *every principle* was not only practised with zeal, but the same fervid wish to do well lent it new obligations. From these feelings proceeded all the graceful refinements, all the romance of chivalry; knighthood itself became a pledge for virtue; and, as *into the proud and lofty imagination of a true cavalier nothing base could enter*, he did not hesitate to confide in the word of his brother of chivalry, on his pledging his honour to the performance of any particular action.—ii. 34.

The highest possible degree of virtue was required of a knight. . . . He was not only to be virtuous, but without reproach. In displaying his love of justice, he displayed his chivalric skill.—i. 149, 150.

If the reader will be so good as to pay attention to the phrases put in italics, there will be no occasion in the world for remarks. We only request him to compare together the passages we shall select from our historian; he will then perceive with what degree of ability Mr. Mills

writes history, though he should find it impossible to extract from him any correct idea of chivalry. The following is his mode of defending knighthood from the attacks of its contemporaries, who witnessed its excesses:—

A censure on such matters (the luxury, coxcombry, and cowardice of the knights) comes with little propriety from monks, who, according to Chaucer, were wont to tie their *heads* (peradventure, he meaneth *hoods*) under their chin with a true lover's knot.—ii. 350.

The *personal indulgence* of the knights *was not the luxury of the cloister,*—idle, gross, and selfish,—but it was the high and rich joviality of ardent souls. They were boon or good companions in the hall, as well as in the battle-field. *If their potations were deep*, they surely were not *dull*; for the wine-cup was crowned and quaffed to the honour of beauty; &c.—ii. 350.

Our historian ought to have been cautious of touching the monks; for, as part of the church, they were the objects which chivalry was chiefly instituted to protect. If they were idle, gross, and selfish, (and we fear it is too true that they were,) then Mr. Mills's most valorous knights were little better than stupid mastiffs, defending, with vast coil and bloodshed, innumerable dens of debauchery. Moreover, it was to the luxury of the cloister that the knight very frequently retired from his jovial potations and lady-love; conceiving, perhaps, that the refectory of an abbey was as good to the full as the hall of a baronial castle. The historian of chivalry, in truth, is not a very cunning advocate; for, in the midst of what he means to be panegyric, he sometimes incautiously suffers a word or two to creep in, which greatly detract from the effect of his eloquence. For example, in his eulogy on the jovial drinking-bouts of chivalry, he passes from the praises of knighthood to that of wine, observing that much of a knight's courtesy and "chivalric generosity" arose sometimes from the richness of his potations; and that it was "at the festivals of cavaliers all the noble feelings of chivalry were displayed. *In those hours of dilatation of the heart, no appeal was made in vain to the principles of knighthood.*" No doubt; men have been pot-valiant in all ages. We regret that Mr. Mills did not indulge himself with "a cup of rich Gascon wine" before he began to speak of the two unlucky monks, against whom he is wroth for having recorded the "luxury and coxcombry" of the knights; it might have mollified his resentment. But, at any rate, he should not deprive us of the pleasure of believing that Pierre of Blois and John of Salisbury played at chess, especially as he can know nothing at all about the matter. He shall, however, have his way; and let it, therefore, be henceforth believed, upon the authority of Charles Mills, Esq., author, &c, that the knights of chivalry amused themselves with chess, tables, or the dance, after dinner; "while the worthy monks, Pierre of Blois, and John of Salisbury, having no such delights in their refectory, *were compelled to continue their carousals.*" —ii. 352.

A great critic observes, that it is very important to be aware of the false logic of authors, as they very often leap, under the appearance of syllogistical accuracy, to the most absurd conclusions; and certainly he might have largely illustrated his proposition from the 'History of Chivalry.' Let the reader take the following as a specimen of Mr. Mills's logic: "A character of mildness *must have been formed* wherever the principles of chivalry *were acknowledged.* A great *object* of the Order

was protection; and *therefore* a kind and gentle regard to the afflictions and misfortunes of others tempered the fierceness of the warrior." (ii. 357.) Now a more childish piece of sophistry than this is not any where to be found. The *principles of chivalry* were *acknowledged*, according to his own account, during many centuries throughout the greater portion of Europe; in France, in England, in Germany, in Italy, in Spain. Yet he informs us, that "Germany was not much softened by its impressions; and in Italy the bitterness of private war admitted but few of its graces." (ii. p. 346.) But to confine ourselves to his reasoning. From this it would appear, that whatever the object of an order or institution may be, *that* it will not fail to attain. Thus, the *object* of the Christian priesthood was to teach humility and universal benevolence; and, *therefore*, that priesthood has always despised wealth and discountenanced violence. It was the *object* of governments to protect men in the enjoyment of the fruit of their enterprise and industry; and, *therefore*, they have never at any time degenerated into tyrannies. This is his reasoning. He again goes on as follows: "In many points chivalry was only a copy of the Christian religion; and as that religion is *divine*, and admirably adapted *to improve our moral nature*, so the same merit cannot in fairness be denied to any of its forms and modifications." (ii. 357.) "The religion of the knight was generally the religion of the time!" (i. 146.) "The Christianity of the time was not the pure light of the Gospel, for it breathed war and homicide!!" (ii. p. 357.)

As we are now on the subject, we will add a few more passages in illustration of the religion of a knight:

The religion of the knight was generally the religion of the time; and it would be idle to expect to see religious reformers start from the bands of an unlettered soldiery, whose swords had been consecrated by the church. The warrior said many orisons every day; besides a nocturne of the Psalter, matins of our lady, of the Holy Ghost, and of the cross, and also the dirige. . . . No warrior would fight without *secretly* breathing a prayer to God or a favourite saint.—i. p. 146.

The knight visited sacred places, and adopted all the superstitions, whether mild or terrible, and the full spirit of intolerant fierceness of his time. The defence of the church formed part of his obligation. . . . The knight knew no other argument than the sword to gainsay the infidel, and he was ready at all times to "thrust it into the belly of an heretic as far as it would go." This was the feeling in all chivalric times.—i. p. 148.

I can only state as an historical fact, without attempting to apologise for its madness and impiety, that at a tournament held at Valladolid in the year 1428, the king of Castile was accompanied by twelve knights, who personated the twelve apostles.—i. p. 26.

Christianity, with its sanctities and humanities, gave a form and character to chivalry. He who was invested with the military belt was no longer the mere soldier of ambition and rapine, but he was taught to couch his lance for objects of defence and protection, rather than for those of hostility. He was the friend of the distressed, of widows and orphans, and of all who suffered from tyranny and oppression. The doctrine of Christian benevolence, that all who name the name of Christ are brothers, gave beauty and grace to the principles of fraternity, which were the Gothic inheritance of knights, and therefore the wars of the middle ages were distinguished for their humanities. . . . All the courtesies of private life were communicated to strangers; and gentleness of manners, and readiness of service, expanded from a private distinction into a universal character.—ii. p. 342.

When his (the knight's) imagination was influenced by chivalry and love,

he forgot his rosary, and said that paradise was only the habitation of dirty monks, priests, and hermits; and that, for his part, he preferred the thoughts of going to the devil; and in his fiery kingdom, he was sure of the society of kings, knights, squires, minstrels, and jugglers, and, above all the rest, the mistress of his heart.—i. p. 151.

To this monstrous mass of contradictions, we shall add one passage from an 'Essay on Chivalry,' by Sir Walter Scott:

The knight, whose profession was war, being solemnly enlisted in the service of the gospel of peace, regarded infidels and heretics of every description as the enemies whom, as God's own soldier, he was called upon to attack and slay wherever he could meet with them, without demanding or waiting for any other cause of quarrel than the difference of religion. The duties of morality were indeed formally imposed on him by the oath of his order, as well as that of defending the church, and extirpating heresy and misbelief. But, in all ages, it has been usual for men to compound with their consciences for breaches of the moral code of religion, by a double proportion of zeal for its abstract doctrines. In the middle ages, this course might be pursued on system; for the church allowed an exploit done on the infidels as a merit which might obliterate the guilt of the most atrocious crimes. The genius alike of the age and of the order tended to render the zeal of the professors of chivalry fierce, burning, and intolerant.

If this be not sufficient, the reader may consult the testimonies adduced by St. Palaye, in the notes to his fifth 'Memoir on Chivalry.' Mr. Mills disingenuously asserts, that that learned and excellent writer founded on one single passage his condemnation of chivalric manners: "Sainte Palaye has founded his condemnation of chivalry *upon the remark* of Pierre de Blois," &c. (ii. p. 348.) But this assertion is so entirely false, that we think even the historian of chivalry would not have ventured to make it, had he reflected on what he was saying. Pierre de Blois is the *first* authority which St. Palaye adduces in confirmation of his text; but he goes on crowding citation upon citation, till he trembles for the patience of the reader. He indeed commences his notes on this portion of his work, with observing: "Nous multiplierons les citations *à l'infini* si nous voulions rapporter tous les temoignages de nos anciens auteurs qui peignent la chevalerie *des couleurs les plus odieuses.*" And after having carefully examined all these testimonies, and cited as many as he thought would be read, he gives it as his deliberate opinion, that the knights of chivalry "paid but small regard either to religion or the state. They had made a vow to defend, maintain, and exalt both; they had been honoured by the church with the title of viscount, &c., yet never ceased to abuse their authority, to the prejudice even of those who had placed themselves under their protection. Under the name of *patrons* they were real *oppressors*, seizing upon the property of those very ecclesiastics for whose defence they pretended to wear arms."

If Mr. Mills has any penetration, he will abandon as hopeless the defence of the religion and mildness and moral rectitude of the knights; and, indeed, he seems at one time to have thought as much himself; for, at page 124 of his first volume, he observes: "The knight, however, cared but little for the *cause* or *necessity* of his doing battle, so that he could display his *valour.*"

Having paid all due respect to this exposition of the knight's creed, we will now, to adopt an elegant phrase of Mr. Mills, do our *devoir* to another feature of chivalry, and expound to our readers the mystery of *lady-love.*

For this purpose we shall select a few passages from the 'History of Chivalry,' inserting, occasionally, a sentence from Sir Walter Scott; and if Mr. Mills's opinions should sometimes appear a little contradictory, we must request that the reader will set it down to the account of his exceedingly short memory. We will begin with our historian's account of the extent of love's dominions in chivalric times:—

If Venus, in the Greek mythology, was called the universal cause, [if she was, indeed,] her empire seems not to have been less extensive in days of knighthood. . . . The ideas of God and love were always blended in the heart of the true knight; and to be loving was as necessary as to be devout. —i. 195.

We need not explain to our readers the *nature of Venus's empire* in Greece.

A soldier of chivalry would go to battle, proud of the title, a pursuivant of love, and in the contests of chivalric skill, which, like the battles of Homer's heroes, gave brilliancy and splendour to war, a knight challenged another to joust with a lance for love of the ladies, and he commended himself to the mistress of his heart for protection and assistance. In his mind woman was a being of mystic power; in the forests of Germany her voice had been listened to like that of the spirit of the woods, [we wonder what spirit he can mean,] melodious, solemn, and oracular; and when chivalry was formed into a system, the same idea of something supernaturally powerful in her character, threw a shadowy and serious interest over softer feelings, and she was revered as well as loved. While this devotedness of soul to woman's charms appeared in his general intercourse with the sex, in a demeanour of homage, in a grave and stately politeness, his lady-love he regarded with religious constancy. Fickleness would have been a species of impiety; for she was not a toy that he played with, but a divinity whom he worshipped. This adoration of her sustained him through all the perils that lay before his reaching his heart's desire; and loyalty, (a word that has lost its pristine and noble meaning,) was the choicest quality in the character of the preux chevalier.—*Mills*, vol. i. p. 203.

While the metaphysical students and pleaders in the courts of love professed to aspire but to the lip or hand of their ladies, ... they privately indulged themselves in loves which had very little either of delicacy or sentiment.—*Sir Walter Scott.*

The true knight, he whose mind was formed in the best mould of chivalric principles, was a more perfect personification of love than poets and romancers have ever dreamed. The fair object of his passion was truly and emphatically the mistress of his heart. She reigned there with absolute dominion. His love was

"All adoration, duty, and observance."—*Mills*, vol. i. p. 198.

And woman, though still worshipped with enthusiasm, as in the German forests, did not continue to be, (in all cases at least,) the same pure object of worship. The marriage-tie ceased to be respected; and as the youthful knights had seldom the means or inclination to encumber themselves with wives and families, their lady-love was often chosen among the married ladies of the court.—*Sir W. Scott.*

The knights, though courteous to the highest polish of refinement, were rigid and inflexible censors. . . . If any lady of *sullied fame* took precedence of a dame *of bright virtue*, (*sullied* and *bright*, they all mingled together, then,) a cavalier would advance and reverse the order, &c. . . . Here, therefore, chivalry vindicated its purity, and showed itself as the moral guide of the world, &c.—*Mills*, vol. i. p. 234.

The Platonic refinements and subtleties of amorous passion which they professed, were sometimes compatible with very coarse and gross debauchery. —*Sir W. Scott.*

It is unquestionable that the love of the knight was not the mere impulse of passion, but that the feeling was raised and refined by respect. Now . . . this purity of love must have been followed by a corresponding correctness of morals.—*Mills*, vol. i. p. 232.

The vows of celibacy introduced profligacy among the Catholic clergy, as the high-flown and overstrained Platonism of the professors of chivalry favoured the increase of license and debauchery.—*Sir W. Scott.*

Chivalry was the golden thread that ran through the middle ages, the corrective of vice, the personification of virtue.—*Mills*, vol. i. p. 230.

Chivalric love had, indeed, its absurdities as well as its impieties.—*Ib.* vol. i. p. 208.

The knight, whose heart was warmed with the true light of chivalry, never wished that the dominion of his mistress should be less than absolute, and the confession of her perfect virtue, which this feeling implied, made him preserve his own faith pure and without a stain. Love was as marked a feature in the chivalric character as valour; and, in the phrase of the time, he who understood how to break a lance, and did not understand how to win a lady, was but half a man. He fought to gain her smiles; for love in brave and gentle knights, kindled aspirations for high desert and honour.—*Ib.* vol. i. p. 201.

Agreement in religious opinions was as necessary as sympathy of souls, in the loves of chivalry; and many a story is related of a knight reposing in a lady's chamber, where, instead of adoring the divinity of the place, he assailed her [tasteless rogue!] with a fierce invective against her religious creed. On such occasions, he forgot even his courtesy, and shamed his knighthood by calling her a heathen hound.—*Ib.* vol. i. p. 220.

The loves of chivalric times must often have been shaded with gloom; and so convulsed was the state of Europe, *so distant were its parts often thrown from each other*, that the course of true love seldom ran smoothly, &c.—*Ib.* vol. i. p. 206.

Having amassed so many proofs of our knights' chaste and chivalrous loves, and of the admirable tact and sagacity of their historian, we shall also make free to select from the same storehouse of contradictions a few passages descriptive of the ladies of chivalry. The young people of those days were frequently brought together in a way which Mr. Mills shall specify :—

It often happened, that the circumstances of life carried a young cavalier to a baronial castle, where he found *more peril in the daughter's fair looks* than in the *frowning battlements of her father.*—i. 222.

The reader will henceforward bear in mind that a young lady's eyes are more dangerous than mere brick and mortar; for we will do Mr. Mills the justice to believe, that in the above passage he meant the battlements of a castle, and not, as he has expressed it, of a man. But let us get rid of the "battlements," and come at once to the ladies :—

I think that our imaginations do not altogether deceive us in painting the days of chivalry as days of feminine virtue.—i. 230.

Sainte Palaye and Sir Walter Scott, among modern writers; and the romancers,* poets, and historians, contemporary with chivalry, assert the

* Mr. Mills has some very amusing passages on the subject of romance, sometimes paying deference to its testimony, at others appearing to indulge a suspicion of it. We subjoin a few specimens :

"The romances of chivalry are another source of information." . . . . "The

very reverse of that which Mr. Mills's imagination has painted. The eagerness of chivalric dames to attend the sick-beds of stranger-knights, very frequently produced the consequences that might naturally have been expected. It was to a visit paid by the Princess Blaunchefiour to the wounded bed of Rouland Riis, that the renowned Sir Tristrem owed his birth. And Sir Walter Scott observes, in a note on the passage :—

"No doubt such interviews were frequently attended with the consequences which follow in the text. Indeed, according to later minstrels, *Isaie le Triste*, the son of our hero, Sir Tristrem, becomes the father of Sir Marck the Exile, through a similar complaisant visit from the lovely Princess Martha, niece of a certain King Irion.

The danger of these interviews was increased by the ignorance of the dames of chivalry, which our historian himself deposes to :—

The mental education of women of those days was not of a very high polish. To repeat the prayers of the church, to sing the brief piece of poetry called the lay, or the longer romaunt, were the only tasks on the intellect.—i. 183.

To their ignorance were also added an Amazonian fierceness and *mannishness*, altogether unlovely :—

Two ladies decided some fierce dispute by the sword. Each summoned to her aid a band of cavaliers ; and the stoutest lances of Normandy felt no loss of dignity in being commanded by a woman. The Lady Eloisa and the Lady Isabella rode through their respective ranks with the address of experienced leaders, and their contest, like that of nations, was only terminated by burning and plundering each other's states.—i. 235.

Sometimes they (the ladies) wielded the flaming brand themselves ; and the second crusade, in particular, was distinguished by a troop of ladies harnessed in armour of price, and mounted on goodly steeds.—i. 235.

A high-spirited damsel would, in private, divest herself of her robe, gird round her a belt, and drawing its sword from the scabbard, fight with the air till she was wearied.—i. 234.

Nevertheless, the knights were thoroughly of opinion that all this virility was no safeguard against voluptuousness. Love was sure, they thought, to give way at length :—

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romance-writers were to the middle ages of Europe what the ancient poets were to Greece,—the painters of the manners of their times."—*Mills, Preface*, p. xii.

"Were we to judge of the manners of an age by its literary remains, we should conclude that our ancestors but ill observed the laws of decency and decorum."—*St. Palaye*, vol. ii. p. 65

"The romances, or poems longer than the minstrels' or troubadour lay, were also faithful ministers of chivalry."—*Mills*, vol. i. p. 173.

"The romance-writers were satirists, but they had more humour than malignity. Every one of them [has he read them all ?] introduces a magical test of feminine virtue, a drinking-cup, a mantle, or a girdle. This is harmless ; and their general censure of women is without point ; for they were, for the most part, men of profligate habits, and judged the other sex by the standard of their own vices."—*Mills*, vol, i. p. 231.

"The romance of Tirante the White, praised by Cervantes as a faithful picture of the knights and ladies of his age, seems to have been written in an actual brothel, and, contrasted with others, may lead us to suspect that *their* purity is that of romance, *its* profligacy that of reality."—*Sir Walter Scott.*

"Indeed, the gross license which was practised during the middle ages, may be well estimated by the vulgar and obscene language that was currently used in tales and fictions addressed to the young and noble of both sexes."—*Sir Walter Scott.*

"Still the general tendency of the poetry and romance of the chivalric ages was to improve the manners of the times."—*Mills*, vol. ii. p. 172.

He (the knight) believed that both God and love hated hard and hypocritical hearts. *In a bolder strain of irreverence* he thought that both God and love *could be softened by prayer*, and that he who served both with fidelity, would secure to himself happiness in this life, and the joys of Paradise hereafter.—i. 212.

In one passage we are told, that chivalry triumphed over all preceding *systems of opinions*, by creating a more pure love than had ever been before known:

The triumph of *chivalry* over all preceding *systems of opinions* was complete, when imagination refined the fierceness of passion into generous and gentle affection,—a refinement so perfect and beautiful, that subsequent times, with all their vaunted improvements in letters and civilization, are obliged to revert their eyes to the by-gone days of the shield and the lance, for the *most pleasing* and *graceful* pictures of *lady-love*.—ii. p. 345.

And then the honest historian says, in the same page, that the profession of knighthood had nothing at all to do with the matter:

All the religious devotion of a cavalier to woman existed in his mind, independently of, or superadded to, his oath of knightood.—ii. 345.

Were we to mark every trifling, silly, or contradictory passage in this 'History,' we should write an article as long as the book itself. What we have written may give the reader a tolerably correct notion of the ability and taste of its author. That Mr. Mills has been at much pains to collect materials for his work, and that his work contains considerable information, we have no wish to deny. What we contend is, that he wants the ability to write history; and has not the modesty to rest satisfied with the reputation of being a careful compiler, which, when he shall be impartial, he may deserve to obtain. He ought, however, to be aware that it is not for persons of his stamp to sit in judgment on celebrated writers; and that when he passes from the province of the compiler into that of the critic, his notions are, if possible, more likely to be confused and unimportant, than when he only presumes to philosophize on historical arguments. The remarks he has hazarded on Sir Walter Scott, St. Palaye, Ducange, and others, can have no other effect than to rouse the critical spirit of his readers, which, for his sake, had much better be suffered to slumber while the 'History of Chivalry' is in hand. His harsh criticism of St. Palaye is peculiarly unpardonable, as it is from him that he has borrowed by far the best portions of his book; sometimes merely translating his words; sometimes abridging them; and at others, diluting his phrases into a thin paraphrase; but almost always without acknowledgment. What he says of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, is far more absurd than the foppery it was meant to ridicule. In short, wherever he is other than a mere compiler, he is ludicrous and impertinent. If our notice of his work is severe, we trust it will be found to be just; at all events, we have been careful not to say half so much as the nature of the work appeared to warrant, that we might practise the moderation, the want of which we were disposed to condemn in Mr. Mills.

EVENING PRAYER AT A GIRLS' SCHOOL.[1]

By Mrs. Hemans.

HUSH! 'tis a holy hour!—the quiet room
 Seems like a temple, while yon soft lamp sheds
A faint and starry radiance, through the gloom
 And the strict stillness, down on bright young heads,
With all their clustering locks, untouched by care,
And bow'd, as flowers are bow'd with night, in prayer.

Gaze on, 'tis lovely! Childhood's lip and cheek
 Mantling beneath its earnest brow of thought!
Gaze, yet what seest thou in those fair and meek
 And fragile things, as but for sunshine wrought?
Thou seest what grief must nurture for the sky,
What death must fashion for eternity!

O joyous creatures! that will sink to rest
 Lightly, when those pure orisons are done;
As birds with slumber's honey-dew opppress'd,
 Midst the dim-folded leaves, at set of sun;
Lift up your hearts! though yet no sorrow lies
Dark in the summer heaven of those clear eyes.

Though fresh within your breast th' untroubled springs
 Of hope make melody wheree'er ye tread,
And o'er your sleep bright shadows, from the wings
 Of spirits visiting but youth, be spread;
Yet, in those flute-like voices, mingling low,
Is woman's tenderness—how soon her woe!

Her lot is on you!—silent tears to weep,
 And patient smiles to wear through suffering's hour,
And sunless riches, from affection's deep,
 To pour on broken reeds,—a wasted shower!
And to make idols, and to find them clay,
And to bewail that worship—therefore pray!

Her lot is on you!—to be found untired,
 Watching the stars out of the bed of pain,
With a pale cheek, and yet a brow inspired,
 And a true heart of hope, though hope be vain!
Meekly to bear with wrong, to cheer decay;
And, oh! to love through all things—therefore pray!

And take the thought of this calm vesper-time,
 With its low murmuring sounds and silvery light,
On through the dark days fading from their prime,
 As a sweet dew to keep your souls from blight!
Earth will forsake—Oh! happy to have given
Th' unbroken heart's first fragrance unto heaven!

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[1] From Ackermann's 'Forget me Not,' for 1826.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF VARIOUS CUSTOMS, PHRASES, AND OPINIONS OF THE ANTIENTS—FROM ORIENTAL SOURCES.

No. II.

Closely connected with divination was the universally prevalent opinion of spiritual agency, and of præterhuman powers conceded to individuals. Not only Káf and Mazenderaun were the popular theatres of this display, but every nation, in every quarter of the globe, possessed its peculiar region of terror. And, by a common consent, these ejected usurpers of the human frame were, by pharmaceutrics and exorcising authority, consigned to the Red Sea. The destruction of the Egyptian host in its waters, could hardly have been the origin of this tradition; for, it is too vaguely mentioned in profane writers to authorize us to adduce it as the cause. Faber's opinion, in his 'Pagan Idolatry,' vol. iii. p. 350, 351, seems the most correct, and the least liable to objection, which deduces it from the four Chaldean annedots or dagons, who successively emerged from it, and returned to it: it was also the place of refuge of Bacchus and his Sileni. Homer (Il. ii. v. 135) says:

> Διώνυσος δὲ φοβηθεὶς
> Δύσεθ' ἁλὸς κατὰ κῦμα· Θέτις δ' ὑπεδέξατο κόλπῳ
> Δειδιότα.[1]

From such a mythological legend, to which we may presume that there were other counterparts, now lost, we may readily conceive it to have originated; indeed, in its early state, it must have been connected with some extensive religion, to have acquired such a currency among the superstitious. The Red Sea has always been an object of regard and of critical inquiry. Celsius, in his 'Hiero Botanicon,'[2] considers the סוף, from which it derived its name, to have been a sea-weed, and Michaelis notices an abundance of the herb, called ሱፋ፡ (Sufa) by the Ethiopians, being found there, which some have identified with the Sargaso, which bears red berries at a particular time of the year. This writer likewise conjectures that the Nile contains it, because סוף is mentioned in Exod. ii. 3. The old Egyptian name of this sea was ϢⲀⲢⲒ (Sari), and Pliny,[3] l. xiii. c. 13, gives an account of a plant bearing the name. Hesychius writes, σάριν [σάρον] φύλον τι γενόμενον ἐν τοῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἕλεσι. The Gouêmon has, likewise, been identified with it: but, from Jonah ii. 6, it is very evident that סוף is some species of sea-weed, which Lobo, in his 'Travels in Abyssinia,' p. 51, 52, states to be of a red colour, and to make the waters of the Red Sea the same, wherever it abounds. The Kámús records a fish of the name of سيف, which some suppose to be the sword-fish; but as the real genus of the fish is unknown, we are unable to state whether the name has any reference to colour, or to the fish being found, where the סוף is in great quantity. Michaelis conjectured that the Israelites crossed the Red Sea either on the night preceding or

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[1] Cf. Syncell. p. 29. Nonni Dionys. l. xx. p. 552. [2] Vol. ii. p. 64.

[3] Fruticosi est generis Sari, circà Nilum nascens, duorum ferè cubitorum altitudine, pollicari crassitudine, comâ papyri, similique manditur more.

following the twenty-fourth day after the new moon, and that they walked on a submarine isthmus, having the sea on each side, so that the Egyptians could not attack them in flank. Many hypotheses have been started on this point, which also forms the subject of one of Niebuhr's chapters.[4]

Much superstition must necessarily have resulted from this idea of innumerable intelligences pervading and interfering with the whole creation; and wherever we direct our attention, we shall perceive that none was more fertile in legendary productions. The howling of dogs at the approach of Hecate, and, according to R. Bechai, (Pàr. Bo. f. 84, c. 2,) when the angel of death enters a city, which Plutarch on Superstition assures us was universally received as an evil omen, and among countless others, is derivable from the pre-occupation of the mind by these idle notions. Hence, the Devs, Ghuls, Jius, Nimjezehs, and other imaginary beings, both of Paristán and Jinnistán: hence, also, the element of fire became peopled with subordinate deities and spirits, and the miraculous salamander, which R. Salomo apud Barten, v. ii. p. 157, describes as being begotten in it, for seven years, without intermission:

סלמנדרא היה הנבראת מן האור בשבוערין אש
במקום אחד שבע שנים תמיד בלי הפסק:

The Persians mention it under the name of سمندر or آذرشين, and the Berhani Kattea informs us, that "it is like a large mouse, which dies as soon as it is taken out of the fire; although others state, that it does not continually inhabit it; that it sometimes comes out, when it is taken and placed on a skin, a turban, or handkerchief; and, that, as it is filthy, they throw all sorts of filth into the fire, which burns and purifies them. Another account states, that it is like a lizard, particularly the small Lybian sort, called حلباسه, which they place on a skin or umbrella to preserve its heat, and that garments are woven from its hair; that in warm weather they cover it that it may retain the heat. Others, however, describe it as a bird; but God only knows!" Calderon de la Barca, in his brilliant play of 'La Puénte de Mantibel,' describes the phœnix as indefinitely. Fierabras says:

Depongo el ser mi vasallo
El Fenix, páxaro solo,

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[4] Burckhardt strongly supports Niebuhr's opinion, that the Israelites crossed the Red Sea near Suez, conceiving that the بير هوارة is the well Marah, whose waters still retain their bitterness; that the وادي غرندل still full of date-trees, is the Elim mentioned in Exod. xv. 27: the non-existence of twelve wells being no argument to the contrary, from the shifting nature of the sands, and the copious supply of water to be found at a small depth. He conjectures, with much ingenuity, that the berry of the غرقد, the peganum retusum of Förskal, resembling in taste a ripe gooseberry, may have been the tree which sweetened its waters: it is also called حمرة from the colour of its fruit. (p. 472-4.) The modern name of the desert through which the Israelites wandered, is التيه. (448.)

Que ascua, ceniza, gusano,
Sacrificio, aroma, y voto,
En cuna de calambuco,
En tumba de cinnamomo,
Nace y vive, dura y muere,
Hijo y padre de si proprio. [5]

On this subject, such a multitude of all-various materials is presented, that we cannot restrict ourselves to any particular arrangement. Káf, the abode of the Simorgh or Inka, "*round which,* (as Hafiz writes,) *enveloping its vertex in clouds, guardian of evil shade, the sun directs its course,*" [6] would, of itself, supply us with almost inexhaustible traditions. The Urim and Thummim of the Hebrews, (which I have elsewhere discussed,) were introduced into the Levitical system on account of the fanaticism of the times; and, in addition to the parallel cited among the Egyptians, Philostratus [7] records, that in the vaulted room in the palace at Babylon, which was adorned with sapphires, images of the gods were represented in the air, from whence hung four Ἴυγγες, which were denominated Θεῶν γλῶτται, because the king pronounced *judgment* there. This is a very striking coincidence, and proves the extraordinary analogy which subsisted between the opinions and practices of the antient Orientals. There can be no doubt, as Faber argues, vol. iii. p. 348, that most of the impostors, who assumed the title of wizards, necromancers, and enchanters, imitated the pageants in the mysteries, pretended to magic powers, and by phantasmagoric illusions, and by the aid of suitable accomplices, exhibited "apparitions at pleasure, and thus, with careful ambiguity, revealed future events." But all these impostures had their source in demonolatry, and the superstitious state of mind which it induced.

Appian, in his 'Cynegetica,' l. iii. v. 283, writes :—

Εἰ δὲ λύκον δείρας, ῥινῶν ἄπο τεκτήναιο
Τύμπανον εὐκέλαδον, Διδυμήϊον, ὠλεσίκαρπον,
Μοῦνόν τοι μετὰ πᾶσι βαρύβρομον ἔκλαγεν ἠχήν.
Καὶ μοῦνον παταγεῖ· τὰ δὲ εὔθρεα πρόσθεν ἔοντα
Τύμπανα σιγάζει, κώφησέ τε πᾶσαν ἰωήν,
Καὶ φθίμενοι γὰρ οἷς φθίμενον λύκον ἐῤῥίγασι.

This strange conceit might have been passed by as an idle country story, did we not discover it with other memorabilia in the East. Damir, the naturalist, whose belief of fiction was circumscribed by no very narrow bounds, as gravely details it as Appian :—

اذا علق وتر من ذيب علي شب من اللاهي و ضرب بها
تقطعت جميع اوتار الغنم التي تكون علي اللاهي - - - و
كذلك ان عمل من جلده طبل و ضرب به بين طبول
تشققت الطبول كلها

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[5] Act. I. Sc. 9.

[6] كوه ابر ساخته تار بر سايه بان

[7] De vitâ Apollon. l. i. et apud Photium, p 241.

"If the nerve of a wolf be suspended over any musical instruments, and strike them, all the sheep's nerves in them will be snapped; and, in like manner, if a drum be made of sheepskin, and struck with it, all the drums so covered, though among many others, will burst."

That Faber is right in imagining that a great proportion of these legends arose from misconceptions of the mysteries, and vague rumours concerning them, which had come into circulation, is clear from several instances in which we are able to retrace them to their source. Thus, from the hirciur worship, sprang the fable of the Satyrs, who sustain such an important character in mythology; and that these ideas found a currency in the East, we argue from the שעירים, noticed in the Scriptures. From Isaiah xxxiv. 14, it is likewise manifest, that some particular animal was designated by this name; some critics have referred them to the demons, whose cry the Arabs call الهدهدة, in consequence of the extract from the Kámús, الهدهدة اصوات الجن; these are fabled to be heard on Mount العزاف in الدهناء, at twelve miles distance from Medina, which received its name from the عزيف, or noise, which they are supposed to make by night in desert places. Jawhari gives the name العزاف to some sands near Medina. But there must have been some real animal to whom this fable was applied, and although the Kámús describes الهدهدة as the cry of Jius or demons, we remark the word applied to the lapwing, to the cooing of the dove, the noise of the camel, and any whispering sound; to the noise also heard by people on the sea-shore, and on plains sometimes, at the period of an earthquake.[8] Van Dale has written a wild diatribe on this research; and were we supported by adequate authority, both from the primitive signification of the Hebrew and Arabic root, we should conceive that some of the genus Simia were the animals intended in this passage of Isaiah. The آوازِ ديوار of the Persian interpreters of هدهدة would well apply to them; nor do we believe the Ghuls and Jius of Eastern romance to have been any thing, excepting these or other wild animals. The derivation of satyrs from the Mendesian or hircine rites, is not, aboriginally, correct; they were, as we have elsewhere shown from the writings of the antients, and the meaning of the term in Sanscrit, priests of a particular order in the mysteries, who, from the fantastic dresses which they might have assumed on solemn processions, allusive probably of some symbols that had an exoteric worship in the vulgar religion, gave rise to the legend of the Satyrs. The story of Tiresias's change of sex, which had an allegorical meaning, is not devoid of a correspondence in Eastern natural history. Damir says of the hare,

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[8] صوت يسمعه اهل الساحل ياتيهم من قبل البحر له دوي في الارض وربما كانت منه زلزلة Lexicon Surah.

عاما ذكر و عاما انثي تكون, that one year it is male and another female, which Kazvini, in his 'Ajaieb'el Maklucát,' repeats, Origen and Eustathius record the tradition, that the rhinoceros may be caught by means of a woman, who is a nurse, being exposed where he sojourns, from his propensity to her milk, and the inebriating and soporific effect which it produces upon him; and even this most outrageous fiction Damir has perpetuated nearly in the same words. We, indeed, read continually of the exposition of women to wild beasts and fictitious monsters; but, unless superstitious deference to some oracle, or revenge, had been the cause, we should, in most cases, be rather inclined to conclude that the detail was a mythological description of some doctrine or event connected with the antient Polytheism, and concealed from the uninitiated. The legends respecting the mermaid, with which the Northern romances are replenished, had their counterparts in the East: Kazvini calls the merman ابو مرينة and شيخ البحر, and the mermaids بنات الماء and بنات الروم; from the latter of which appellations, it would appear that the fable was borrowed from that of Nereus and the Nereids. The Sircus, likewise, are retraced in his account of the monster دلهاث — دلهاق or دلخاف, as the name is variously written, which appears to be the same tradition as that of the Egyptian sorceress دلوكة مكتاكه, and the meaning of دله, which sometimes simply occurs, is sufficiently indicative of the parallel, زن دلاله و مكتاله.

The analogy between Rustam and Hercules is very close; the latter had twelve labours, the former seven, in his journey, called the هفت خوان; in which we perceive many references to more modern belief, particularly in that where he resisted the spells of the enchantress, and where she became black as night when he pronounced the name of God. Firdausi's heroes were as voracious as Homer's: Rustam, when in Turan, ate and drank as incredibly as any of the assailants of Troy; both writers compared their warriors to lions and wolves, &c.; and few essays would be more interesting than a critical comparison of these two great poets. In the Old Testament, Jonathan gave his girdle to David; in the Sháhnámeh, Kaikaus gave his to Rustam; of which custom we have examples in the Iliad and Æneid: and the death of Turnus was occasioned by his spoliation of the girdle from the corpse of Pallas. It appears from Firdausi, that the دار was one of the most ancient punishments, which, in latter times, also denoted impalement: thus, in 1 Sam. xxi. 9, the Gibeonites hanged the sons of Rizpah and Michal, in blood-revenge, for Saul's atrocities; and that it was common among other people, we learn from the Greek historians. The post of the chiefs was, in the earlier periods, in the centre of the army; this was generally the case with those in the Sháhnámeh.

Different cities were, in some countries, allotted to different professions; and this would naturally have been the first result of their division

into castes. Memphis and other places appear in Egypt to have been more particularly devoted to the priests; and with the Jews, we remark Levitical cities, and colleges of prophets. We scarcely have sufficient documents to ascertain whether the tribes assigned certain spots to certain important professions; yet from 1 Chron. iv. 14, we derive data for such an inference, where Joab is styled אבי גיא חרשים for this express reason, כי חרשים היו. From a collation of separate passages, we must presume the חרש to have been an artist of every description, since the word is equally applied to the worker in silver and gold, in precious stones, iron, brass, wood, &c.; and Nehemiah xi. 35, mentions Ono, as the גי החרשים of the Benjamites in his day. We retrace the caravans of the East in Genesis and Job: the ארחה was the greater or karavan, the הליכה the smaller or kafilah. As early as the days of Joseph, (Gen. xxxvii. 25,) an ארחה of nomadic Ishmaelites is noticed; and in Job vi. 19, the karavans of Tema, and kafilahs of Sheba, are cited as things well known in that age. Those of the Dedanim are quoted in Isaiah xxi. 13, in a manner which implies that they were numerous; and Jeremiah (ix. 1) speaks of their manzils, or halting places by night in the desert; and it has been supposed that the גרות כמהם near Bethlehem, mentioned in Jer. xli. 17, was one of these karavanserais. This practice of the East, therefore, does not appear to have varied during the revolution of ages. Salvatori, in his 'Letters on Persia,' writes:

"Appena messo il piede in Persia, la prima cosa, che colpisce sguardo del Viaggiatore sono le orde numerose de nomadi Pastori, dei quali disse il venusto cantore,—

campestres meliùs Scythæ
Quorum plaustra vagas ritè trahunt domos,—

uso, cred'iò che rimonta ai primi secoli dell' uman genere, è che seguito viene invariabilmente dalla maggior parte dei popoli dell' Asia, non eccettuato neppure il regnante Persiano, il quale, durante tre mesi dell' anno, conduce seco numeroso stuolo di Cortigiani, di Subditi, è di Schiavi, affine di vagar all' immensa pianura di Casbin è Sultanie, far pascolar i loro destrieri, è sòlto bianche tende sdrajarsi dalla mattina fino alla sera, pascersi di frutta immature, di cocomeri inquantità, è dell' invariabile Pilao (riso bollito) fumar ad ogni instante, pensar alla privazione delle donne (eccettuato il Sovrano, che seco mena cento femmine, è vietato sotto vigorose pene à chiunque siasi l'aver donne) è cercar finalmente, *nocturno tempore*, à soddisfar i loro brutali Appetiti."[9] But this mode and motive of locomotion is perfectly distinct from the ancient karavans and kafilahs, which were established for purposes of commerce; nor are the manners of this Persian King analogous to those of an Arab Sheikh.

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[9] Mines de l'Orient. vol. i. p. 349.

THE SOLDIER'S SONG TO HIS MISTRESS.

'Mid noise, and banners flying,
In all the din of war;
'Mid groans of wretches dying,
I 'll think of thee afar.

I turn from honours near me,
To Marian's peaceful glade,—
Where thou wert wont to cheer me,
My own—my lovely maid.

The ribband, spotless white,
That round my arm you wove,
Has nerved that arm in fight,
Though pledge of *woman's* love.

But when I should have slain,
That taught my sword to spare;
That not *one* bloody stain
Should sully gift so rare.

Return'd—if such my lot,
From war and slaughter free—
Oh! be my cares forgot
In blissful love with thee!

L. L. L.

TIMOLEON.

Corinth! take that gory brand!
Let it lie
On the altars of the land,
For the eye
Of ages slumbering in the loins
Of the glorious throng that joins
In fulfilling thy designs,
Liberty!

Corinth! he whose blood it drained—
Mark it well!
Nor yet think these hands profaned
'Cause he fell—
Had, I grant, a brother's claim;
But my country's holier name,
Silencing both love and fame,
Was his knell!

Be the bitter mem'ry mine,
You are free!
Every god within his shrine
Smiles to see
A tyrant reach the fated hour
When he pays the price of power,
When, though fears his heart devour,
He cannot flee!

Oct. 27, 1825. Bion.

THE ASSASSIN.—A NARRATIVE FOUNDED ON FACT.

DURING the period when the Emperor Napoleon was in the zenith of his power, and the Netherlands formed a portion of his extensive dominions, there resided at Brussels three young men, named Charles Darancourt, Theodore de Valmont, and Ernest de St. Maure, whose friendship for each other was of so ardent a nature, that they were generally known throughout the city by the expressive appellation of "THE INSEPARABLES."

A singular combination of circumstances had indeed directed their general habits and pursuits; and if the tenets of that romantic philosophy which attempts to prove the miraculous powers of sympathy as operating at the same moment on congenial souls, could ever have been fairly exemplified in any particular instance, the striking similarity of sentiment by which these sincere friends appeared to be influenced on all occasions, seemed to afford as solid a basis for their superstructure as had, perhaps, at any time presented itself to the anxious view of modern enthusiasts.

Of all the emotions of which the heart is susceptible, those of disinterested friendship are the purest, the most sacred; and where this friendship has commenced with the dawn of youth, and continued through all intermediate stages to the full sunshine of manhood, what is there of sublimity that can be more *truly sublime*, of nobleness that can be more *truly noble*, than this most animating and exalted feeling? The individuals already named, had been constant playfellows during childhood; had studied at the same academy as school-boys, and become members of the same university in their more advanced years. What added to the singularity of the peculiar destiny that seemed to preside over the united friendship of these interesting youths, was the fact of their having been born on the same day.

Their parents, though of unequal rank in society, were alike respectable in their several stations: Monsieur Darancourt, the elder, being an eminent physician; De Valmont a colonel of Engineers, whose wounds and consequent ill-health had compelled him to seek an honourable retirement from active service; and De St. Maure, a nobleman of illustrious family, but impaired fortune, bearing the title of Compte.

The first difference in sentiment which appeared to actuate the three friends, was in the choice of their future vocations in life. Young Darancourt commenced his career at the bar as an advocate, while De Valmont, giving himself entirely up to the captivating study of the fine arts and belles-lettres, had declined engaging in any positive profession, preferring classic ease, and the cultivation of refined mental accomplishments, to the acquirement of wealth, or the restless dicates of ambition. In the mean time, the Chevalier Ernest de St. Maure had obtained a commission in the army; and, at the epoch from whence this narrative takes its date, was in the almost daily expectation of receiving orders to join his regiment. His affectionate parents, who had reluctantly consented to his adoption of a military profession, looked forward with dread to the approaching hour when the imperial mandate should summon him to the field; nor was the son without his private feelings of mental agitation at the anticipated order. His was not the soul that could steel

itself against the manly sorrow of a revered father, or the anxious fears of a tender mother trembling for the future fate of an only child. But he considered that the path of glory was before him, and he resolved to pursue it.

Charles Darancourt, who had recently been admitted a member of a masonic society, and appeared anxious to contribute, even in the minutest matters, to the comforts and best interests of his friend, strongly recommended the young officer to become initiated into its profound mysteries ere he entered on his campaigns. Among various reasons advanced to urge the propriety of this advice, he instanced, in particular, an ancient story quaintly told by a learned German historian, showing how a certain Hamburgh mariner had been made prisoner during a war with the Russians, when that semi-barbarous people had still to learn the justice and policy of an extension of mercy towards a captive foe; how he had been doomed by a tyrannical master to an intimate acquaintance with the knout; but how he had been most unexpectedly taken into high favour by his Christian tormentor, and ultimately restored to liberty, from the mere circumstance of the Muscovite's having discovered him to be a brother mason! "Now who knows," continued the young barrister, earnestly addressing De St. Maure, "whether you may not hereafter be thrown, by the chances of war, into a situation somewhat similar to that of the poor Hamburgher? In this case, how happy would you esteem yourself should your initiation into a mystery, which it has of late years been too much the fashion to ridicule, obtain for you the pity of some fellow-mason, induce him to take you to his brotherly embrace, convert your gloom into comparative sunshine, and finally release you from captivity?"

The advocate's reasoning, or at least his rhetoric, was conclusive. De St. Maure acquiesced in the suggestions of his friend, and promised shortly to attend the city lodge, and become enrolled as an aspiring member of the honourable fraternity.

A few days only had elapsed since the conversation of these attached friends on the mystical virtues of masonry, when it was noticed by some of the Count De St. Maure's neighbours, one Sunday noon, that neither himself, nor any of his household, had been seen that morning in their way to or from mass,—a duty for the regular performance of which the family had previously been remarkable. About eight o'clock the same evening, young Darancourt and De Valmont called at the Count's mansion, to spend a social hour with the family. Their repeated knockings at the door remaining unanswered, they at length alarmed the neighbourhood by the relation of so singular a circumstance. After a short consultation, the front door was forced open, when, upon examining the bed-rooms, the appalling sight of five murdered corpses, those of the Count and Countess de St. Maure, two female domestics, and a man-servant, presented itself to the horror-struck spectators. On further examination, it was also found that a writing-desk, belonging to the Count, supposed to have contained some valuable jewels, had been broken open and plundered. Darancourt, whose devoted attachment towards the whole family had been repeatedly proved on various important occasions, appeared almost distracted with grief: for a considerable time his faculties of speech, thought, and motion, seemed completely paralyzed; when at

length returning reason aroused him to a renewed sense of the fatal catastrophe, he rushed from the house in an agony of the most heart-rending sorrow, exclaiming, "My friend! my friend! Where is my dearest friend?"

It was now that the affrighted neighbours began to ask each other, for the first time, if any tidings could be heard of the Chevalier. In the bewildered hurry of the scene, this natural question had, till then, either been entirely omitted, or if a previous thought of the absent youth had for a moment flashed on the minds of the assembled crowd, it had been lost, at the instant, amid the overwhelming astonishment which had so suddenly burst upon them. Diligent search after him was, however, soon made in every part of the city; and De Valmont, whose comparative presence of mind on this afflicting occasion afforded an admirable contrast to the agitated feelings of his friend Darancourt, directed it in person; but the absent youth could no where be found or heard of.

This tragical affair speedily underwent a solemn investigation before the city magistrates, who, after a patient and anxious inquiry into the leading features of the case, came to the painful, though unanimous conclusion, that circumstances but too strongly concurred in pointing out the Chevalier as the parricidal murderer and robber. What principally tended to confirm his imagined guilt, was the remarkable fact of a pen-knife, marked with his initials, and covered with blood, having been found in a corridor leading from the scene of slaughter. In short, it seemed indisputably evident that his knife was the instrument with which the murders had been effected. It was proved by the Count's bankers, that the deceased had been in the habit of depositing valuable diamonds, in which the principal part of his remaining fortune was imagined to consist, in his writing-desk; and that it had been usual with him, upon leaving Brussels for any period exceeding a few days, to send the desk, with its contents, to their bank for safe custody. A large reward was offered for the apprehension of the Chevalier, but for several days no clue whatever presented itself that could possibly lead to his discovery.

On the sixth morning succeeding this calamitous event, the proprietor of a deep stagnant well in the outskirts of the city, determined on having it cleansed, the water having become offensive. Labourers were accordingly hired for this purpose, who, while busily employed in removing the mud with which the well was nearly half choaked, discovered the dead body of a man! It was soon identified as the corpse of the Chevalier. A court of inquiry, in some measure resembling a coroner's inquest in England, was held, and several medical gentlemen were requested to attend, in order to ascertain whether any particular proof of violence could be discovered sufficient to have produced death.

Among the most anxious of those who hastened to view the body, was Charles Darancourt, the disconsolate mourner, the bosom-companion of the deceased. He entered the chamber with a convulsed countenance, passionately grasped the clammy hand of his departed friend, and pressing it to his heart, appeared, for a considerable time, overwhelmed with unutterable anguish and despair. The corpse was stripped, and carefully examined; but no wound, nor bruise, nor indeed mark of any kind, was perceived, which could lead to any reasonable conclusion that it had fallen beneath the death-blow of an assassin. The members of the in-

quest were for a considerable time at a loss what decision to come to; but at length concluded that the deceased must have thrown himself into the well in a paroxysm of sudden despair, the natural consequence of his guilt. The memory of this ill-fated youth was accordingly about to be blasted with the imputation of self-destruction, in addition to the treble crime of robbery, murder, and parricide, with which it had been previously stigmatized, when one of the professional gentlemen present, upon a re-examination of the body, called the attention of his brethren to a small puncture on the left side of the deceased. It did not exceed in size a pin's point, and was of so trifling a character, that the chief wonder seemed, *not* that it had previously escaped notice, but that it had been perceived *at all*. Indeed, most of the assembled faculty treated this slight mark as being of too trivial a character to merit further attention. The minority, however, conceiving it incumbent on them to satisfy what few doubts they had entertained, proceeded to open the body, and trace the puncture internally; hence followed a discovery alike extraordinary and perplexing. On inspecting the heart, it was clearly ascertained to have been pierced to its centre by some exceedingly small sharp instrument, in a direct line with the external puncture. All conjectures as to the singular means resorted to in the committal of so novel a murder, or who was the assassin, were vain. Happily, however, it now appeared manifest that the Chevalier could not have committed suicide, but that, like his unfortunate parents, he had been the object and victim of some dark conspiracy, the systematic formation of which could only have been exceeded, in demoniacal ability, by its sanguinary and successful completion.

Darancourt, with revived spirits and an animated countenance, justly contended, that no reasonable doubt could now be seriously entertained by any one, of the deceased's complete innocence of all the horrid crimes lately imputed to him. He forcibly insisted, that the circumstance of his friend's knife having been found on the stairs, could easily be accounted for, from the natural supposition that it had been taken from his pocket after his death, purposely besmeared with blood, or, indeed, very probably used in the murder of the remainder of the family, and left on the spot with the express view of exciting a suspicion of guilt against its late owner. In the ingenuous warmth of the moment, he inveighed against the judgment of the magistrates, who had so nearly consigned the memory of his friend to eternal obloquy by their recent unanimous decision; and candidly put it to the good sense of the company, whether it was not utterly improbable, that a man who had deliberately murdered his own parents, and afterwards coolly robbed their house of its most valuable property, should, through the influence of instant remorse, or unnecessary haste, have left behind him the very instrument with which the deed of blood had been perpetrated, as a conclusive evidence of his crime. But there needed not these arguments to satisfy the public mind of the young soldier's innocence. He was deposited in the same grave with his parents, and the funeral obsequies of these devoted victims were attended by numerous persons of the first rank and respectability in Brussels.

Some weeks elapsed, and this work of blood remained unpunished, its mystery still unravelled. At length the affair had ceased to be the general subject of conversation among the people of Brussels, when some

papers were accidentally found in the secret drawer of an escritoire, the late property of the Chevalier, which proved to be original letters addressed to him by Theodore de Valmont, and copies of others in reply, having reference to an affair of the heart of a very delicate nature, in which the young man had evidently been warmly and deeply interested.

It appeared by these documents, that De Valmont had formed an attachment to a young lady named Emily Duplessis, who, uniting to personal charms of the first order, the highest mental accomplishments, deservedly excited the general esteem and admiration of her acquaintance; that the lady had returned De Valmont's affection with an ardour equally sincere, but that a quarrel of long standing between their respective families had induced the lovers to keep their attachment a secret from all their relations and friends, with the exception of Darancourt and the Chevalier, to whom De Valmont had divulged it in strict confidence. It further appeared, that some interviews with which the Chevalier, as the joint confidant with Darancourt of his friend's passion, was occasionally honoured by Mademoiselle Duplessis, had unhappily excited certain sensations in his warm and too susceptible heart, which he had in vain struggled, by every possible effort, to suppress, and that he had, in fact, become enamoured of his friend's amiable mistress.

Possessing a high sense of honour, and utterly ashamed of the weakness of his nature, he had made a candid avowal of it to Darancourt, at the same time solemnly declaring he would rather perish than harbour a single wish detrimental to the happiness of his envied, but beloved friend, De Valmont. He had faithfully adhered to these sentiments; but no precaution or determination he attempted to form, could at length prevent his passion from betraying itself to the fair object of his adoration.

Though Mademoiselle Duplessis had carefully abstained from appearing to understand the real nature of his attentions, and, from motives of delicacy, avoided even hinting them to De Valmont, the latter had, in time, become necessarily aware of the Chevalier's truly unfortunate passion; and this had led to the correspondence alluded to. The following extracts, in De Valmont's own handwriting, excited no ordinary sensations in the minds of the perusers:

"It were needless, my dear Ernest, to explain to you from what particular circumstances the fact has become known to me, of your having harboured towards Mademoiselle Duplessis far other sentiments than those justified by the hallowed nature of your introduction to her *as my affianced bride*. At first I almost doubted the evidence of my senses in noticing your extraordinary conduct, which, be assured, has given me infinitely more pain on *your* account than I can well express. For myself, you know me too well not to feel convinced that, independently of all other motives, an innate sense of what I owe to my own honour, would urge me *to inflict the most ample vengeance on the head of him who could avail himself of my unbounded confidence, to estrange from me the affections of my adored Emily*. Satisfied, however, as I cannot but be, that you are wholly incapable of harbouring a single thought to my injury, I would merely reason with you as with a brother, in the anxious hope and conviction, that if, like a second Araspes, you have been hurried, by the delirium of passion, into a temporary indiscretion,

you will also, like him, finally triumph over it, and thus prove yourself, if possible, still more deserving than before of that ardent friendship towards you, which has ever animated the bosom of

"THEODORE DE VALMONT."

Several detached sentences, in letters of a subsequent date, served to show that repeated expostulations by De Valmont had been deemed necessary, and that the answers they had elicited rather tended to prove the agony of the Chevalier's feelings, and the conviction he entertained of the improper nature of his attentions to Mademoiselle Duplessis, than any successful resolution on his part to conquer the passion she had inspired.

These documents were exhibited by the brother of the deceased Count to some intimate friends and family connexions, who, in the absence of all proof or suspicion against any other party, could not avoid drawing an inference from the correspondence unfavourable to Theodore de Valmont. Who so likely, they reasoned, to have been actuated by motives of revenge against the Chevalier, as the author of the letters found in the escritoire?

Why a whole family should have been sacrificed, and their mansion plundered at the same time, it certainly appeared difficult to account for, supposing the assassin to have been actuated by a spirit of vengeance only against an individual member of it; but since it was impossible to calculate on the consequences of this diabolical passion, it was resolved immediately to secure the person of De Valmont, and prefer a criminal charge against him. He was accordingly seized one morning in his bed, and after undergoing a private examination before the police, was committed to prison, to take his trial for the murder of the Count, Countess, and Chevalier de St. Maure, and their domestics.

It failed not now forcibly to occur to many who had accompanied the accused and his friend Darancourt into the Count's mansion, on the evening immediately following the murders, that the symptoms of horror and surprise in the former, upon his first beholding the dead bodies, were totally different from those of the latter, who had exhibited all the wild and indescribable emotions which might naturally have been supposed to overwhelm so sincere a friend to the family; while De Valmont, on the contrary, though apparently much distressed at the appalling scene, had refrained from all violent exclamation, and seemed far more calm and collected than any other person present.

True it was, indeed, that his spirits appeared to have suffered a severe shock for a considerable time after the dreadful catastrophe; but that which had formerly been attributed to the profound affliction of friendship, was now considered as the private workings of a troubled conscience seeking repose in vain. It was further recollected, and dwelt upon as a singular coincidence indicative of conscious guilt in the accused, that he had declined attending the inspection of his friend's corpse, though earnestly entreated by Darancourt to be present, under the excuse that, as it would be wholly useless, he wished to be spared the agony of a scene which, in his then extreme state of mental depression, he was so ill prepared to encounter. How different had been the conduct of the interesting Darancourt! He had not only attended on this mournful occasion, but with a persevering energy, as laudable as it was romantic, had conquered, for the moment, his profound affliction, and bent the entire

powers of an enlightened mind to the consoling task of rescuing from eternal ignominy the cherished memory of his departed friend.

Some additional circumstances shortly came to light, which afforded strong presumptive proof of De Valmont's guilt, when blended with the facts previously made known. He had been met and recognised, on the very night the murders were perpetrated, in the immediate vicinity of the Count's mansion, by two gentlemen on their return from an evening party, whom he had evidently endeavoured to avoid; and what seemed to confirm his guilt in a still greater degree, was the evidence of a fille de chambre, of unimpeachable character, who deposed, that she well remembered having washed a shirt for the prisoner a few days subsequent, the right sleeve of which was clotted with blood.

De Valmont being required, at a second private examination, to account for having been in the neighbourhood of the Count's mansion on the night in question, at first hesitated to reply; and when pressed further on the subject, answered, with manifest confusion, that he was on his return from visiting a friend; but who that friend was, he positively declined stating. He also attempted to account for the marks of blood on his shirt, apparently in so improbable a manner, as to induce one of the officers of the police to remark, that it seemed as if Providence had interposed to weaken, in an extraordinary degree, the naturally powerful and highly-cultivated mind of the prisoner, while vainly attempting to acquit himself of the accumulated crimes with which he stood charged. The public impression against him was consequently of so decisive a nature, that his ultimate conviction was anticipated almost as of course.

Charles Darancourt, immediately on the seizure of his friend, had undertaken the distressing task of communicating the intelligence to Mademoiselle Duplessis. He did this in the most delicate and cautious manner. Such, however, was the extreme affliction of that most amiable and unfortunate lady, when thoroughly acquainted with the dreadful fact, that it produced a violent fever, the ravages of which on her lovely frame, for many days, left but little hope of her recovery. Whilst labouring under its temporary delirium, she not only disclosed to her father the secret of the mutual passion previously concealed from him, but also confessed that she had been secretly and very recently united in marriage to her beloved De Valmont. This, on further inquiry, was fully corroborated by the reluctant admission of the priest who had officiated on the occasion; bnt no communication on the subject was made to Theodore de Valmont, who, consequently, remained in utter ignorance of his unhappy wife's confession.

The youth of Madame Theodore de Valmont, and the skilful attentions of her medical attendants, at length restored her to a state of comparative convalesence. General Duplessis, her father, had been left a widower in the autumn of life, with two sons and a daughter. The sons entering the army at an early age, had met an honourable death on the field of battle. Retired, for the most part, from the noise and bustle of the gay world, the veteran's sole remaining joy consisted in superintending the education of his Emily, for which his accomplishments as a scholar and a gentleman rendered him peculiarly qualified, and in tenderly watching over the dawning beauties of her mind and person. To such a father, the disclosure of the fatal connexion formed by his only child, was a shock as terrible as it was unexpected; for, though the long-

existing feud between the families of the young people might have been passed over, and in time possibly forgotten, the disgrace of an alliance with such a monster as Theodore de Valmont; was too humiliating to be endured. It was thus the General reasoned in the bitterness of his grief, nor could any attempts by his anxious friends to console or soothe him, administer even a temporary balm to his affliction.

And now arrived the eventful day appointed for the trial of young De Valmont; but upon entering his prison-cell, at an early hour in the morning, to escort him to the hall of justice, the jailors, to their utter astonishment, found it empty!

De Valmont had undermined the apartment with some sharp instrument; and by a contrivance equally artful and singular, unnecessary to be here particularized, had successfully scaled the prison-walls, at the imminent hazard of his life, and effected his escape. He had left a letter in his cell, addressed "To Mademoiselle Duplessis," which the principal jailor considered himself justified in opening and perusing, ere he forwarded it to its destination. Its contents ran thus:

"With a mind distracted by the most agonizing sensations, but a spirit as yet unbroken by the accumulation of fatal events, of which I am the innocent victim, I hasten to address to you, my adored Emily, perhaps for the last time, the effusions of a heart, which, until it ceases to vibrate, will ever beat for you alone, as the object of its ardent love and tenderest devotion.

"The recollection of the blissful hours passed in your endearing society, and of those sentiments of sincere regard, founded on a conviction of my probity and honour, which it was my good fortune to inspire in your affectionate bosom, would, I am well assured, render it totally unnecessary for me to enter upon my defence, as far as *your* private opinion *only* is concerned, against the accusations of murder and robbery with which I stand charged. An explanation, however, is unquestionably due to public justice, and this, I trust, it will be in my power to render hereafter, under circumstances which will completely establish my innocence, and justify my intended escape. It is in this hope alone that I wish to live; and dear as you are, my beloved Emily, to my warm and devoted heart, yet never will I allow myself to see, or even write to you, from the present hour, or to hold correspondence with any of my family or friends, until the time shall arrive (should it ever arrive) when my innocence shall be established by that presiding fate, or destiny, which has hitherto sacrificed my feelings at the shrine of prejudice and erring justice.

"And now, my adored, my own Emily, farewell! Time presses, and I must prepare for instant flight. I implore the protection of the Almighty on yourself and my beloved parents, who are doubtless weeping tears of anguish for their unhappy son. To my inestimable friend, Darancourt, I offer my most affectionate remembrance, and would fain beseech him, by all the ties of our past friendship, by the innumerable traits of character which he must have witnessed in me for a series of years, so contrary to those of a villain and a murderer; and, finally, by my past well-known regard for our mutual and dear friend, Ernest, implicitly to believe that I am, as I solemnly declare myself to be, entirely innocent, in thought as well as deed, of the atrocious acts so wrongfully imputed to me.

"Once more adieu, my sweetest Emily. While I yet linger, the morn begins to dawn. For ever and ever entirely and devotedly yours, the unfortunate

"THEODORE DE VALMONT."

An attested copy of the preceding letter was speedily made, and the original forwarded to the disconsolate Madame Theodore de Valmont. Every possible exertion was used by the police to discover the fugitive, who, however, set their vigilance at defiance, and escaped no one knew whither.

Convincing as the proofs of De Valmont's guilt had hitherto appeared, his letter had a forcible effect in his favour on the minds of his family and friends, who now began to entertain sanguine hopes that the real assassin might yet be discovered by the indefatigable exertions of Charles Darancourt, who employed agents in various directions for that purpose; or that De Valmont himself might providentially find means to prove his innocence. Flying reports throughout the city, indeed, at one time, gave the strongest colour of reality to these hopes, and it was generally believed that De Valmont would ere long make his voluntary appearance. General Duplessis, though for some time inexorable, at length forgave his hapless daughter for the clandestine union she had so unfortunately formed; but nothing could induce him to be on terms of friendship or intimacy with the wretched parents of the dishonoured Theodore. About six weeks after the flight of the latter, the General was seized with an illness, which in a few days proved fatal. He expired in the arms of his only child, Madame Theodore, to whom he bequeathed the entire of an ample fortune. Soon after her father's decease, this unhappy lady was discovered to be in a situation above all others most calculated to excite the sincerest sympathy in the bosoms of Colonel and Madame de Valmont; and in somewhat less than seven months after the flight of her adored Theodore, she presented to the world a lovely boy. Colonel de Valmont and his lady now became frequent visitors at the mansion of their daughter-in-law, and seemed to take a melancholy pleasure in tracing the strong resemblance to their son, which was perceptible in the cherub-features of his innocent offspring. Rumours were now again in circulation that De Valmont was on the eve of returning; and his family, though ignorant how such reports had originated, still fondly persuaded themselves that his innocence would soon satisfactorily appear. It was under this persuasion that his affectionate wife yielded to the anxious request of her father-in-law, and several near family connexions, in consenting to celebrate the approaching baptism of her child, by inviting some friends to a public entertainment, which it was conceived might be politically useful in giving an air of probability to the previous reports in De Valmont's favour.

Charles Darancourt, on this occasion, stood sponsor to the child; and at the banquet, which followed, the guests, after drinking to the health of the mother and her infant, filled a bumper-toast to the following sentiment:—"To the happy return of the absent father, and may his innocence be speedily established."

Colonel de Valmont soon afterwards prevailed on his daughter-in-law to become an inmate of his protecting roof; and, in the hope of attracting his son's notice, caused a paragraph to be inserted in various foreign newspapers, announcing the birth and baptism of the child, in a manner

calculated to arouse the tenderest emotions in the breast of its fugitive parent. The paragraph further contained minute particulars respecting the person of the child, and, indeed, of every important occurrence that had taken place since its birth.

It soon appeared that Theodore de Valmont had perused, and fully comprehended the object of the paragraph; for the editor of a Brussels newspaper received by post, from Switzerland, an anonymous letter, enclosing some stanzas, the meaning of which could not be mistaken. They were published in the journals of the day at the anonymous author's request, and the following is nearly their literal translation:—

BALLAD.

The new-born babe to its fond mother's breast
  Is tenderly clasp'd with a hallowed joy,
By kindred near it is warmly caressed,—
  But where is the sire of that lovely boy?

Time flies—and the guests are met in the hall,
  To greet the young stranger with flaxen hair;
But why doth a tear from its mother fall?
  The spouse of her bosom, alas! is not there!

The grandsire hath bless'd the sweet innocent child,
  And the grandam hath kissed it with secret pride;
But on its fair cheek hath its father e'er smiled?
  Ah, no!—to that father such bliss is denied!

Ye may trace the fleet hart, at th' ev'ning close,
  To its covert amid the silent glen;
But yon infant's sire, by friends and foes,
  Hath been sought in vain 'mid the haunts of men!

The bird of the forest, that wings its way
  Over heath, over mountain, and desert wild,
Returns to its nestlings; but who can say
  When the exile shall gaze on his only child?

Yet cheer thee, fair lady, and comfort thee,—
  Thy husband's proud spirit will never shrink;
And bethink thee, that Fortune, all blind though she be,
  Oft saves the lorn wretch on the precipice-brink.

Anxiety's fever will prey on the frame,
  When no cheering sun-shine bids hope good morrow;
But the manly soul gleams with a brighter flame
  The nearer its disk float the clouds of sorrow.

Time flies apace—the young mother is gone
  With the child to her husband's paternal home;
And her infant is doatingly gazed upon
  By the inmates of that friendly dome.

But its father! its father! O where doth he dwell?
  And how can he curb the fond wish soon to see
His heart's dearest treasures? 'Twere vain to tell—
  An evil star governs his destiny.

For several succeeding months the friends of the unfortunate Theodore continued to console themselves with the expectation of seeing him shortly restored to them. The expectation was vain! He came not, nor could

even the most remote tidings be heard of him. But when the sanguine hopes, which they had at one time entertained, seemed farthest from realization, a circumstance occurred at Brussels, which bade fair to lead to a complete discovery of the real murderer. One dark and tempestuous night, a cart was stopped at the city-barrier by a collector of the imposts. No contraband property was found; but, in searching the vehicle, a small trunk accidentally fell to the ground, and one of the wheels happening to pass over it broke it literally to pieces. The contents lay scattered on the road. It so chanced that the collector was the former valet of the deceased Chevalier, who had been seized and examined on suspicion of being his assassin. However innocent this young man might have ultimately *appeared* to be, the very magnitude of the crime itself with which he was charged, had, as is too frequently the case in similar instances, rendered him an object of secret mistrust to his fellow-citizens. With a character sullied, though not lost, he had been unable to obtain employment in any respectable family; and, but for the timely assistance of a distant relation, who had with difficulty procured him the situation of a revenue officer, must, in all probability, have been reduced to the bitter alternative of supporting himself on the precarious pittances of common charity, or perishing through want. Though engaged in a duty but ill calculated to admit of much benevolence in its performance, his nature had not yet been hardened by his office, nor completely soured by misfortune.

This man cheerfully assisted the carter in gathering up the property, but was not a little surprised at perceiving among the scattered articles a large diamond brooch of considerable value, which he well remembered having frequently seen on the person of the late Count de St. Maure. He examined the brooch again and again; he could not be mistaken in his recollection, for its extraordinary brilliancy had often excited his admiration in happier days. The immediate detention of the diamond and the carter was the natural result of this discovery.

The carter, when brought before a magistrate on the following morning, and required to give an account of himself, declared he had never even beheld the brooch until the moment when it was found by the collector, as he had merely been employed by a gentleman to carry trunks and various articles of furniture from Brussels to a country-house about a mile distant. Being asked the gentleman's name, he readily gave it as "Mons. Darancourt, the younger, residing in the Grand Square."

That young man was accordingly taken into custody, and ere long, absolutely brought to trial for the alleged murder, in conjunction with Theodore de Valmont, of the Count de St. Maure's family, and the robbery of his house.

The collector, after fully identifying the brooch, deposed that he had been present on a particular occasion, when the Chevalier had requested his father to make him a present of it; but that the Count excused himself from doing so, observing that it was the valued gift of a dear deceased friend, and that therefore he could not honourably part with it. It was further proved by a gentleman of respectable character, that he had seen the Chevalier de St. Maure at an early hour on the evening preceding his sudden disappearance and the murder of his parents, in the act of entering the prisoner's dwelling-house; and the only three domestics who resided with the young advocate at the time, further de-

posed, that their master had sent them from the city on various affairs that afternoon, to such distances as precluded the possibility of their return until a very late hour. There were, however, certain circumstances attending this singular case, which involved the evidence in considerable doubt; for the collector, it will be recollected, had been previously suspected of perpetrating the very crimes he now indirectly attempted to charge against the prisoner; and it was a remarkable fact, that the gentleman who declared he had seen the Chevalier enter Darancourt's house at the particular period mentioned, was on terms of avowed and open hostility with the young advocate, owing to a law-suit which had been recently pending between them.

Charles Darancourt, following the example of many distinguished individuals whom history had rendered famous, as having, in the proud consciousness of innocence, successfully defended themselves in person from the most malignant and unfounded charges, was his own counsel. He cross-examined the adverse witnesses with a modesty befitting the solemnity of the occasion, but at the same time, with an acuteness so pointed, a judgment so powerfully directed to the development of certain facts, which he made it appear to be his honest object to elicit, more for the sake of public justice than private interest, that the warmest feelings of the auditory accompanied him in every stage of his defence. Though the evidence remained unshaken, as confined to the principal charges against the prisoner; yet, upon some *minor* points, whether from their conviction of his innocence, from that indescribable alarm sometimes felt even by the most upright characters when under cross-examination before a public tribunal, from ignorance, or, in short, from whatever cause, the witnesses more than once contradicted, in some degree, their previous statements in their respective answers to the prisoner's questions. The collector confessed, with evident reluctance, the material fact of his having been himself previously charged with the foul crimes of which the prisoner stood accused, and was constrained to admit that of all men living, he should have least suspected *him* of the murder of the ill-fated Count and his family, judging from the numerous proofs of friendship towards them which the prisoner had formerly evinced.

The accused made an eloquent and impressive defence. He drew a pathetic and highly interesting picture from the scenes of his earliest days, up to the period when the murders were committed, to show how utterly improbable, nay, how morally impossible, it was that *he* should have destroyed, in the bloom of his youth, and highest hopes, the beloved companion of his infancy, the dearest friend of his heart. He solemnly declared that the brooch had been made a present to him by the Count de St. Maure, pointed out the contradictions of some of the witnesses who had given evidence against him, and earnestly implored the court to pause awhile in its judgment, and seriously reflect whether the testimony of such persons, and more especially of the collector, who had so reluctantly admitted, on cross-examination, the notorious fact of having been himself suspected as the murderer, could, with any colour of consistency, any shadow of regard to the divine attributes of justice, be for a single moment relied on, when the life and honour of a fellow-creature depended on the eventful issue. He concluded with a powerful address to the passions, which drew tears of sympathy from a crowd of anxious

auditors, and impressed by far the greater part of them with a confident hope of his acquittal.

The court had listened to the defence with the deepest attention. At one time it seemed to waver in its decision, and enter rather warmly into an argumentative discussion as to the judgment to be pronounced. This was hailed by many as decidedly indicative of the prisoner's acquittal; but if the scale of retributive justice had for a time been poised by the finger of doubt, it soon appeared weighed down in the balance against the prisoner. The intrinsic worth of so valuable a jewel, and the consequent improbability that it should have been made a present of by a person of avowedly moderate fortune, to one unconnected with the alleged donor by ties of kindred, added to the positive statements of the collector and several other witnesses, operated fatally against the accused. He was found guilty, and the awful sentence of death was accordingly passed on him.

This trial caused no small sensation at Brussels among all ranks of people. There were not wanting numbers who condemned the verdict as a most unjust one; and even those who were inclined to believe the accused might have been guilty, expressed a decided opinion that, under the doubtful circumstances of the case, an acquittal should have been pronounced.

The condemned man persisted in solemnly asserting his innocence; and his anxious parents, still clinging to the possibility of his obtaining a pardon, remained the prey of alternate hope and fear, which at times presented gleams of distant sunshine; at others, assumed the features of an approaching whirlwind, that threatened to blast at once, in its sweeping course, the only branch of its victim-family, and wither the parent-roots to their foundation! In the present distressing instance, however, no legislative interference took place. The night preceding the intended execution, the prisoner was indulged with pen, ink and paper, in his solitary cell. At length the fatal hour arrived appointed for the performance of the dreadful ceremony that was to check for ever, in its blooming spring-time, the mortal career of the accused, and usher his immortal soul before its maker. He was led to the scaffold, accompanied by the lamentations of an immense multitude, whose indignant feelings on the occasion were with difficulty overawed by surrounding soldiery. At the moment when all the prisoner's hopes of a respite had vanished, and he was in the instant expectation of his apparently inevitable doom, he drew from his bosom a small sealed packet, and delivering it to a priest who had attended to administer to him the consolations of religion in his last moments, requested that it might, immediately after his death, be delivered to his father. The priest had scarcely received the packet, ere a loud shout arose from the assembled populace, and a horseman, holding a parchment-document in his hand, was seen to dash through the opening ranks on a foaming courser, at full speed, accompanied by several gens-d'armes. Arrived at the scaffold, he threw himself from his horse, and hastily ascending the platform, produced an imperial order for respiting the execution.

The joyful huzzas of the spectators rent the air, and were increased almost to enthusiastic madness, when the messenger of the crown, removing a patch from his brow, which had completely disguised him, pre-

sented to their astonished gaze the well-known features of Theodore de Valmont! After warmly embracing the prisoner he made a sign to the multitude that he wished to address them; upon which their clamorous rejoicings were instantly succeeded by the most profound silence. Every eye glistened with anxiety, and the strikingly descriptive words of the Roman Poet, "*Intentique ora tenebant,*" were never more forcibly exemplified than at that moment. De Valmont spoke as follows:—

"Friends, countrymen, and fellow-citizens, permit one who has long been persecuted by unmerited misfortune, to claim, for a few minutes your favourable attention. The time fast approaches when a full and, I trust, most satisfactory explanation will be given to the public, of the dire necessity which compelled me to avoid, by a seemingly ignominious flight, the ordeal of a public trial. I have at length returned to my native city, when least expected, to meet my accusers, and submit my life and honour to the laws. The mere denial of an act, against which one's very nature revolts, is a condescension, which motives of personal safety *alone* would perhaps hardly justify; but a deep sense of what is due to public justice, to my family, friends, and connexions, and, lastly, to my own reputation, at length urges me to a task equally humiliating and distressing. I have remained, to the present moment, in utter ignorance of the mystery that involves the atrocious murders of which I stand accused, excepting, indeed, some information gleaned from the public papers respecting the trial and conviction, for the same alleged crimes, of my esteemed friend, Charles Darancourt, whose respite it has been my happiness to obtain.

"That he was equally innocent with myself I could not for a moment doubt; and actuated by motives of the sincerest regard for the beloved companion of my youth, I quitted the retreat which had so long sheltered me from the emissaries of the police, hastened to Paris, threw myself at the feet of the Emperor, avowed myself as the suspected accomplice of my friend's guilt, explained the motives which had previously induced me to fly from justice, and humbly implored his Majesty to grant a respite to my friend, and place myself under the strict surveillance of the police, until a further investigation should be made into a case so mysterious and unprecedented.

"My unvarnished tale prevailed; and his Majesty not only granted the respite implored at his imperial hands, but was further most graciously pleased to direct that I should be personally intrusted with its conveyance to Brussels.

"I now cheerfully resign myself, conformably to my own entreaty, and the order of the Emperor, to the officers of the police, under whose custody I shall remain a willing prisoner, in the still firm hope and persuasion, that not only my own innocence, but that of my friend, will yet be most clearly established."

The air once more resounded with the joyous shouts of the multitude at the conclusion of De Valmont's address; but the prisoner seemed little elated at what had passed; he was merely heard to ejaculate a few short and broken sentences, expressive of his gratitude to Providence for having thus rescued him from the imputed guilt and punishment of a robber and a murderer: then turning towards the priest, he mildly requested the restoration of his packet. The holy father was on the point of complying, but was prevented by an attendant gen-d'armes, who sud-

denly snatched the packet from his hand. The prisoner calmly expostulated on the illiberality of such an act, declaring, with the utmost composure, that the papers contained nothing more than some important requests to his father of a family nature, and a solemn re-assertion of his innocence. The gen-d'armes, however, obstinately refused to part with his prize, observing, that he should deliver it to his commanding officer, who would, he doubted not, act with all the caution and propriety which the delicacy of the case might require. The officer, upon receiving the packet, deemed it his duty to lay it before the government, who, in their turn, deliberated on the propriety of opening it and perusing its contents. Meanwhile, Theodore de Valmont, without being permitted to see his family, was placed under the strict surveillance of the police; and his friend, Darancourt, was remanded to prison, there to await the final pleasure of the crown. The latter protested, both by his friends and counsel, against the opening of his private papers, and more especially after his having been virtually pardoned by the Imperial order. He protested in vain: the packet was broken open, and its contents were carefully examined by the judges who had presided at his trial. In the mean time, a statement in writing was published by Theodore de Valmont, explanatory of the motives which had originally impelled his flight, a portion of which ran thus:—

"Heaven is my witness that I never entertained towards my unfortunate and murdered friend, the Chevalier de St. Maure, the slightest degree of hatred or malicious feeling. On the contrary, I loved him as a brother; and it was for his own sake alone, and not because I felt jealous of his attentions towards the lady to whom I was shortly afterwards united in marriage, and whose entire affections I was proudly conscious of possessing, that I so repeatedly expostulated with him on the folly and impropriety of his conduct. That an evil destiny peculiarly presided over my most innocent actions seemed past a doubt; since it was utterly vain for me to deny that the passages in some of my letters to the Chevalier, which had fallen into the hands of his relations, admitted of an inferrence to my disadvantage.

"The circumstances, too, of my having been seen near the house of his father on the fatal night of the assassinations, and the evasive answers I gave at one of my private examinations, to the very natural questions of 'Where had I been?' and 'Whom had I been visiting?' tended, I am now well aware, to confirm my apparent guilt. On the night in question, I had a stolen interview with my wife in the neighbourhood of her father's chateau, and remained with her till rather a late hour. It was on my return from this interview, that I passed by the house of my honoured friend, the Count de St. Maure, in my way to my own residence; when happening to meet two gentlemen with whom I was acquainted, I endeavoured to avoid them, lest idle curiosity should induce them to rally me on my solitary nocturnal perambulation, and inquire from whence I had come. My anxiety to evade the questions on this subject, whilst under examination, arose solely from motives of tenderness towards my wife, and the fear of acquainting her father with the fact of our marriage; and however it may be lamented that delicacy should have prevented my divulging a secret, the continuance of which subsequent events have rendered unnecessary, yet, upon reconsidering the subject, I cannot honestly blame myself for having so pertinaciously

followed a line of conduct, which, for her sake, I conceived it absolutely essential to adopt.

"The evidence given by my fille-de-chambre was strictly true; but it is equally true that the marks of blood she observed on my shirt-sleeve, were the consequence of an accident that befel me on the fatal night of the murders. "Whilst climbing a hedge, in order to gain the high road towards Brussels by a shorter cut than the usual track, the wrist of my right-hand was wounded by a sharp flint-stone. The wound, though slight, bled considerably; and to this circumstance alone was owing that appearance of blood on my shirt which very naturally excited a prejudice against me, and for which I endeavoured to account in vain before the police, who treated my defence as totally untrue, and the acmé of weak and vicious invention.

"Having thus failed to satisfy the public authorities by a plain statement of this most material part of my case, I felt the natural conviction that it would not be believed at my trial; and, indeed, looking to the many presumptive proofs of my apparent atrocity, which were, at best, to be explained away only by my single assertions, no reasonable doubt could be entertained, that if shortly put upon my trial, I should be condemned to suffer an ignominious death, on what would be erroneously considered most just, satisfactory, and conclusive grounds.

"Reflections such as these determined me to avoid the impending evil, if possible, by flight. I may, and doubtless shall, be blamed by many for having reasoned thus; yet the world at large may be assured that it was not to avoid death, but indelible dishonour, that I sought to elude the unmerited doom that would have been the certain consequence of my trial; because, had I been convicted and executed as a murderer, all inquiries into the dreadful affair which involved me in infamy would have for ever ceased; and thus would the innocent have suffered, while the guilty might have escaped with impunity the just punishment which I persuaded myself would, sooner or later, be awarded to the atrocious author of those mysterious murders. It had been my determination never to revisit my native land, unless the positive proofs of my innocence could be established; but when, in my secret retirement, I heard of the cruel fate that threatened my beloved friend, Charles Darancourt, as an alleged accomplice with me in the crimes of murder and robbery, my own safety no longer remained a question for consideration, and at my imminent personal peril, I hastened to avow myself as his alleged accomplice, and happily obtained a respite of his sentence at the feet of the Emperor."

Shortly after the publication of the above statement, the contents of the packet, delivered to the priest by Darancourt on the scaffold, were laid before the public, under the sanction of the police; and the following is their abridged substance, as extracted from the original document. After reciting the conversation between the prisoner Darancourt and the Chevalier de St. Maure, *on the subject of masonry*, which, it will be recollected, has been detailed in the early part of this tale, the Government Exposé proceeded thus:—

"It appears, by the confession of the prisoner, Darancourt, that it had been agreed between him and the deceased Chevalier, that not a syllable should be mentioned to any third party, Theodore de Valmont himself

even not excepted, respecting the intention of the Chevalier to become a member of the masonic society; and that the latter should call on Darancourt the following afternoon, have some of the mysteries of the art explained to him, as far as they might be with propriety, and that they should then proceed together to the city-lodge.

"The Chevalier was true to his appointment; he knocked at Darancourt's door within a few seconds of the precise period fixed on, and was admitted by the young advocate in person, who observed that he had adopted the precautionary measure of sending the servants from the house, that no human being might overhear the mysterious explanation intended to be given. They adjourned to Darancourt's private library, where, he observed, the prelude to the grand inauguration was to commence.

"In the middle of the room stood a table, on each side of which had been driven an iron staple in a parallel direction. The figure of a man, considerably exceeding the proportions of nature, had been chalked out in its centre; a small velvet cushion lay within the oval designed for the head, and an instrument resembling a compass, rudely sketched also in chalk, and opening immediately over the figure, extended its points on each side of it below the feet. Darancourt now spoke as follows:—"You are doubtless surprised to see all this strange apparatus, and perhaps already suspect that I am merely acting an idle farce, by thus attempting to convert what you, of course, will term the ridiculous into the sublime; but have a little patience, and I will soon convince you that there is more in the acting than you at present imagine." The Chevalier replied that, for his part, he had always considered what was termed free-masonry as one of those mysteries only calculated to excite the curiosity of weak minds; that he had consented to be initiated merely in compliance with his friend's request, and already began to repent of his folly. "Well," rejoined his companion, "you shall shortly have reason to change your sentiments." He then proceeded to explain that certain forms were essential to be gone through, and that one of them, in particular, consisted in the novice's placing himself within certain chalked outlines, similar to those sketched on the oak table, and in resting his head on a cushion for a few moments. He went on to observe, in reference to the novice's taking his temporary station within the chalked outlines, that this was symbolical of one of the society's principal maxims, which directed its members to keep within compass; and that with respect to the velvet cushion ——. Here the Chevalier impatiently interrupted him, by observing, that he had already heard more than enough to satisfy himself of the extreme folly of the whole proceeding, and was accordingly about to leave the room, when the positive assurance of his friend, *upon his honour*, that no joke whatever was intended, induced him, against his better judgment, to place himself on the table, and rest his head on the cushion as desired. In an instant Darancourt turned some secret spring attached to his machinery, when the Chevalier found himself so firmly fixed in his position, that he could move no part of his body except his arms. Feeling naturally provoked at this, he expostulated with Darancourt, who, however, still treated the matter lightly, and hastily proceeded to bind a piece of cord round each of his friend's wrists, fasten them to the iron staples, and in this manner pinion him to the table. The Chevalier now began to feel something like alarm, or, at least, in-

dignation, and demanded of Darancourt what he could possibly mean by taking such a liberty as this? He was answered merely by an assurance that the ceremony would be speedily finished. Darancourt then taking a small knitting-needle, sharpened at one end, from a cupboard, hastily opened the waistcoat and shirt-frill of his unresisting friend, and, with a smile of ineffable placidity, placing the point of the needle against his left side, thrust it at once between the ribs into the heart! The unfortunate Chevalier uttered a groan, in which the sensations of extreme surprise and bodily suffering seemed struggling for supremacy, gave a momentary shudder, and immediately expired!

"The murderer withdrew the knitting-needle from the heart of the deceased, put it into the fire, wiped away the few drops of blood which had oozed out from the small external puncture, and hid the body in an adjoining closet. At midnight he stole silently to the closet with a dark lantern, and took from the pocket of the deceased a knife, having his initials on the handle, together with a key which the deceased had been in the well-known habit of carrying about him when he visited at evening parties, in order to enter his father's house at any hour, without troubling its peaceable inmates. Darancourt then conveyed the body to a neighbouring well and threw it in. From thence he hastened to the mansion of the Count de St. Maure, softly unlocked the front door, and entering with all possible caution, crept to the bed-chamber of that unfortunate nobleman and his wife, whom he butchered in their sleep, by cutting their throats with the identical knife taken from the pocket of their equally unfortunate son .Two female domestics and a servant-man, who slept in adjoining apartments, shared similar fates. The murderer having thus been left in undisturbed possession of the house, plundered it at his leisure of its chief valuables, consisting of family jewels, cash, and a bond for 5,000 francs, which he had some time previously executed to the Count for money kindly advanced to him out of the slender resources of that nobleman, to enable him the more vigorously to prosecute his studies. He then decamped safely with his booty, leaving the Chevalier's knife on the stairs with an intention sufficiently obvious. He returned to his own house unperceived by mortal eye, carefully secreted his plunder, and retired to his bed in the full persuasion that his guilt was beyond the reach of all human detection!

"Such is the history of these most foul and barbarous murders and robbery, accompanied by a full explanation of the particular objects the murderer had in view by their perpetration. It appears that a deeply-concealed, though long cherished, desire to obtain the hand of Mademoiselle Duplessis, had determined him to destroy not only her favoured lover, Theodore de Valmont, but the Chevalier as well, who had unfortunately made him the confident of his passion for that young lady. Though his principal object was to murder his friend De Valmont, he hesitated not to doom the Chevalier to the same fate as a possible obstacle to his ambition. Chance having first placed the latter in his power, he disposed of his victim in the manner already narrated, fully intending to sacrifice the former on the first favourable opportunity. The murder of the Count and Countess de St. Maure was the result of a cool and deliberate calculation of the advantages to be obtained by it, while the murderer was yet in the act of conveying the Chevalier's body to the well. Of these, the desire to recover and cancel his bond to the Count, and the artful wish to

leave an impression on the public mind that the Chevalier had been the destroyer of his parents, were the most conspicuous. The robbery of the house had not, it should seem, been contemplated until the massacre of its inmates held out a temptation too powerful for his mean and cold-blooded policy to resist.

"A voluntary confession of his unexampled perfidy, proving beyond the possibility of doubt the entire innocence of the fugitive Theodore de Valmont, is contained in a certain document in Darancourt's own hand-writing, which it appears he drew up in his cell the evening before his intended execution, and delivered to the officiating priest the following morning on the scaffold, at the moment he expected to suffer a well-merited death.

"Had the prisoner refrained from giving up the document but a few seconds longer, his diabolical crimes would most probably have remained for ever doubtful; as it is now ascertained that the respite, which immediately followed its delivery, was privately intended by his imperial Majesty as the precursor of a gracious pardon."

On the appointed day, the self-convicted murderer was a second time conducted to the scaffold, and consigned to an ignominious death, amid the bitter execrations of the same populace who had so recently exulted in his temporary respite. Thus perished one of the most accomplished hypocrites that ever disgraced the name of man.

Numerous public rejoicings in Brussels and its neighbourhood, together with the warm congratulations of all ranks of people, at the happy return of the much-injured fugitive, Theodore de Valmont, and the undoubted proofs of his innocence, afforded a balm to his wounded honour which amply repaid him for past misfortunes.

A fond and faithful husband, an affectionate son, a tender father, idolized by his amiable wife, and beloved and respected by all who knew him, the previously suspected robber and assassin enjoyed in the bosom of his family as perfect bliss as falls to the lot of mortality; and if his cares for a considerable period increased with each successive year, a fact that cannot be denied, it was only because his adored Emily successively presented him with an additional and lovely pledge of their mutual affection.

Inner Temple. G. R.

EARTHLY DIGNITIES.

The pageants and the pomps of kings
Are vain and transitory things,
  Dazzling in darkness.—They disperse,
When sober thought looks calmly through
Delusion's mist of twilight dew
  Which hangs around the universe.

The accidents and vanities
Upsetting those, enthroning these—
  Careless who stand, or rise, or fall;
Teach us how false, how little worth,
The idle dignities of earth;
  Inconstant, unsubstantial all.

AGRICULTURAL AND COMMERCIAL RESOURCES OF EGYPT.

Second Article.[1]

The Viceroy of Egypt, Mohammed Ali, does not neglect any of the various branches of industry, both agricultural and manufacturing, for which the soil and climate of his country are most favourable: he has formed an establishment for making saltpetre, of which, however, little has yet been sold, (although it is said to cost less than that made in India,) as he requires all the present produce for his own manufacture of gunpowder. Of the natron, which is formed in the Great Lakes near Alexandria in large quantities, without any artificial assistance, from 1000 to 1500 tons were formerly exported to France and Italy, for the use of the soap-makers; but it does not now find its way there in large quantities, being superseded by the *soude-factice*. It has been tried in small quantities for the same purpose in England, and, no doubt, would be generally used, but the duty is nearly equal to the whole price for which it would sell.

The Pasha has lately planted upwards of a million of mulberry trees, the silk-worms on which are taken care of by a colony of Syrians. The trees are watered with immense labour, the water being raised out of the canal by wheel-pumps, worked by cattle. Mohammed Ali appears to have a fondness for the sciences, as well as for commerce; and if he will take lessons in them from the French and English who visit and settle in Egypt, he may rapidly raise the industry and the character of his subjects. The communications with the interior are much more safe and easy than they used to be; the wandering tribes of Bedouins are kept in subjection, and the intercourse with the adjacent kingdoms of Nubia and Abyssinia is assuming a more peaceful character.

One of the principal articles, the cultivation of which has lately attracted the attention of the Pasha, is flax-seed; the mode of sowing and gathering the plants, and separating the seed from the stem, and preparing them both for sale, are particularly described by Mengin. The Egyptian flax-seed is very large, and much esteemed for making oil, but the quantity exported was trifling, until about two years since, when a few cargoes were sent to England. Last year 22,000 quarters were brought from Alexandria to Great Britain, and in future, the quantity is likely to be much more considerable. The whole produce of flax in Egypt is estimated at about 50,000 quintals, of which about two-thirds are exported to Italy and Turkey; the remainder is used in Egypt, and the cloths produced from it are very strong, and well woven; it might probably be imported for about four-pence per yard; and at the reduced duty of 25 per cent. now fixed on foreign linens, will, no doubt, become an article of import to Great Britain.

Indigo has been cultivated and manufactured with some success, and promises to become an important article of commerce, as soon as the preparation of it is managed in the same manner as it is in India, and

[1] For the First Article on this subject, see the Number of the *Oriental Herald* for November, Vol. VII. p. 258.

provided the Pasha devotes sufficient capital to that purpose. In different parts of Egypt, the villagers dye their woollen and other cloths with their own indigo; and in one of the remote oases, which was visited a few years since by Mr. Edmonstone, he mentions seeing this article manufactured.

The climate and soil of Egypt are well adapted to the growth of madder roots, of which some quantity has already been brought to Europe, as well as of safflower, which is produced in large quantities, and resembles that imported from Bombay; also of senna and shumac. Mengin says that the export of safflower, which is monopolized by the Pasha, amounts to 4000 quintals annually; part of which comes to England; but it is not so good as that which is brought from India.

Tobacco might probably become an article of export, if the quality and mode of preparing it were better understood; at present the growth is considerable, amounting to about 40,000 quintals, (or nearly 2000 tons,) of a mild flavour, and it is nearly all consumed in the country.

Above 120,000 quarters of rice, (of a quality superior to that of India, and more resembling the Italian,) appears to be annually produced: the care and industry with which this article, as well as many others, are watered by artificial cuts, is remarkable. About 80,000 quarters of the rice are exported to Turkey, Syria, Arabia, and the Ionian Isles; the remainder is used in Egypt; it is principally grown near Damietta and Rosetta.

The vine and olive trees are represented as partially cultivated in the province of Fayoum, between Upper and Lower Egypt, where they flourished abundantly in ancient times; but it does not appear that the wines are approved by European travellers, or that the olives are an advantageous cultivation. The grapes are much eaten in the country by the higher classes, and all consume a great quantity of melons, which grow with surprising rapidity in every part of the country.

The growth and manufacture of sugar is at present principally carried on in the province of Mynyeh in Upper Egypt; though the machinery for pressing out the juices of the cane are as simple as those of India, the processes of boiling and clearing it are more like those practised in the Western world; the qualities produced are of three or four descriptions; and for the use of the rich, a double-refined sugar is made, which is called *moukarrar-el-moukurrar*. A refinery, after the European fashion, is established by the Pasha, under the management of an Englishman, who also distills the rum in the same works. About 20,000 quintals of the best sugar made in Egypt, is exported to Europe, (principally to Turkey and Italy,) and about 40,000 or 50,000 are consumed in the country for syrups and sweetmeats, which the people are very fond of, as well as in domestic cookery.

Cotton promises to be the most profitable, and is already a most important, article of export from this land of the Pharoahs. Until the year 1822, the growth of this article was merely a very inferior quality, and was confined to Lower Egypt; it amounted to about 30,000 or 40,000 bags, of two quintals each; the produce was chiefly consumed in domestic fabrics; some was also sent to Italy. The Pasha, however, finding the Brazil cotton to grow well, planted, in 1822, a large district in Upper Egypt, as well as the country near Rosetta and other parts of the Delta; and the growth of the inferior cotton has since been much diminished.

The fine cotton now grown is called *maks*, (which is an Arabian word meaning *superfine*,) and of this, 20,000 to 25,000 bags were grown in 1822, of which about 10,000 were sent to France, and a small quantity, about 3000, on trial, to this country. In 1823 the crop amounted to 70,000 or 80,000 bags, of which 35,000 came to England last year, and rather more was shipped to France. The crop which is now shipping, is estimated at 150,000 to 160,000 bags of 220lbs. each.

The colour of the cotton, and in some degree also, the staple, has been injured by drying the pods in ovens previous to picking the cotton out of them; this practice has been, however, strictly forbidden by the Pasha, in consequence of the representations of his agents. In a country where there is little or no rain, such a process appears preposterous. Since the above was written, the extent of the crop has been found to be only 120,000 bags, of which 75,000 have been sent to England, 25,000 to France, 18,000 to Italy, and 10,000 to the other ports of Europe; and a considerable quantity having been transshipped from France and Italy to Liverpool and London, the total import to England will be nearly 100,000 bags.

As this description of cotton, (which is now coming into general use, and ranks in value above the bulk of the North American cotton,) was currently sold in Alexandria at about sevenpence per lb., and paid the Pasha a good profit at that price, it has been concluded that it can be produced cheaper in Egypt than the cottons of the United States and other parts with which it comes into competition, and that it will furnish such an increased supply as permanently to reduce the price of this important commodity to our manufacturers. It is not indeed to be inferred that because the cultivators of Egypt are worse fed and clothed, and live altogether (as it is probable they do) at a less expense than the slaves of North America and Brazil, that the produce of their labour can be brought to market cheaper; for the Egyptians are decidedly a feebler race than the negroes, and their labour, consequently, less efficient; nor is it to be supposed they can be forced to labour harder than the negro slaves, although it be true (as has been alleged) that they are driven to their work by the bayonet, and that each district where cotton is grown, is required to produce a fixed quantity in each season. But in Egypt there is a considerable portion of the population who have hitherto lived with little labour, (owing to the great fertility of the soil, and the limited extent of their wants,) whom the Pasha may force to cultivate this article to a great extent for his benefit; and by clearing and irrigating large tracts of land near the Nile, which have lain neglected for a long time, he may force a growth of 200,000 or 300,000 bags in a few years.

The present crop is rather better cleaned and packed; it is coming into more extensive consumption both in France and England; and it is likely to become a most important article of commerce. There have been seen in Manchester, 120's weft made entirely from it; and the gentleman who spun it, states, that he had no doubt it would be extensively used for good twist, either by itself, or mixed with Pernambuco and American cotton. The climate of Egypt is particularly well adapted to the growth of this plant, being so little exposed to the devastating hurricanes, rains, frosts, and destruction by insects, which do so much damage in America and India. And there is no doubt that the Europeans who are so much interested in its culture, will effectually instruct the Pasha's

agents in cleaning and packing it according to the most approved methods. It has been proposed to erect a lazaretto at Alexandria, to receive the cotton, and air it according to the established practice in Smyrna, Leghorn, Malta, and other places that trade largely in goods supposed to convey the contagion of the plague. The inconvenience which has hitherto been suffered by the prevailing apprehensions on this subject, appears likely, however, to be very much diminished, in this country at least, by an alteration in our quarantine laws, resulting from a conviction that those apprehensions have been greater than the nature of the disorder justifies.

Besides the articles mentioned in the preceding pages, the following are the most important articles of commerce in Egypt :—

Gum benzoin, about 300 cases, chiefly shipped to Turkey. Mocha coffee, 70,000 quintals. Hides: buffalo, 100,000; cow and ox, 150,000 ; camel, 6000 : nearly all consumed in Turkey and Egypt. Stuffs of silk, 6000 pieces; silk and cotton, 20,000 pieces : brought from India, Syria, and Persia, and chiefly consumed in Turkey and Egypt. Gums, brought from India and Sennaar and Arabia, and shipped to England and other ports of Europe. Wool, linens, and muslins from India, brought down the Nile, and principally consumed in Egypt. Mother-o'-pearl from the Red Sea, 60,000 okes, (2 lbs. each,) of which three-fourths is used in Egypt, &c. Ostrich feathers, (Jeddah and Darfour,) exported to Europe. Pepper from India, 8000 quintals, principally used in Turkey. Salammoniac, 900 quintals, principally used in Turkey. Packing-cloths, 200,000 pairs, made in Egypt, and principally used in Turkey. Senna from Nubia, 1000 quintals, shipped to Europe. Cotton cloths, India, 28,000 pieces, consumed in Turkey and Egypt. Besides aloes, opium, cardamoms, shells, bark, wax, and elephants' teeth, from Nubia, Sennaar, India, &c.

The *imports* it is impossible to give with accuracy in this paper; they consist of English calicoes and light cottons, earthenware, lead, iron, and a variety of iron, copper and brass manufactures, glass, and some sorts of woollen cloth, pins and needles, nails, paper, thread, and watches. French woollens and ornamental fabrics, as well as wines. From Italy, a vast quantity of beads, which are distributed into the interior of Africa and Arabia, in exchange for the produce of those parts. And from Holland, mirrors, tiles, cambrics, lace, &c. Judging from the long list, and the quantity of European manufactures imported annually into Egypt, one might conclude they had as great a taste for the elegancies and ornaments of civilized life as they had in the time of Ptolemy or Cleopatra.

The following table of the trade of Alexandria is copied from a paper printed there on the 1st of January last :—

COMMERCE OF ALEXANDRIA IN EGYPT IN 1824.

Fifty-four ships sailed for Great Britain and Ireland with—

42,139 bales of cotton 21,727 qrs. of linseed	of which	45 ships with 38,900 bales of cotton, and 13,500 ardebs or quarters of linseed, sent for account of the Pasha, by two houses, viz. Briggs and Co., and Francis Lobin, agent to Violtier and Co.

386 bales of flax; 47 bales of senna; 36 caffases safflower; 253 bales of madder roots; 110 casks of gum arabic; and 3 casks of drugs.

Besides the commodities already mentioned, the Egyptians carry on a considerable traffic in slaves, which are brought down by the caravans from Nubia, Abyssinia, &c., and are sold in Cairo.

Ships arrived in Alexandria during a period of Three Years.

	Austrian and Tuscan.	Danish.	French.	English, Ionian, and American.	Roman.	Russian.	Sardinian.	Sicilian.	Dutch.	Spanish.	Swedish.	Total.
1822......	292	15	57	223	—	10	143	28	3	54	76	901
1823.	351	25	52	230	—	59	98	12	1	24	81	933
1824......	600	13	111	251	2	100	77	14	5	70	47	1290

In Port 1st January 1824 166

1456

Sailed during the year 1199
Sold .. .. 21 —— 1220

Remained in Port 1st January 1825 .. 236

Among the Vessels which Sailed from Alexandria in 1824, there were:

For Amsterdam 4	For Liverpool 30	For Mahon 20
Antwerp 1	London 22	St. Petersburgh . . 2
Dublin 1	Leghorn 102	Rotterdam 1
Genoa & Varignan 53	Marseilles 97	Trieste 57
Gibraltar 4	Malta 57	Venice & Fiume . 9
Hull 1		

From these tables it appears that there are no ships trading with Egypt under the Egyptian or the Turkish flags; and that the extensive trade carried on between Egypt and Turkey, as well as the Ionian Isles, is principally carried on in Austrian and Tuscan, but partly also in English, Ionian, American, and Russian bottoms. The art of navigation, indeed, appears to be almost lost in Egypt; we cannot be surprised that they are not ship-builders, since they have little timber of a suitable description, but it is remarkable that they should have so much declined in the science and art of navigation.

Ships *arrived* of the following flags in 1824 and 1823, and *sailed*:

	In 1824.	In 1823.
Austrian and Tuscan	600	351
Danish	13	25
French	111	52
English, Ionian, and American . .	251	230
Holland	5	1
Papal	2	0
Russian	100	59
Sardinian	77	98
Sicilian	14	12
Spanish	70	24
Swedish	47	81
	1290	933

Ships sailed from Alexandria in 1824 were for the following 30 places:—

	Austrian.	Danish.	French.	English.	Dutch.	Papal.	Russian.	Sardinian.	Sicilian.	Spanish.	Swedish.	Total.
Archipelago . . .	108		4	59			49	15	1	7	1	244
Amsterdam . . .					1							1
Antwerp		3			1							4
Barbary	10		1	2						1		14
Cattaro	1											1
Constantinople . .	55			2			2			1		60
Damietta	14		3	2			2	1	1			23
Dublin				1								1
Durazzo	3										4	7
Dulciguo	1						2	32	3			38
Genoa	10			2							3	15
Gibraltar				3				10	4			17
Hull				1			18					19
Ionian Isles . . .	147		10	53		1	10	11		30		262
Candia				1			1			1		3
Cyprus	6		1	2			1	1				11
Rhodes	1	1								1		3
Liverpool				30								30
London				22				2	2		28	54
Leghorn	40	8	1				1			2		52
Marseilles	2	2	82					2			9	97
Malta	18	1		33						18	1	71
Mahon	1								1		1	31
Petersburgh . . .												2
Rotterdam					1		6	1			2	10
Smyrna	19							2		4		25
Syria	39	1	9	11			2					62
Salonica	11											11
Trieste	47	4							1		3	55
Venice	8	1							1			10
	541	21	111	224	3	1	94	76	13	50	52	1233

When we consider the heavy taxes imposed by the Pasha on the produce of the land, and the general monopoly which he has of all the exports, from which sources we find he raises a revenue of nearly 2,000,000*l.* sterling, (according to the statement of Monsieur Mengin, who gives all the particulars with great minuteness,) we are surprised that the commerce and exportable produce of the country are so considerable. The duty on manufactured goods imported is only three per cent. on the value. Merchandise destined to be shipped to Europe, pays three per cent. at Cairo; and all the goods brought down from Sennaar and Darfour, such as gums, slaves, &c., pay a small duty in transitu;[2] and this trade being left open to individual competition, the dealers come from Cairo and Rosetta to purchase them, and would, no doubt, buy more largely if the inhabitants were permitted to sell all the produce of their industry freely in exchange. In the important article of cotton he has paid the growers only about threepence to fourpence per pound, and fixed about twice this price to the purchasers; sometimes he has refused to sell at all, preferring to consign it for sale to Europe, under the direction of Mr. Briggs, a British merchant long resident there, and a Swiss house, resident at Leghorn, Messrs. Viollier and Co. These two

[2] Vide Mengin.

houses are in the habit of advancing to the Pasha large sums before the shipments are made; in this way it is probable that one-half, or even two-thirds of the last crop, will be consigned to France, Italy, and England, this year; and as the prices rose very much in the spring, they may probably produce a return of considerably more than he could have obtained for it, had he sold it on the spot. This will, no doubt, induce him to make efforts to increase the growth; and possibly double the quantity of the last crop may be produced this year, as he will probably make his subjects plant cotton instead of wheat, on account of the low price of the latter in the south of Europe.

Extravagant taxation and monopolies are not the only errors which the Governor of Egypt has committed: he has inundated the country with his treasury-bills, a paper-currency, which has had the natural effect of driving away the metallic currency, and, by altering the prices of commodities, deranging the course of industry.

The great amount of his military force (dispersed over all the provinces) and his naval equipments, consume a very large portion of his income; his court, harems, and palaces, are also extremely expensive, being large and magnificent; and we may state the charge of his army, navy, and household at one-half, at least, of his whole revenue; the remainder is expended in large buildings for magazines and manufactures, and in canals and supposed improvements.

The Pasha having, however, accomplished his object of subduing the neighbouring tribes of Arabs who infested the country, and put down the Mamelouk chieftains and beys who preyed upon the provinces that were committed to their government, has turned his active and energetic mind so decidedly to commerce, and has shown so many proofs of a desire to make the country rich and powerful, that we may reasonably expect, if he lives ten or fifteen years, or if his successors adopt his views, and improve on them, (as we may hope they will, from their intercourse with Europeans,) that the trade of Egypt will become much more extensive and beneficial than it is at present, and that the population may advance considerably in numbers and civilization. They appear to be very capable of education and improvement, and remarkably quick in receiving instruction.[3]

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[3] There is no evidence that the ancient Egyptians possessed much more strength of character than the moderns. In the earliest ages, it is true, they made an extraordinary progress in astronomy and some branches of mathematics, as well as in chemistry and the arts; this cannot be doubted; the proofs of it are decisive: and there is reason to think their laws were, during the period of their greatest renown, enacted and executed for the benefit of the mass of the people, as well as of the governors and privileged classes. Their stupendous temples, although more grand than beautiful, attest a considerable advancement in wealth and refinement, as well as in some mechanic arts; and without receiving, with implicit confidence, the accounts left by the Greek writers of their wonderful attainments in the sciences generally, we cannot but regard this ancient people as possessing, at some remote period, a decisive character of genius and industry. But it appears that, as the priests exercised the supreme power, so they were almost the sole possessors of all the higher branches of knowledge: even the kings were under their control, and the people were merely their political slaves. They divided the people into distinct classes, which were arbitrarily perpetuated by hereditary descent, as in India; and thus, whilst they were forced to pursue some employment, they were discouraged from any endeavour to improve their situation, and were not allowed

They reside chiefly in villages; the number of these in Upper and Lower Egypt is stated to be above 3500, (a greater number, in proportion to the population, than Ireland contains.) M. Mengin thinks it would be easy to make elementary instruction general in Egypt, the children being exceedingly docile and apt to be taught. The method of teaching adopted in the schools which he visited at Boulac and elsewhere, gives great facility to the masters, as well as to the scholars in learning to read and write. The master not only makes the children read aloud in large classes, dictating to them all at once, and making them repeat the lesson simultaneously, but he makes them, at the same time, write the sentence with chalk on a solid black board. "Ils lisent à haute voix, tous en mesure et au signal du maitre; et de plus ils écrivent la leçon en la prononçant; cette prononciation est cadencée, comme les mouvements des élèves." The Pasha sent an officer to Paris, four or five years since, to procure information as to the French and English methods of instructing the lower classes; and this individual took back not only a variety of books, instruments, and utensils connected with the arts of life, but several artisans and artists of different trades. In the great school at Boulac, the scholars are taught mathematics, drawing, and the French and Italian languages. The latter is much spoken at Cairo and Alexandria; and in it the Franks generally carry on their verbal and written intercourse with the Native and Greek merchants.

to possess land. One hundred thousand men were employed for twenty years in constructing the largest of the three pyramids near Cairo; but they were merely paid for their labour by a scanty pittance of radishes and onions. And we may suppose all the other works, whose existence indicates a great degree of wealth and science, to have been accomplished without the bulk of the people being *very* civilized.

It has been said, that the principles of a polished people will influence their latest posterity; but in the present character of the inhabitants of this interesting country, we cannot discover any thing worthy of the descendants of such a nation. If they were ever much civilized, they have lost their ancient character more than the inhabitants of India, or even Greece. The ruins of their vast pyramids and obelisks, their gorgeous tombs and temples, only attest that Egypt excelled other nations of antiquity in the grand designs of its priests and kings; they prove nothing as to the general state of society. The importance of this country as an appendage to the Roman empire at the commencement of the Christian era, especially as a granary for the supply of the Roman people, may be judged of from the remarks made by Tacitus in the second book of his 'Annals,' from which the following is an extract:

"In the consulship of Marcus Silanus and Lucius Norbanus, Germanicus made a progress into Egypt to view the monuments of antiquity so much celebrated in that country. For this journey the good of the province was his pretext. In fact, by opening the public granaries, he reduced the price of corn; and by pursuing popular measures, he gained the good-will of the inhabitants. He appeared in public without a guard, his feet uncovered after the Greek fashion, and the rest of his costume was also Greek. Tiberius, as soon as he received advices from Egypt, condemned this affectation. Another point appeared to him of greater moment. Among the regulations established by Augustus, it was a maxim of state-policy that Egypt should be considered as forbidden ground, which neither the senators nor Roman knights should presume to tread without the express permission of the prince. This was, no doubt, a wise precaution: it was seen that whoever made himself master of Alexandria with the strongholds, which, by sea and land, were the keys of the whole province, might, with a small force, make head against the power of Rome, and by blocking up that plentiful corn country, reduce all Italy to a famine. Germanicus had, without authority, entered Alexandria; and this, to the jealous temper of Tiberius, was little short of a state crime."

The quantity of good land which is now neglected in almost all the provinces, is represented to be very extensive, and capable of easy cultivation; the climate is superior to most tropical climates; the richness of the soil (which produces, as we have shown, a succession of crops with little or no manure, excepting the mud of the Nile,) is not surpassed in any country; the facility of water-communication is very great, even to the cataracts in the furthest provinces of Upper Egypt, 600 miles from Alexandria; and nothing seems to be wanting, indeed, but a moderate and steady government which will encourage industry and the extension of the arts of civilized life, establish schools for medicine and other sciences, now but little cultivated, and give security to property, to make Egypt a very rich, populous, and happy country.

It cannot indeed be expected that manufactures should flourish, excepting the coarse linens and woollens, and other very simple fabrics for their domestic use, earthenware of a strong and useful description, (for which the tenacious mud of the Nile is well adapted,) and sal-ammoniac, saltpetre, and some other alkaline products; because the country contains no internal supply of coals, nor streams of water, nor forests for timber, nor much capital, and the climate is unfavourable for great exertion. Nor can steam-engines, or complicated machinery, be introduced with effect, as the fine work is soon injured by the hot winds, which cause the wood to crack, and by the sands, which impede the wheel-work. It is indeed surprising that so many cloths should be woven so excellent in quality and cheap as they appear to be, since their mode of weaving is, by all accounts, more rude even than that of the Hindoos. Belzoni informs us, that he saw the weavers working with the warps suspended to the boughs of the trees, and passing the weft through with their hands: this was, indeed, in one of the rudest parts of the country. Near Siout, the manufactures are better, and a rude and coarse kind of loom is used, probably inferior to that used by the ancient Egyptians, who, it appears, wove very fine linen and cotton cloths.*

But if the people were better educated and encouraged in their taste for European manufactures and produce, by securing to them the fruits of their labour, they could easily produce three or four times the quantity they now raise for European consumption, of the various articles above enumerated, (the most important of which are now raised in America and the East and West Indies,) and they might greatly extend their commerce with Persia, Arabia, and Syria, by a coasting trade in the Arabian Gulf; with Nubia and Abyssinia, both by the Nile and the Red Sea; and with Darfour, and other interior kingdoms of Africa, by the river Nile, and the numerous caravans of camels, which travel with surprising economy. Through Egypt, it is possible, the sale of British manufactures may be extended to Persia, Arabia, and parts of Syria; but this can only be by means of the merchants of the country. It appears highly improbable that the Pasha of Egypt will encourage, or even permit, the English, or any European merchants, to open a direct trade

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* There has been some dispute whether the cloths manufactured by the ancient Egyptians were made of linen or cotton, or both. It is probable they were made from both these articles; and the best evidence of this is, perhaps, derived from the examination of the wrapping-cloths found in the mummy-cases. —[See Dr. Granville's description of the Anatomy of an Ancient Mummy, read before the Royal Society, in the last volume of its Transactions.]

with the Eastern nations, without making them pay a heavy tax for the transit of the merchandise through his dominions. Nor is there any stronger reason to expect an extensive trade by the ancient route of the Isthmus of Suez and the Red Sea with India; for even if the canal across that isthmus were again opened, there would be little saving of time, and none whatever of expense; while the risk would be, on the whole, as great as it is by the present route of the Cape of Good Hope. The Red Sea has, in modern times, been occasionally traversed by large ships; but it is not at all likely, that a canal-communication could be made across the Isthmus of Suez which would supersede the necessity of a transshipment of the goods, except at an expense of locks and flood-gates, which the profits of the trade would not repay. Though Herodotus, Pliny, and other writers, lead us to believe that the ancient canal did convey the largest vessels of the Egyptians to Suez, there is reason to think the merchandise was always transshipped there. The height of the Red Sea above the level of the Mediterranean is known to be about thirty feet; (see 'Description de l'Egypte,' and 'Lepere's Memoires sur le Canal des deux mers'.) From the surveys made by the French savans during their possession of Egypt, and the learned discussions carried on by them as to the practicability and advantage of restoring the old canal, the remains of which they traced across the isthmus, from Suez to the branch of the Nile nearest to that place, a distance of about seventy miles, we should be led to suppose that this grand work might be easily accomplished; and as the whole country through which it passes is a level, so low as to be filled out of the Nile during the rising of its waters, there would be little difficulty, they allege, in keeping it supplied with water. These writers compute that the quantity of good land which would be reclaimed and cultivated at a moderate expense, if the canal were re-opened, would amply repay all the expense incurred. But, although these speculations might be safely indulged if the country were in the hands of a European government, they are not likely to be seriously undertaken as a profitable investment of capital, while Egypt is ruled by a Mohammedan Pasha; and it is not probable that the Pasha himself would lend his assistance to accomplish it, even if his revenues were sufficiently large for this purpose, because it would enable the European merchants to carry on a direct trade with Arabia, Persia, and the kingdoms of Africa that lie on the west side of the Arabian Gulf, which is now carried on, almost exclusively, through Egypt by the Copts, Greeks, Jews, and other merchants of that country.

Judging from the observations of travellers, and the measures adopted by Mohammed Ali, whatever we may think of his talents, we do not perceive in him any strong indications of a disposition to improve the situation of the people over whom he reigns. If he were influenced less by monopolizing views and military conquest, and more by a liberal and enlarged policy, directed towards the improvement of the habits and character of his subjects, he might make the Egyptians resume their rank amongst the more civilized nations of the world; and it cannot be doubted that, under a truly enlightened and beneficent government, Egypt would be speedily and effectually disengaged from its present dependence upon Turkey. Nothing could have been more unfavourable than the system adopted, for ages past, by the Turkish government for the prosperity of

this ancient people: they inherit a land fertile by nature, and made more extensively so by the artificial labours of their forefathers; they dwell in valleys upon the banks of a river, which supplies the want of rains, and softens the parching climate of Africa, by bringing an annual supply of fertilizing moisture and manure, and which renders the communication easy from the sea to the remotest part of Upper Egypt, Nubia, and other countries in the interior. The population is not scattered over an extensive region like the Arabians or Persians, but gathered together in a comparatively narrow district, with numerous cities and towns, and a vast number of villages, (in which they continue principally to reside). With all these advantages, this people might, if they had not suffered extremely from the plunder and oppression of their masters, still have retained a great portion of industry, comfort, and general civilization, as the Dutch to this day continue a rich, happy, and, on the whole, respectable nation, although their commerce has decayed, their literature and arts have disappeared, and their power and consequence are almost as little acknowledged as that of the modern Egyptians. The latter have, however, not only lost their glory, like the Dutch, but they appear to be now nearly destitute of the comforts and advantages of civilized life; like the bulk of the Irish peasantry, they are not permitted to enjoy the fruits of their industry, and therefore they labour without zeal or spirit; corn and provisions are raised in an abundance, exceeding that enjoyed by any neighbouring nation, but their harvests are reaped for the benefit of their task-masters; and we do not find that the present Pasha, whilst he directs them to more productive industry, permits them to enjoy any larger portion than was permitted them by his more ignorant predecessors.[5] The ancient kings of Egypt must have governed with at least as mild a sway as the present rulers, and the people must have enjoyed some degree of liberty and comfort for a long succession of ages, if we may judge by the fact of the population being considerably greater than at present, and by their keeping a much more extensive tract of country under cultivation. Bringing the waters of the river to aid their husbandry with persevering industry and skill, they carried fertility to the very limits of the sandy deserts and rocky hills which enclosed the valley of the Nile.

But, by the decay of the population and industry, and the consequent neglect of the dykes and large canals, the sands have collected in many of the defiles of Upper Egypt, from which they will never be displaced. In the Delta, too, great changes have arisen, partly from the same causes, but more, perhaps, from the changes in the course of the river, which has almost deserted its eastern channels, and greatly contributed to render that part of the country (once crowded with towns and populous villages) comparatively poor and thinly inhabited. A population, however, of two millions and a half, situated so favourably as are the Egyptians for agriculture and commerce, as well as national security and independence,

[illegible] a proof of the way in which justice is administered towards the lowest classes in Egypt, the following case of recent occurrence is given on good authority:—While a ship was discharging a cargo of coals from England, a poor woman and two children stole a few pounds of coals; the officers, who attended the unloading, inquired what punishment they should suffer; the Pasha immediately ordered that they should be shot!

might soon be rendered, by a good government, much more powerful and happy than they are at present, or are ever likely to be as long as the present system of rule, which prevails in that country, shall be continued.

PERSIAN SONG.[1]

I.

It reigns—the burning noon of night!
The wine is poured—the harem train,
With eyes that bathe in liquid light,
Demand the minstrel's slumbering strain!

II.

How bright the theme those eyes inspire!
What kindling raptures grace the song,
When beauty wakes the breathing lyre,
And passion sighs its chords along!

III.

O'er the wide west the solar beam
A deep dissolving glory throws;
But in the goblet's crystal gleam,
With darker fires the ruby glows!

IV.

Fount of the soul—the goblet bring!
Fill high the cup with rosy wine,
And raise the thought, and tune the string,
To charms that make this earth divine!

V.

Strike, strike the chords to notes of love!
The scene, the hour, invite—control,
While rises, beaming from above,
The moon of beauty on the soul!

VI.

Then strike the string in beauty's praise,
And lend thine aid, my gentle lute!
Alas! my voice in vain essays,
The strain is asked—the lyre is mute!

VII.

So, bending o'er his rose's breast,
His thousand songs the bulbul tries;
Till, drunk with sweets, with love oppressed,
Entranced the enamoured songster lies!

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1 From 'Friendship's Offering,' one of the new Annual Volumes for 1826, noticed in a subsequent page.

AN ESSAY ON A COMMON-PLACE TOPIC.

Quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe.

Among the changes that are constantly taking place in the world, those are not the most inconsiderable which time effects in our notions of virtue and vice, of morality, of propriety, of decorum. Indeed, one might, with a little trouble, make up a curious catalogue of obsolete virtues, and of crimes and immoralities, no longer extant. Nothing can resist the spirit of innovation. The lawyer carries it about in the make of his wig; the churchman in the cut of his gown; neither of which resembles the fashion that prevailed in such things among the Saxons before the Conquest. Neither does the lawyer entertain the same notions of law, nor the churchman of religion. Innovation has been at work with the inward, as well as with the outward man. They are altered beings.

In virtue, religion, and morality, things commonly esteemed of great permanence and stability, the same spirit of innovation has been busy. In very old times it was lawful, according to the best authorities, to commit incest. The Greeks married their supreme god to his sister, to show they thought the union most holy. The Athenians married their sisters. The Jews their brothers' widows. The connexion was odious and abominable in the eyes of the Romans, and most modern nations have adopted their ideas of it.

The pagan republicans of antiquity, and the Christian republicans of England, when England was a republic, esteemed tyrannicide a virtue. Milton wrote in defence of it. It grew to be approved in France, and precipitated a monarch from a throne to his grave. Now it is no longer a virtue; and they who aspired by the practice of it to everlasting fame, have had their memories blackened by infamy, and their name is held in horror all over the world,

By the Jewish law, it was held to be a crime of a capital nature, as something approaching to sacrilege, to walk beyond a given number of yards on the Sabbath-day. The citizens of Jerusalem, tired as they must have been with counting shekels all the week, were therefore as to fresh air, worse off in the promised land than they are at present. For in modern Europe they *are* permitted to take a stroll into the fields on *our* Sabbath-day, whatever they may choose to do on their own; and it appears they now evince a degree of fondness for rurality not originally natural to their race; being, it is said, as fond as wild cats of sleeping in the sun. For, among the interesting objects enumerated among the pleasant sights of a neighbouring capital,

> Jew-clothesmen, like shepherds, reclined under trees!

are especially noted; and must, therefore, we presume, be commonly to be seen.

The religious observance of the Sabbath is likewise a first-rate virtue among all Christian nations—only no two of them ever agreed as to what kind of observance ought to be termed religious. The Catholics, with a strong spice of Pagan disposition to festivity, celebrate the Sabbath with

fiddling and dancing, and a game at whist or backgammon. We, of the reformed party, leave out the fiddling and dancing, and keep slyly to the cards. Our brethren, the super-reformed, the antipodes of popery, the sour, stern, unimaginative dissenters, condemn every secular movement of the muscles on *that day*, as eminently sinful; so that there is such a thing as an ungodly walk, an ungodly mirth, an ungodly flourishing of saucepans and ladles, for the very rigid eat cold dinners, and condemn Sabbath-cookery.

Nay, the piety of the upper orders has of late arisen, in emulation, perhaps, of the dissenters, to so high a pitch, that they have adopted a kind of religious uniform, any variation from which is to be set down as a mark of reprobation. Among the articles of this uniform, *a white cravat* is of the greatest importance. Every shade of a different colour is understood to be emblematical of a falling short of that supreme purity which our most religious aristocracy claim as one of their privileges; and *black* marks the extreme deficiency, the utter want of all godly feelings. This being the state of the case, our readers will not be at all surprised to hear that a young gentleman was lately refused admission into Whitehall Chapel, on the ground that he had an impious-coloured cravat, or stock, on his neck. Good heavens! what? hope to be allowed to address the Divinity in the King's own chapel, with a heterodox bandage round his throat! To step in among piously uniformed lords, perhaps princes, with his dark-coloured satanic stock! What a wilful tempting of divine Providence! What a shameless irreverence of every thing sacred and clerical! We believe, too, that this most ungodly garment was actually black; and there its wearer stood, perking his pandemoniac stock in the face of the pious door-keeper, like Satan at the gates of heaven! But this earthly Saint Peter was of sturdy mould, and withstood the entrance of the man of sinful cravat with great vigilance; and, though the pealing organ and words of peace sounded dulcetly within, while ever and anon breezes of heavenly fragrance came wafting out of the half-opened door from the essenced kerchiefs of court beauties, yet the silent Shibboleth about his neck kept the sinner in the vestibule of the sanctuary, and compelled him at length to turn away, like a lost spirit, to add to his transgressions, perhaps, in some neighbouring tavern.

After receiving so mortifying a rebuff at a church-door, it is scarcely to be supposed that the gentleman with the ungodly cravat would go, on that very morning, to hear the word at any other place. He must have been in a frame of mind altogether unfit for it. Suppose him then to stroll about idly and carelessly, and not to go to a tavern, still he would be incurring the penalty denounced by the law against all those who do not attend divine service on the Sabbath-day. Here, then, is a free-born Englishman, incurring the displeasure of the law because he prefers one coloured cravat to another!

Let us reflect a moment on "the wisdom of our ancestors" respecting this virtue of Sabbath-keeping. We suppose the most religious and virtuous martyr, King Charles I., will be allowed to have been one of our wise ancestors, (we speak in the usual metaphorical style, for God forbid that we should claim to be descended from any kings or martyrs;) and, if so, it must be allowed, that in the present question we have presumed to differ very considerably from this our ancestor. *He* thought, and,

observe, his favourite Archbishop thought also, that the best possible way of serving God on Sunday was, to get your head broken with a cudgel, or to break your neighbour's. The King and the Archbishop trumped up between them a 'Book of Sports,' enumerating the various "recreations" which were *commanded* to be practised on "the Lord's-day;" among which were "dancing, leaping, vaulting, shooting, May-games, Whitsunnals, maurice-dancers, wrestling, cudgel-playing," &c. And so intent was the martyr King upon having the Sabbath celebrated after this most pious fashion, that he published a "declaration" expressly enjoining it; and it was further ordered, that all clergymen who refused to read his book of Sports to their parishioners should be *imprisoned* or *suspended*. The following is the order he wrote to Laud on the occasion:—

"Charles Rex,

"*Canterbury*—See that our declaration concerning recreations on the Lord's-day, after evening service, be printed."

Now we need say no more to convince our readers how strangely we have degenerated on this head from the wisdom of our ancestors. We, of the nineteenth century, have decided that it is a crime punishable at law, even to clip our whiskers or our beards on the Sabbath; and an irreligious country barber has actually been fined, in the course of this present year, for operating on that day on his brother's chin, as a warning to all his brethren of the *lower orders*, that it were much better for them to emulate the Jews in length of beard, than flourish their razors on a Sunday. This is setting the wisdom of our ancestors at nought with a vengeance. But, supposing that it *is* a crime to pass a piece of sharp steel over a man's chin on a certain day of the week, and that a wise legislature ought to empower magistrates to fine poor people for trimming up each other's persons on that day; it is also a crime for those same poor people to absent themselves from public worship on the Sabbath; and it is accounted indecent for them to go to church with a long beard. Necessity frequently compels them to labour late on the preceding night; wearied nature demands repose when their labour is concluded. They cannot, therefore, prepare themselves on Saturday to appear decently in church; the barber is fined if he shaves them on Sunday; they themselves may be fined if they go not to church; their sense of decency, the pride which is natural to every human being, forbid them to go in an unclean and despicable condition. What are they to do?

But, further than this, it is immoral to eat nuts or apples, or to worship God in the fields, at a certain hour of one day in every week, because at that hour a great number of your fellow-citizens choose to sit in little wooden boxes in a building set apart for the purpose, to hear a man in black pronounce from a printed or written book a certain number of words, or to talk or sleep while they appear to be listening. Morality, therefore, is a thing of time and place; and in every city in Europe there are moral and immoral districts, and hours in which it is not lawful to look at the sun, unless it be through pretty bits of painted glass stuck in frames in a wall. Five minutes before one o'clock, lackeys and hackney and other coachmen sit slumbering or motionless at the door of a certain edifice. It would be impiety to stir. Sharp beadles

perch about like vultures at the corners of streets, lying in wait for wicked old apple women, who are suspected to be addicted to take money for their fruit at the most unseemly hours. The clock strikes—and lo! the vomitoria of a hundred vast buildings pour out their thousands of hungry countenances. Countless carriages are filled—whips crack—coachmen swear—horses snort and neigh—and ten thousand wheels, and innumerable voices, and noise and laughter and merriment, constitute a scene of confusion not inferior to that at Nimrod's tower.

Here, then, our morality is regulated by the clock. In other respects, it is under still stranger guidance—under that of our avarice, of our folly, of our whim, of every turn of temper and opinion. Have we not a host of six or seven thousand men in pay, to preach humanity, charity, and what not, to the people perpetually? Have we not in our mouths the words of peace and glad tidings to all mankind? And are we not contented, priests and all, to sweeten our tea daily with the blood of the negroes? We can call that by no better name, which is wrung out of broken hearts, and mutilated limbs, and degradation, and slavery. Yet we shall hear the spruce scholar, the man of modern civilization, talk with exultation of Athenian slaves, and Spartan helots; and congratulate himself over his tea and West Indian sugar, that our "glorious constitution" knows neither helots nor slaves. Good God! not know them! Why, they have been sold in London, by one Christian to another, within the present year; and owners of thousands of helots sit nightly in the British senate. Not know slaves! Every living expounder of the constitution sweetens his mulled wine, his punch, his coffee, with that which drew many a heart-rending groan from a slave. Yet all these honourable and learned gentlemen are men of nice virtue and morality; generous men, many of them, who will subscribe fifty pounds to a public charity, that their names may appear at the tail of that sum in the newspapers. What happy wights are we, to have been born in this most moral, most civilized, most religious, most virtuous age! The most glorious, most free, most liberal and chivalrous age that has been since the creation! Yet, with all our civilization, we keep millions of black slaves, under one denomination or another, both in the East and in the West; and live under laws so utterly barbarous and stupid, that many an honest man cannot obtain justice through their means in forty years; thousands not at all; under laws which enact penalties so entirely disproportioned to the offence, that honest-minded humane juries are fain to perjure themselves, in order to screen a few erring boys from their senseless severity.[1]

Besides, here are our wise, our matchless laws playing over again the persecuting tricks of the barbarous ages in matters of opinion. Scores of people are now languishing in jail for some mistake about the three sides of a triangle; while the Deity himself, under one of his appellations, is fiendishly caricatured, and with impunity, in the streets of a Christian capital! Yes, horrible as it no doubt is, Sceptics, Deists, Christians, Turks, and Jews, may all see, on any day in the week, an actual caricature of God himself, at Carlile's shop, in Fleet-street!! The laws which have imprisoned the very owner of this shop for years,—which are ready and able to imprison any man at any time for publishing a book of religious controversy,—these same laws, it would seem, have

[1] See Examiner, November 6.

not the power to break a pane of glass, and remove this horrible caricature, equally offensive to men of all creeds. Wisdom of our ancestors! you are non-plussed here. You never thought of this!

We might go on and fill volumes with the bare enumeration of the absurdities we bind up among our notions of virtue and morality. Let the above, however, suffice for the present. We know the natural aversion all have to hear of their own frailties; and we observe, without surprise, how much pains are generally taken by candidates for popularity to avoid all mention of the hateful topic. But it is well for us, after all, to try to know what we are; to peep into our own breasts, though we should find there nothing but snakes and scorpions. If we are displeased with such guests, we may strangle them, or drive them out; but not with the cords and spells of fashionable morality. It were worth the while, if persecution could be chained up during the discussion, to search once more to the bottom of these things; but, although this *be* the nineteenth century, the most civilized age, &c., that has ever been, yet every person must know, who has ever thought at all upon the subject, that it would be a rather perilous undertaking to argue publicly upon the principles of morals, since there are so many interested in misapprehending, and so many incapable of apprehending, any thing at all of the matter. Both these classes always unite to persecute the innovator; and whoever will not sing the old song, being once christened *innovator*, is treated as a public enemy, as a man against whom all good people should cast a stone. *Requiescant in pace!*

STANZAS—BY T. K. HERVEY.[1]

How sweet to sleep, where all is peace,
  Where sorrow cannot reach the breast,
Where all life's idle throbbings cease,
  And pain is lulled to rest;—
Escaped o'er fortune's troubled wave,
To anchor in the silent grave!

That quiet land, where, peril past,
  The weary win a long repose,
The bruised spirit finds, at last,
  A balm for all its woes;
And lowly grief, and lordly pride,
Lie down, like brothers, side by side!

The breath of slander cannot come
  To break the calm that lingers there;
There is no dreaming in the tomb,
  Nor waking to despair.
Unkindness cannot wound us more,
And all earth's bitterness is o'er.

[1] From 'Friendship's Offering,' a Literary Album for 1826. Edited by T. K. Hervey, and published by Lupton Relfe.

GENERAL PROGRESS OF EDUCATION, AND OBSTACLES TO ITS INTRODUCTION IN BRITISH INDIA.[1]

The establishment of Mechanics' Institutions—their extraordinary progress and success, and the ardent thirst for information evinced by those for whose benefit they are intended, must afford great pleasure to every lover of his country. *The age of monopoly* IS GONE BY—knowledge is open to all: and that knowledge may be generally communicated without incurring those dangers which some timid persons yet apprehend, is an assertion your committee firmly believe which cannot be successfully controverted. Those whose principles are unfounded in reason, or hostile to human happiness and the interests of morality and religion, may indeed fear the light; and their alarm may wear the disguise of prudential caution. But it is not for Christians to become parties to such a confederacy.—TWENTIETH REPORT.

THERE is no feature of the present times to which we can turn our regards with so much satisfaction, as to the progress of education. The public mind in this country has received a powerful impulse in favour of the general diffusion of knowledge, which is daily acquiring new force. In such a cause, when distinguished patriots and ardent philanthropists lead the way, the liberal and enlightened of every class soon follow in their train. As the first fruits of what has been done become visible, new labourers are attracted into the field. Their accumulated energies produce a more abundant return, till even sloth and apathy are fired with emulation to earn a share in the generous vintage. Fortunately, ten years of public tranquillity have at last afforded us leisure to cultivate the arts of peace. No longer distracted with foreign wars, our national energies are now turned with undivided force to internal improvement. In addition to this, we enjoy a domestic tranquillity still more rare. A popular ministry has moderated the violence of the political struggle which usually agitates this country. The great leading parties seem to be nearly resting on their arms as if by mutual consent; and while this virtual truce continues, their only honourable ground of contention is, which shall most effectually, in their different ways, promote the public good. Those in power, obeying at last the spirit of the age so long inculcated upon them by their opponents, take to themselves the merit of amending our systems of judicature and revenue; while those in opposition, earn the meed of public applause and gratitude by forwarding with all their influence the means best calculated to improve the condition of the many, by raising them in the scale of intellectual and moral beings. So many causes, by a happy conjunction of circumstances co-operating towards one end, promise, we think, to raise England to a prouder mental eminence than she has yet attained among the nations of the earth.

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[1] Twentieth Report of the British and Foreign School Society to the General Meeting, May 18th, 1825, pp. 146.

Prospectus and First Report of the Madras Central School connected with the London Missionary Society. Madras, March 1st, 1825. pp. 20.

Review of the History, Design, and Present State of the Religious, Benevolent, and Charitable Institutions, founded by the British in Calcutta.—By Charles Lushington, Esq., one of the principal Secretaries to the Government of Bengal. Calcutta, 1824. 8vo.

Our principal object at present is to inquire, how far this spirit of public improvement has extended to our possessions in the East—those splendid acquisitions which have been called, and might truly be made, the brightest jewel in the British crown. What has the most enlightened of nations done for the vast benighted regions under her care? Has she employed for their improvement means worthy of herself and of them, proportioned to the power in her hands, and adequate to the end desired? Widely different, indeed, is the prospect presented by these two portions of the British dominions. The foregoing picture of the progress of education in this country, is almost totally reversed in India. There "the age of monopoly" is *not* "gone by," but flourishing in full vigour: there "knowledge is *not* open to all;" but, on the contrary, the commonest means of useful instruction are hardly within the reach of one in a thousand. In this situation are many millions of British subjects in the East; and though the overflowings of British philanthropy have been attracted to this extensive waste, its improvement is thwarted by monopoly in its most monstrous form. But before entering minutely into the state of education in India, it will be well to take a brief glance at what is going on in other countries.

As to the progress of education in the United Kingdom, the British and Foreign School Society's Report (p. 6.) states, that the number of children educated in the central schools since their establishment, is 23,237, viz., 15,525 boys, and 7,712 girls. These schools contain the offspring of Jews and Christians, Protestants and Roman Catholics, Episcopalians and Dissenters, in one body, "without preference or distinction." (p. 9.) In the metropolis there are sixty schools on the British system, containing nearly 10,000 children. The whole number receiving instruction in schools of every description, is computed at 67,000. But as the population of London in 1821 was 1,225,694, it is calculated that 55,000 children are still without the means of education. This is on the hypothesis, that the number who are of an age eligible for instruction, is equal to one-tenth of the whole population.

The "Society for the educating of the Poor in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland," has under its superintendence 75 schools, in which instruction is communicated to many thousand children; and in the southern parts of the Highlands, upwards of eighty schools are supported by the Gaelic School Society. Of the progress of the "Society for promoting the education of the Poor in Ireland," a cheering account is given. During the year ending January 5th, 1825, no less than 1,169 schools (twenty of them established in jails) had received assistance by grants of money for building or repairs, school requisites, &c., to the amount of 19,405*l*. The total number of schools under the patronage of this Society is 1,490, and they contain upwards of 100,000 scholars. The issue of books during the last year, amounted to 172,816, making a total of 957,456 volumes since the opening of their Depository in November 1817. Grants of books had been made for the use of 133 lending libraries, amounting to 14,217 volumes. To carry forward these plans, 22,000*l*. was voted in the last session of Parliament.

Next, with respect to the progress of education in continental Europe, it is stated, that a central school has been established at St. Petersburgh, under the patronage of his Imperial Majesty; and, according to the report of Captain Cochrane, the well known traveller, the British system

of tuition is now pretty generally diffused throughout the Russian empire; and is even flourishing in the frigid clime of Siberia. Sweden is following the example; the system of mutual instruction being there generally introduced by a royal edict. It deserves particularly to be noted, that the fees of church livings, and some funds now in the hands of the Swedish clergy, are to be so economized as that a portion of them may be made available for the purposes of public instruction. This is an example well worth the attention of the richest church establishment in the universe. In Denmark also, the British system, after a strict scrutiny into its merits, had obtained the royal sanction. A model school had been opened at Copenhagen, and 244 seminaries, on the same plan, established throughout the country; which number is expected to be soon more than doubled. In France, notwithstanding the influence of the Jesuits, there are 45 schools on this system in Paris alone, containing 40,000 pupils. Unhappy Spain is a dead blank on the map of improvement. In Portugal, *one* model school is *permitted* to exist: a royal decree having mercifully exempted *it* from the laws affecting education generally. In Tuscany, there are 30 of these schools; three in Naples, and four in the Papal territories: the sources of light gradually decaying as we approach the fountain-head of superstition. In Malta, the system has had very moderate success: the model school at Valetta would have sunk for want of pecuniary supplies, but for the kind patronage of the Marquis and Marchioness of Hastings, who there sustained the drooping cause; and the grateful acknowledgments of the Society are also expressed for the similar zeal evinced by these noble personages, while resident in the East. The schools are likewise liberally supported in the Ionian islands. Considerable efforts are making to extend the benefits of general instruction to Greece, as far as funds can be procured. A Lancasterian school has been opened at Athens; and there is another flourishing seminary at Argos, containing 150 children. Several of the Greek youths, who have received education in England, are engaged to communicate the same blessing to those in their native country, that "the land which once produced such men as Socrates, Xenophon, and Plato, may again enjoy the salutary influence of knowledge." A fair prospect is now presented of the British system being introduced into Egypt, under the enlightened patronage of Mohammed Ali; an account of it, prepared in Arabic, by Professor Macbride, of Oxford, having been printed at Cairo, and circulated by the Pasha among his friends. At the other extremity of Africa, the schools established and supported by the Colonial Government of the Cape of Good Hope are said to be highly flourishing.

Turning now to the American continent, and beginning with the British possessions at its northern extremity, there also we find the cause of education going on prosperously, and making its way even among the savages of the forest. It is stated, that two Indians, who had learned the British system at the model school of Montreal, were destined for St. Francis, an Indian village, where a school-house for 100 children was about to be built. But in the United States of North America, we have the most gratifying proof of the progress and salutary effects of education, aided by the superior advantages of a free government. "It is worthy of particular notice," says the Report (p. 30), "that the Free School Society of New York (in which city there are ten schools, containing

4384 scholars) has educated, within the last 18 years, more than 20,000 children; and that only *one* of them has been traced to a criminal court!" On this, it is observed, that in the State of New York ample provision is made for the permanent supply of education by legislative enactments— "*an example worthy of imitation.*"

Among the rising states of the South, education has not been neglected, even amid the destructions of war and their struggles for independent national existence. Upwards of fifty schools have been established in Buenos Ayres, and are supported at the *public expense*, containing more than 3000 children. There are 200 in the model school of Lima; and the Gospel has been translated into the language of the Native Peruvians, by a descendant of the Incas. The government of Colombia has enacted, that schools, on the system of mutual instruction, shall be established in all the provinces; and there is a near prospect of the same being done in Mexico. Thus, in a great part of Europe and America, the cause of knowledge is rapidly advancing with the powerful patronage of the rulers and the cordial co-operation of the people. "These favourable indications (says the British and Foreign Society) will animate the minds of the benevolent, and lead them to anticipate with confidence the extermination of that hostility to knowledge which still in some quarters exists, and has been unblushingly avowed. That those who LOVE DARKNESS RATHER THAN LIGHT should aim to cool our ardour and obstruct our efforts, is not surprising."

We now proceed to inquire, what has been done in British India, that quarter of the world where of all others the widest door is opened for the spread of knowledge. Whether we consider the extent of the field, the character of the people, or the power we possess of improving them, every consideration would lead us to hope for something great for a people under the auspices of that power which has been styled by Bolivar "the Mistress of Nations." While from Great Britain, as a centre, the rays of knowledge are diffused to her distant possessions in America and Africa, penetrating even the *wigwam* of the fierce Canadian hunter, and the *craal* of the rude Hottentot; what rapid amelioration might we not expect for the docile Hindoo, submissive alike to our political and intellectual sway; already trained to the gentle habits of civilized life, and thirsting for instruction? As to the duty incumbent upon the rulers of India, of communicating such instruction, they are bound, in the first place, by the obligation which every government owes to its subjects, whose benefit is the only legitimate object of its existence. Secondly, they owe it to the character of the distinguished country which gave them birth to use every means in their power to enlighten the millions plunged in ignorance and error over whom they rule. Thirdly, the supreme legislative power of the British dominions has solemnly inculcated that duty upon the Government of India. Fourthly, this Government, with a surplus territorial revenue of from two to four millions annually at its disposal, and the learning and talents of the mother-country in overflowing abundance within its reach, has in its hands greater means of public improvement than any other government on earth. Fifthly, by a monopoly which shuts out the exercise of those talents in its territories, except in its own employ and with its permission, it has charged itself with the duty of doing (what other governments may with less injustice have to be done by the public) the whole—so as to compensate its sub-

jects for having cut them off from the natural advantages open to every other people in the world. The existence of these obligations has been confessed, though not nearly to the full extent, in a Resolution of the Bengal Government, during the short administration of John Adam, Esq. It is dated the 18th of July 1823, and is as follows:—

The attention of the Governor-General in Council is *sedulously* directed to the important subject of public instruction. In furtherance of that object, public aid has been afforded to those useful and laudable institutions, the School-Book Society, and the Calcutta School Society, as well as the Hindoo College founded in 1817, and superintended by some of the principal Hindoo gentlemen in the city. No wise or just government can be indifferent to the literary or moral improvement of its subjects; and other and more extensive measures may be formed for the education of the various classes of the inhabitants of the British possessions. The subject is one of the highest importance to the Government and the people. The diffusion of liberal education among the natives of India may be rendered a blessing, or perverted into a curse, to the country, according to the manner in which it is carried into effect. If, by any improbable combination of circumstances, a *misguided zeal* or *overheated enthusiasm* should mingle in this important pursuit, the most disastrous consequences may be produced both to the people and their rulers. But directed to its proper and legitimate end, and conducted with the judgment, discretion, and sobriety which, I trust, will never be lost sight of, and above all, with the full concurrence and cordial co-operation of the Natives, it cannot fail to produce the most extensive and decided benefits, both to the Government of the country, and to the millions under its sway.

In the "misguided zeal" and "overheated enthusiasm" here deprecated, we find a striking application of the passage in the School Society's Report, which says: "*That those who love darkness rather than light*, should aim to cool our ardour and obstruct our efforts, is not surprising." Excepting on this principle, the expression of such apprehensions in India, of all other places, would be most unaccountable. For there, instead of an excess of enthusiasm, requiring to be damped by the denunciations of Government, the efforts of private benevolence to promote education labour under the greatest discouragements. The liberal and enlightened among the European part of the community, who are most likely to feel such an enthusiasm, are mere birds of passage, residing in India a few years to acquire wealth, but looking to another distant country as their ultimate resting-place and home. They are too keenly bent on this object to be able to afford much of their time and attention to the condition and improvement of the people among whom they temporarily sojourn. As justly observed in a periodical published in Calcutta:

Between the unavoidable effects of climate, and the extent of occupation which devolves upon individuals of most wealth and influence, even those best disposed towards charitable institutions, cannot give them more than "an inconsiderable portion of their time and interest." From these causes there are radical defects in the constitution of most of them: their utility is variable, and their existence *precarious*.

The benevolence and liberality of the community are, in like manner, powerfully directed to other objects, by circumstances peculiar to their situation. They have but slender inducement to bestow their wealth in creating institutions among a people with whom they have no permanent tie, and in a country which they are only anxious to leave behind them. Whereas, in England, the wealthy and benevolent raise monuments

to philanthropy and to fame, in the hope of passing the remainder of their days in contemplating their utility and beauty, or console their death-beds with bequests, whose benefits may secure to them the blessings of their children's children. To such feelings we owe many valuable charitable endowments in various parts of the country, some of which are entirely supported, and others greatly aided, by the wealth drawn from India, on which, however, the donors probably never bestowed a single mite in charity; for there, as observed by the same writer,[2] they labour under the influence of very different feelings:

Whether put in practice or not, most individuals here look forward to a return to Europe, and consider every drain upon their purses as so many days added to their Indian residence. With this impression (and a very natural one it is) the best-disposed will sometimes draw back the extended hand, and curb the spirit that yearns to convert base metal into blessings to the poor. Grants made under such circumstances (to charitable institutions) can never be of very large amount. They can never be such as to form a perpetual and improving source of revenue: 100 or 1000 rupees are mere mites in the scale where lacs would be well bestowed, and are needed for permanent benefits. In like manner, most persons who die here bequeath their property to relations at home, connected often by a recollected and imaginary tie, which more intimate knowledge would often snap asunder in favour of the purposes of public good.

Such is the community which the Company's Government thinks it necessary to caution against "misguided zeal, and *overheated* enthusiasm" in the cause of education! What degree of apathy and indifference, short of total neglect, would satisfy such alarmists? Yet in India, we are assured, "*very few* institutions could exist a day without the contributions of individuals." Since, then, such voluntary aid from private benevolence is counteracted, if not totally repressed, by the non-colonizing policy of the Company, and the little that may be done is still viewed with suspicion and distrust, as pregnant with danger, as liable to become a curse instead of a blessing,—the Company thereby imposes on itself the stronger obligation of doing alone, what it will not trust others to do. It gives us a right to demand of it more even than is expected of any other government on earth; since, by an unnatural law, it deprives its subjects of the natural advantages open to every other people, by chasing away those who would voluntarily instruct and enlighten them. We shall now, therefore, inquire what degree of compensation it has made them.

Let us take the authority of a person on the spot, the Rev. Dr. Bryce, who will not be suspected of any bias towards our views of Indian policy; who has, in fact, been the partisan and adulator (almost the professional eulogist) of every successive Government of Bengal, and is, therefore, the best possible evidence against it. In summing up the result of *all* that has been done by British benevolence to enlighten India, including what has been done by Government, he says (p. 229):

Nothing can be more absurd, nor, indeed, more unfair, than to suppose that the influence of the educating and converting institutions is felt widely over our dominions, or to confound Calcutta and its vicinity with all India. In the mofussil it is hardly possible to meet a Native who can copy...... The Hindoos of the distant towns have no notion [*i.e.* neither means nor motive] of studying European languages and literature; and how much less likely

[2] Dr. Bryce's 'Quarterly Oriental Magazine,' for December 1824.

are the people of the villages to entertain such a purpose? What, in fact, after all, are the means hitherto applied to the worthy objects which all these institutions have in view? Let them be regarded as operating within the narrow circle of the capital and its vicinity, and, though still small, they are something; but spread them, in imagination, over the vast population of India, and estimating them at the highest rate of two lacs of rupees per annum, we shall have less than ONE FARTHING per head, per annum, to expend on the education of the Hindoos!!

This is the mighty amount of what has been done for India by its liberal and enlightened rulers, with their millions of surplus revenue. They bestow on the improvement of their overtaxed subjects *less than* ONE FARTHING per head per annum! Let this prodigious sacrifice be borne in mind, and enumerated in all future eulogies on British benevolence and philanthropy in the East. The Reverend reviewer, after recording the fact, immediately adds, as if in bitter irony, addressing himself to those who should presume "to laugh to scorn" the efforts of the conquerors of India to enlighten the minds and ameliorate the condition of their Native subjects:

Let them read (says he) the work we have had under review; and if they are not convinced that we have raised a *trophy* to our moral as well as our political ascendancy in the East, we despair of ever finding them acknowledge a truth, which, notwithstanding their obstinacy, is every day coming more and more home to the conviction of the unbiassed and unprejudiced observer, and which the 'History of the Institutions,'[5] &c. will more and more confirm.

This farthing trophy is truly worthy of the Company and its admirers. He then goes on to say, with most laughable gravity, that it furnishes a satisfactory refutation of the "calumnies" uttered against the restriction of the press: "For not only is the press in India," he alleges, "open to every thing that can ameliorate the religious and moral condition of its Natives, but Government itself *runs a race* with the most benevolent individuals, and the most charitable and zealous societies, in encouraging it to send forth every work that can be useful to this truly patriotic and enlightened purpose." All this by the said wonderful *farthing!* which, although allowed to accumulate at compound interest, would not purchase a moderate-sized volume for each of its subjects during the whole course of their lives. But that Government must, of course, be liberal and enlightened which gives the Reverend reviewer a stationery clerkship of 600*l.* a year, and refuses to turn him out of it, though ordered by the Directors and Board of Control to do so. Had *he* received only a farthing per annum his praises might have been less enthusiastic. For he himself confesses very candidly, (p. 228,) that—

In these degenerate days virtue is rarely thought its own reward; and the zeal that is not stimulated by a sentiment of advantage, is not likely in this country (India) to survive more than one hot season!

The Reverend Divine's stationery zeal must consequently be now brought down almost to the freezing point, by the *reiterated* orders of the Court of Directors to deprive him of his snug appointment.

To examine the subject somewhat more in detail.—At the same time, when the Government of Mr. Adam made the declaration above

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[5] When this Work reaches us, of which only the Review is before us, we shall endeavour to do it justice.

quoted, as to the dangers to be apprehended from "misguided zeal and overheated enthusiasm" interfering with education—with the view evidently of guarding against such a result, the Governor-General in Council resolved to appoint—

A General Committee of Public Instruction, for the purpose of ascertaining the state of education in that part of India, and of the public institutions designed for its promotion; and of considering, and, from time to time, submitting to Government, the suggestion of such measures at it might appear expedient to adopt, with a view to the better instruction of the people, and the improvement of their moral character.

Such an institution is in itself very proper, and its professed object very fine; but of what use is it, except to delude the public with a false show of anxiety to promote education, while the means used are so totally inadequate? On that occasion it was also resolved to add *half* a farthing more to the funds then available, in these words:—

The Governor General in Council deems it sufficient to record his resolution, (subject, of course, to the approval of the Honourable Court of Directors,) to appropiate to the object of public education the sum of one lac of rupees per annum, in addition to such assignments as were made by the British Government previously to the Act of the 53d of his late Majesty; and likewise, of course, exclusively of any endowments which may have been, or may be, made by individuals applicable to a like purpose.

We cannot tell whether this proposed boon was confirmed by the Company's Directors or not; but it would reflect a degree of honour on the memory of Mr. Adam, if, like his raising of new regiments, it did not look too much like an art to gain popularity, at no expense to himself, without any sacrifice whatever, either of his own property or prejudices. It is the more suspicious, as the grant was made on the 7th of July 1823, when Lord Amherst was already on the shores of India, to whom, had the resolution in Council been postponed a few days, the honour of it would have belonged. Whether the grant might be rescinded or not by his superiors, Mr. Adam knew he would equally have the honour of proposing it. Like the man who, though having no property to leave, filled his will with many splendid legacies, on being asked by his lawyer where they were to come from, replied, that this was nothing to him; the bequests would show his *good will*.

However this may be, from all the accounts before us, the aid afforded by Government appears to extend to very few indeed of the *few* charitable or benevolent institutions in India The following abstract from the British and Foreign School Society's Report, (p. 106,) shows, as nearly as can be ascertained, the amount of the exertions of *all* the various societies for the education of children in British India; including Serampore, and other foreign settlements:—

	Number of Children educated.
Government Schools (at Chinsura)	2,700
Church Missionary Society ditto (at Burdwan, Benares, Meerut, Tranquebar, &c.)	6,917
School Society (at Calcutta) . .	2,800
London Missionary Society (at Calcutta, Chinsura, Surat, &c.)	2,149
American Missionary Society (at Bombay)	1,200
Baptist Missionary (Calcutta, Serampore, &c.)	1,090
Education Society (at Bombay) . .	1,000
Christian School Society (at Calcutta) .	649
Carry forward	18,505

	Number of Children educated.
Brought forward	18,505
Scottish (at Bankote)	301
Wesleyan (at Negapatam)	122
Dutch Missionary (at Pullicat)	80
	19,208
Estimated number of those, respecting whom returns have not been received	2,000
Total number of children educated	21,208

Twenty-one thousand [4] receiving education, out of a population containing nearly as many millions of youth requiring instruction! Or, to take the computation of J. Douglas, Esq. of Caners, in his 'Hints on Missions,' quoted in the Prospectus of the Madras Central School, that "the number of those of an age to receive education in India greatly exceeds ten millions," the means of instruction are not yet within the reach of one in five hundred. But the total inadequacy of the means is not the only evil: the degrading policy of the Government renders these slender means in a great measure abortive. In other countries education is stimulated by the splendid rewards held out to learning and talents. Parental affection and youthful ambition are excited by the prospect of future honour and promotion, to sow diligently the early seeds of knowledge. The learned professions, the public service, the highest offices of state, the senate-house, hold out innumerable brilliant prospects to rouse the ardour of the youthful student. Invited by these bright prizes, ever kept in public view, thousands of new candidates for fame and promotion are daily pouring from our seminaries, and pressing forward into the world; while thousands more advance in successive ranks behind them, to supply their place. It is very different in the Company's territories, where all high situations are filled by persons from another quarter of the world; and where the fact of being born a Company's subject bars every avenue to rank and dignity against all who labour under this misfortune. What inducement have they to acquire learning, who see their hopes bounded to the rank of a military corporal or serjeant, a mixer of medicines, or a copying clerk?—who know that they are condemned, in their own country, to be mere "hewers of wood and drawers of water," from which no mental cultivation can raise them, although it may make them feel more keenly their degradation. As a proof of the manner in which this operates on education, we give an extract from a letter of the Rev. J. Hands, (Rep. p. 95,) dated Bellary, 18th Aug. 1824:—

A few years ago we formed a school in the Mission-garden, for the purpose of teaching the English language, and affording a superior education to a number of the superior Native youth, that we might form them for future schoolmasters and assistants in the mission. About twenty were selected for this purpose; much personal labour was bestowed upon them by the Missionaries; and the progress many of them made afforded us much satisfaction: but as soon as they had acquired a little English, &c. to qualify them for a public office or copyists, they every one left us, though some were offered a small salary to continue in the school.

What stronger proof could be had of the debasing effect of that sys-

[4] The Report supposes, elsewhere, (p. 23,) that there may be 40,000 children in British India receiving education; but we do not see any calculation on which this high estimate is founded.

tem, by which no encouragement is held out for any thing beyond the very meanest acquirements? The same thing is stated in the First Report of the Madras Central School, p. 8:—

It was found that many of the boys were merely desirous of learning a little English, that they might obtain situations in public offices.

And what situations? The highest to which they can aspire are those of copying clerks, with salaries so low, that they would not enable European writers to live. Consequently, the extent of the education given, for the most part, is, the mechanical faculty of copying English, without understanding almost a single word of it. In support of this, we appeal to any one who knows anything of India. It is a mere mockery to talk of this as education to enlighten our Native subjects; and no better than an idle farce to erect Sanscrit colleges and Madrissas for the encouragement of Sanscrit and Arabic lore, while learning and learned men are denied any honour or reward. To take a familiar instance, that of Rammohun Roy, a man, whose talents and acquirements are known and admired in every part of the world, what countenance or mark of distinction has he ever enjoyed from the Company's Government? None whatever: it has rather scowled upon him with jealous dislike, as if his superior attainments were treason against the state. His learning, talents, and virtues, would have secured him greater honour if he had been born the subject of the most barbarous despot on earth. But in India they do not avail him a single straw, and only render the general degradation of his countrymen the more strikingly conspicuous.

There is no demand for learning, unless among the pundits and mouluvees, or law interpreters to the courts, (whose salaries are not sufficient to secure them against the most ordinary temptations of bribery,) and the debased race of wukeels or Native attorneys, who, under the present defective judicial system, are the greatest scourge to the country. As, in the present altered circumstances of India, therefore, Sanscrit and Arabic learning are no longer the passport to high honours, they have become, particularly the former, little better than mere vehicles of superstition. Therefore, whatever be the object of the Bengal Government, in expending on these objects the funds set apart for education, the result will evidently be the dissipation of them with the least possible utility. If there were a real demand for Sanscrit and Arabic learning, the Natives being already in possession of it, would require no assistance from us to diffuse it more widely; nor do they need our aid to teach them those mysteries and fables which they have had among them for thousands of years past. Supposing they did petition for such a favour, is it our duty to grant it? or could we hope to improve them by keeping alive that which, the longer it has existed, has sunk them in a deeper gulf of degradation? Knowing this, can we mistake the object of those Christian rulers who are now propping up these temples of darkness which were falling of themselves into decay; while they almost totally exclude their subjects from receiving a single ray of real knowledge from a more enlightened part of the globe? Two colleges are erected by Government to perpetuate the ignorance of the East; but not one is spoken of, or intended, to introduce the learning of the West.[5]

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[5] European science and literature are taught, to some small extent, in the Vidalya, or Hindoo College, established under the patronage of Sir E. H. East,

The efforts of private benevolence to enlighten the Natives of India are deserving of far higher praise; because, however feeble, they are characterized by a sincere and honest desire to promote that object. Besides the obstacles already noticed, against which they have to struggle, their success has also been somewhat retarded by the same error committed in Ireland—too great an eagerness to make education the vehicle of religion. In the Schools at Burdwan, the Church Missionaries have made the Christian Scriptures a class-book; and though they knew that this must excite the jealousy of many Native parents, they knew also that these parents were anxious to get English education for their children, and had no other means of procuring it. They insisted, therefore, that they should either take it with the religious admixture, or want it altogether. The Hindoos appear to have evinced more liberality than their teachers; for we are told in a passage of the Fourth Report respecting these schools, (which contain nearly two thousand pupils,) that "That the Brahmins stood by and heard them speak of Jesus, the Son of God and Saviour of the world, and of his command to go and preach the Gospel unto all the world, without uttering a word of opposition." Another remarkable instance of Hindoo liberality was afforded by Joynarayun Gossaul, and Kalee Sunker Gossaul, his son, natives of Benares, the great emporium of Brahminical learning. The former of these having founded a school there for general instruction, endowing it with about 250*l.* per annum, made it a rule of the institution, that the Christian New Testament should be used as a school-book in the first class. Although he died before the necessary deeds were executed, his son confirmed this singular bequest for a Hindoo.

It must be observed, however, that this show of respect for the Christian Scriptures is rather the effect of that courtesy and tolerance for which the Hindoos are so much distinguished, than of any degree of reverence for them as sacred books. There is mixed up with it, also, a considerable portion of deference for the class of persons, the rulers of the country, of whose faith they are the basis. We find the religion of the English much less respected among the Natives when they find it transmigrated into one of themselves. It is related that a Brahmin non-commissioned officer in the Company's army having become a convert, and been baptized by Mr. Fisher, of Meerut, the feeling this excited against him among his comrades caused him to resign the service. Though European Christians are so highly respected, Native Christians are generally treated with the utmost contempt, and when the converts attempt to preach the word to their unbelieving brethren, they are answered with peltings and insult.

All these things betoken, that the show of respect for our religious books is more apparent than real. We therefore doubt the policy of the Missionaries in thrusting them down their throats whether they will or not; making the little Hindoos commit the greater part of Matthew's Gospel to memory, (Rep. p. 95,) besides our Commandments, Catechisms, Prayers, &c. We of course agree with them, or with Pope, that

late Judge in Bengal, and chiefly supported by wealthy Hindoos. But as to physical science, says Mr. Lushington's Reviewer, "we have not seen any of the youth of that establishment versed in it beyond the limits of Joyce's Dialogues; and as to English literature we fear they are little farther advanced than some such miscellany as Blair's 'Universal Reader.'

'Tis education forms the vulgar mind;
Just as the twig is bent, the tree's inclined.

We are sensible that if the twig be taken young enough, it may be bent into any shape; for why else do those which spring up in one country become almost uniformly Mohammedans; in another, Hindoos; in a third, Christians,—unless it be the effect of early bending? And of Christians, again, from the same cause, some minds take the curvature of the Greek Church, others of the Romish, others of the Protestant; and not one in a thousand has sufficient strength of intellect to attain, of itself, the right line of truth. But to produce a permanent effect, the bending must be systematic and regular. Here, however, the tender plant, after suffering during the day the Christian manipulation of the Missionary, goes home at night to be twisted in another direction by the prejudices of a Hindoo family. Moses and Matthew have then to give place to Krishna and Doorga; the Bible to the Shaster; the prayer to the Poeja. Thus the facts of Christianity are disjoined from faith in their truth; they are communicated, stripped of all their sacred associations to the mind of a child, to become most probably the jest and laughing-stock of his parents and relatives, to whose age and authority his weaker understanding must bow.[6] This is not adding "the wisdom of the serpent" to "the harmlessness of the dove." Such tuition (without the aid of a miracle) will probably do no more to convert the Hindoo children to Christianity, than the study of the Greek and Roman classics at our schools and universities, to convert the body of our British youth into Pagans. Would it not be more worthy of Christian teachers, then, to abandon these insidious arts, which promise so little advantage, when they create an obstacle to the diffusion of education, which ought to be given for the sake of its own intrinsic value alone?

The Madras Central School Report states in one place, that "with a view to the religious improvement, (of the scholars,) and in order to store their minds with correct principles, they are accustomed to commit to memory portions of Sacred Scripture;" and at another place, (p. 13,) that "the boys and their friends wished to dictate what course of reading should be pursued." From what causes is not clearly explained, but apparently owing to the religious jealousy excited by schemes of proselytism, the boys were removed by their friends without any "satisfactory" reason assigned. It is merely intimated that they were unwilling to enter into the "specific plan" of the institution; and that too, though they received their "whole support" from its funds. To remedy this spirit of desertion, a decisive measure was thought absolutely necessary. This was to demand from "the parents or guardians of each boy applying for admission, a surrender of their power over him; and from the boy himself a written agreement to abide by the promise which he

[6] The Prospectus of the London Missionaries at Madras, gives the following account of the conduct of the Native teachers employed by Christians to give moral and religious instruction: "These schoolmasters feel an utter abhorrence to all liberal notions of science and religion; and although their employers may insist on the introduction of books having a moralizing tendency, and leading to correct notions of God and his works, yet when their conduct is not *narrowly watched*, they avail themselves of every opportunity (and a schoolmaster has many) to throw ridicule upon the new instructions." What then is to be expected of the parents and friends of children at their own homes, where they cannot be "*watched*" at all?

had now given, to conform to the rules of the school, and to continue his attendance and render his subsequent services for a specified term of years. This measure, when first proposed, was objected to by some in the school, who chose to withdraw rather than submit to it. Eleven assented to the agreement, and signed it." This, it is said, "insures the desired end;" and it is therefore proposed to follow this plan in future. These boys, so bound for a term of years, (whether five or seven, or what period, is not stated,) are made to store their minds well with portions of Sacred Scripture; and as they are also supported by the institution, so as to be altogether independent of their parents, we have no doubt that in this manner they may be converted to any thing that is desired; especially as they are chosen at the plastic age of thirteen; experience having taught their teachers that such are preferable to those "more advanced" in years.

The plan of this institution, called the Madras Central School, seems, indeed, in every respect well calculated to accomplish its object. It is intended, "instead of educating scholars, to educate schoolmasters." "As the situation of teacher is one which many youths are anxious to hold, and for which many parents would willingly spare their children," youths of talent were to be invited from the various stations, and a selection made of those best qualified to be prepared for this purpose. They were to be chosen, at first, from the age of twelve to sixteen, (latterly not older than thirteen;) to be required to have been previously well read in their vernacular language, both on "olas" and printed books. When admitted into the Central School, they continue to study Tamil, Teloogoo, or Hindoostanee, (whichever is their native language,) until they have a thorough acquaintance with its grammatical principles. They are also to be instructed in the English language, in the elements of geography and astronomy, with the outlines of general history; likewise, if practicable, in the most simple principles of chemistry; and to be made acquainted with the plan of education adopted by the British and Foreign School Society. The Native and other books used in the school, are to be such only as have been inspected and approved (as free from all noxious matter) by the missionaries, who are also to have the immediate charge of the higher, or English classes; the Native languages being taught by respectable Native teachers selected for that purpose.

These, and similar institutions, are exceedingly praiseworthy and honourable to the founders; but, unfortunately, they are totally inadequate to supply the wants of the country. Ten or eleven teachers are in training where there is need for as many thousands; two or three hundred pounds are raised by private contributions of one, five, or ten pounds, where millions would be well applied. The people are notoriously sunk in the deepest ignorance; their very learning is ignorance, and even worse,—the accumulated errors of ages, the lumber of some thousand years. Great Britain, with shame be it spoken, who boasts to be the most enlightened of nations, leaves her subjects in that lost and degraded state throughout those vast territories, from which, for more than half a century, she has annually drawn millions of her wealth. But it is unfair to charge upon the nation this load of infamy, from which even the Holy Alliance would shrink. It is the munificent Company, which allows *a farthing per annum* for the education of its subjects, out of its surplus territorial revenue! What member of the Holy Alliance does less than

this for public improvement? We ought rather to beg pardon of that illustrious body for so degrading a comparison; when the magnificent institutions raised for promoting education by at least one of its members, the King of Prussia, has made one of the first poets of our age and country exclaim, that he envied him the happiness of being a king.[7]

But the little done to improve our native subjects is far from being the worst evil of the Company's system: it unfortunately has a direct tendency to degrade them. In the memorial of Rammohun Roy, and other distinguished natives, to the King of England,[8] they state that, "Under their Mohammedan rulers they enjoyed every political privilege in common with the Musulmans, being eligible to the highest offices of the state, intrusted with the command of armies and the government of provinces, and often chosen as advisers of their prince;" and "Natives of learning were rewarded with numerous situations of honour and emolument;" but they have now entirely lost all these advantages. "In former times (they add) Native fathers were anxious to educate their children according to the usages of those days, to qualify them for such offices under government as they might reasonably hope to obtain; and young men had the most powerful motives for sedulously cultivating their minds in the laudable ambition of rising by their merits to an honourable rank in society; but under the present system, so trifling are the rewards held out to Native talent, that hardly any stimulus to intellectual improvement remains." They are, at the same time, cut off, as far as possible, from the advantages of associating with a more enlightened people, by the Company's non-colonizing system, which allows them to have Englishmen as masters and rulers only, but not as companions. Yet it is only in the few places where the Europern community is sufficiently large to have some sensible influence on the state of Native society, that any improvement in the latter is at all practicable. Having deprived them of almost every natural source of amelioration, the Company is surely bound, by every principle of justice and humanity, to make the same compensation; to promote the improvement of its subjects by every other means in its power. The surplus territorial revenue which belongs to the country and the people cannot be taken from them without manifest robbery, till such an indispensable want as that of education be supplied. One half of that surplus ought to satisfy the monopolists, and the debts they have created; while the other should be applied to the instruction of those from whom it is wrung by a merciless monopoly of the first necessaries of life, that Great Britain might do something worthy of herself, to wipe off the foul stigma of being the Degrader of the Hindoos. Melancholy as the fact is, and disgraceful to us as a nation, we must confess it, though it is with shame and sorrow, that, judging from all the facts before us, we are every day reducing them more and more, both in morals and intellect, (or rather permitting the Company to do it,) to a pitch of debasement which even the Hindoos had not before reached under the barbarous Mohammedans, and could not have reached under almost any other form of government. As the causes of this are to be found in the whole frame of our monopolizing and non-colonizing system, they are sweeping and general in their operation; while the efforts made by benevolent indivi-

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[7] See Speech of Mr. Thomas Campbell, author of 'The Pleasures of Hope,' at a late meeting in London.

[8] Vide *Oriental Herald*, for May 1825, Vol. V. p. 512.

duals to counteract it by education, are confessedly extremely feeble and limited in their effects. The mischief is thus far greater than the remedy; the causes of demoralization and debasement far more powerful than the efforts made to counteract it by education. We would not, however, *therefore* discourage them: on the contrary, they ought to be persevered in, as their beneficial tendency is unquestionable, and there is everywhere the strongest proofs that the Natives themselves thirst for instruction. But, as in the present circumstances of the country, no efforts or contributions of private individuals can supply the want, those who enjoy the whole revenues of the country, who alone have the power, ought to be compelled to do it by the indignant voice of the British nation.

SONG.—MOORE.

Wilt thou say farewell, love,
And from Rosa part?
Rosa's tears will tell, love,
The anguish of her heart;
I 'll still be thine,
And thou 'lt be mine;
I 'll love thee though we sever;
Oh! say can I
E'er cease to sigh,
Or cease to love? no, never!

II.

Wilt thou think of me, love,
When thou art far away?
Oh! I 'll think of thee, love,
Never, never stray;
I 'll still be thine,
And thou 'lt be mine;
I 'll love thee though we sever;
Oh! say can I
E'er cease to sigh,
Or cease to love? no, never!

III.

Let not others wile, love,
Thy ardent heart betray;
Remember Rosa's smile, love,
Rosa, far away;
I 'll still be thine,
And thou 'lt be mine;
I 'll love thee though we sever;
Oh! say can I
E'er cease to sigh,
Or cease to love? no, never!

RESPONSE.

I.

Though I say farewell, love,
Stern duty bids me go,
Then, oh! those clouds dispel, love,
That shade thy angel brow;
Stay, stay thy fears,
Dry, dry thy tears,
No change our souls can sever;
Then cease to sigh,
For love's strong tie
Shall bind them fast for ever!

II.

Yes! while memory's power, love,
Unimpaired shall be,
Every passing hour, love,
Will waft a sigh to thee;
Though War's wild scourge,
And Ocean's surge,
Combine our fates to sever,
Hope's cheering ray
Will whispering say,
"Oh! soon you 'll meet for ever!"

III.

When lured by Syrens' guile, love,
And Music's sweetest shell,
The memory of thy smile, love,
Will break th' enchanting spell;
Though Sappho's fire,
And Orpheus' lyre,
Breathe on mine ear for ever,
Thy dearer strain
Has formed a chain
That can be broken—never!

UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS OF A TRAVELLER IN THE EAST.

No. VI.

Voyage from Malta through the Greek Islands to Milo—Sea Fight with Pirates—Stormy Weather—and Classic Scenery.

We left Malta on the evening of the 25th of July, and being favoured with a fine breeze throughout the night, we had lost sight of the island at day-break on the following morning, when we discovered a polacca a-head. Piracies being frequently committed in this sea, both by Greek and Austrian vessels, whenever there is a sufficient disparity of force to insure them no resistance, we were on our guard: prepared ship for action; cast the guns loose; and had matches lighted. Crowding all sail, we came up with the polacca about noon, and sailing near enough to her to show that we were sufficiently well manned and armed not to fall an easy prize, we passed without molestation, and secured all again. Still crowding sail, we left her rapidly, and at sun-set she was nearly hull-down a-stern.

Still favoured with the breeze, the rising sun displayed to our view the lofty hills of Greece, shedding on their blue ridges the most delightful tints. It was the land between Cape Drosso and Cape Matapan, which last is the southern point of the Morea. It is impossible to describe the sensations I felt on first approaching those venerable shores. Throughout the whole of the day, I could not avoid giving loose to the reins of fancy, and while viewing those now barren and silent mountains, transporting myself, in idea, to every spot renowned in its history, and burning with impatience to tread its soil.

At 4, P. M., we hauled round the Cape, which is a bluff ragged point, and entered the Gulf of Bagena or Colokythia, deriving both its names from two towns situated within it. A heavy thunder-storm gathering, we took in all the light sails, and single-reefed the topsails. It burst without occasioning us any injury, and was followed by a serene sky, when we crowded all sail, and stood on for the channel of Cerigo.

During the whole of the night we lay becalmed between the islands of Cervi and Cerigo, (the ancient Cytherea or Island of Venus,) with several Greek vessels and boats in sight. The whole of the neighbouring coast is inhabited by a set of pirates, calling themselves the descendants of the Lacedemonians, who acknowledge no law but that of force. In calm weather these pirates come off in large boats, and plunder, indiscriminately, all vessels incapable of defence, taking care always to ascertain their powers of resistance before hand, and then trying to overwhelm them by numbers. A knowledge of this circumstance occasioned us to be on our guard, and having all the guns ready, matches lighted, and boarding-pikes and small-arms on deck, the crew, officers, and passengers remained up the whole of the night, in order to insure the vigilance of the watch.

Amid this scene of tranquil beauty, scarcely disturbed by the momentary expectation of danger, I enjoyed the full force of all the poetic associations which the mere hills and rocks around us were sufficient to

inspire; and reverted with increased pleasure to the luxuriant description of Cytherea, (the divinity to whom the island near us is said to have given birth, and from whom it bears its name,) in the Ode of Moore:—

All *must* be luxury where Lyœus smiles!
His locks divine
Were crown'd
With a bright meteor-braid;
Which, like an ever-springing wreath of vine,
Shot into brilliant leafy shapes,
And o'er his brow in lambent tendrils play'd;
While 'mid the foliage hung,
Like lucid grapes,
A thousand clustering blooms of light,
Cull'd from the gardens of the galaxy!
Upon his bosom Cytherea's head
Lay lovely, as when first the Syrens sung
Her beauty's dawn;
And all the curtains of the deep undrawn,
Reveal'd her sleeping in its azure bed.
The captive deity
Languish'd upon her eyes and lip
In chains of ecstacy!
Now on his arm
In blushes she repos'd;
And, while her zone resign'd its every charm,
To shade his burning eyes, his hand in dalliance stole!
And now she raised her rosy mouth to sip
The nectar'd wave
Lyœus gave,
And from her eylids, gently clos'd,
Shed a dissolving gleam,
Which fell like sun-dew o'er the bowl;
While her bright hair, in mazy flow
Of gold, descending
Along her cheek's luxurious glow,
Waved o'er the goblet's side,
And was reflected by its crystal tide,
Like a sweet crocus flower,
Whose sunny leaves, at evening hour,
With roses of Cyrene blending,
Hang o'er the mirror of a silver stream. FALL OF HEBE.

At sun-rise we were boarded by an officer from a Maltese polacca, bound to Malta, having another vessel under convoy, both navigated with Greek crews. We learnt from him, that the Archipelago was at this moment crowded with privateers and pirates, who took their prizes into obscure ports of the Adriatic and into the Greek islands for sale; and not unfrequently butchered every living creature on board. Being detained until evening, between Cerigo and the Morea, by calms and light airs, which were so extremely variable as to blow from every point of the compass within an hour, we had the finest opportunity of viewing the surrounding shores at leisure. On the summit of all the hills, were to be seen villages and detached dwellings, extending downwards to the sea-shore. Small watch-towers were also discernible on the elevated spots, apparently placed so as to communicate with each other by signal.

We continued becalmed in this passage during the whole of the day, and at sun-set had several vessels in sight around us. One of them, a ship of about 300 tons, lying very near us, fired a gun and hoisted a red flag, which we answered by the British ensign. When within musket shot, the commander sent his boat alongside, and informed us of his being a Maltese cruizer, adding, that there were a number of privateers and pirates in the neighbourhood of this Passage, one of which he had engaged from day-break this morning until noon, and succeeded in driving her on shore under Cape St. Angelo; but that another lateen-rigged vessel, with eighty men on board, was lying in wait for such vessels as might pass that way. On leaving us, he said that he intended cruizing in the Passage through the night; but a light air springing up, his ship was soon out of sight.

In consequence of this information, our vigilance was increased, and we accordingly lost no time in preparing every thing for action. Before an hour had elapsed, we discovered the lateen-rigged vessel, described by the Maltese cruizer, bearing down upon us. When she came within hail, perceiving her decks to be full of men, we hailed, and ordered her commander to strike his colours instantly; but he, refusing to answer, and at the same time luffing up his vessel under our quarter, with an evident intention to board, we fired a broadside into her, accompanied by a volley of musketry, when her main-mast fell over her side, and all her sails were at once lowered by the crew. This was done apparently for the purpose of having recourse to the oars or sweeps, so as to lay the vessel alongside us, broadside to broadside, and overpower us by boarding. The pirates succeeded in obtaining the most favourable position that could be desired for this purpose, and were twice fastened to us by grappling irons in the fore and main chains, and twice cut adrift by the intrepidity of some of our crew.

The circumstances under which we contended were of the most discouraging kind. Our own vessel mounted only ten small guns, and the whole crew did not exceed twenty-five in number. The pirate presented a broadside of double the number and double the weight of metal of our own, and was crowded with men, to the number of 100, at the very least. They had come out from their hiding-place in the creeks of the coast, in full vigour of strength, and high spirits. Our crew had been half exhausted by continual watching. Their commander was actively engaged in every part of his ship, encouraging the crew by his presence and example. Our own was taken out of his cot in a high fever, contracted soon after leaving Malta, and by which he was already greatly debilitated. His spirits had, however, risen with the occasion that demanded them, and he had insisted on being carried on deck in the arms of two of his crew, and placed on the capstan, where he was obliged to be supported for the first half-hour by the ship's steward, who held his body erect, while he himself directed the combat with as much energy as if he were in the full possession of health.

What added much to the melancholy interest of the scene was the following circumstance: the captain had on board his wife and infant daughter, a child of about four years old, who were going with him to Smyrna; and their anxiety to be on deck, beside their husband and father, in the midst of all the danger, was so great, that it was found necessary to imprison them, as it were, in the cabin below, to prevent

their alarm from being witnessed by, or shaking the firmness of, the crew. The cabin-boy alone was permitted to remain with them in their confinement; and in about a quarter of an hour after the firing had commenced on both sides, he rushed to the small aperture left open for the admission of air, and exclaimed that a large cannon-ball had entered the ship's side, and cut away the lanyards or slings of the cot in which the infant was lying, precipitating the child to the deck, and passing also close by its distracted mother in its way; while the streams of musket-bullets poured into the cabin windows by the volleys of small-arms from the pirates, who had now dropped under our stern for the purpose of raking us, rendered it unsafe to move either the mother or the child from any one part of the cabin to the other.

This intelligence appeared to act as a charm on the nerves and strength of the captain. He who, from debility and fever, had been until now unable even to stand or sit without support, sprung from the capstan on the deck, rallied the crew to renewed efforts of defence, fought himself at several of the carronades in succession; and although wounded in the thigh by the dismounting of one of the quarter-deck guns, the whole weight of which fell on his limb, and thus a second time unable to move, he resumed his supported position on the capstan again, and maintained his energy unimpaired, until he had the happiness to see the conflict terminated by the flight of our opponent, and our complete delivery from the horrors of capture, under circumstances of irritation which would probably have ended in the massacre of every creature on board.

In the course of this furious and obstinate contest, a number of the pirates were cut down in their attempts to board, their bodies falling into the sea, and becoming crushed by the occasional contact of the vessels' sides; so closely was the action maintained. Others were slain on our own decks, and afterwards hurried to the deep; but, from the circumstance of none of our crew ever venturing from the deck of their own ship, being enjoined to remain on the defensive, not one of the whole number was killed, though more than half of them were wounded, with musketry, splinters, and sabre cuts; some few severely; while the decks were covered with blood and the wreck of shattered bulwarks, stranded rigging, and shattered sails, in such a manner, as to render it matter of surprise how a single gun could have been worked effectually amidst the darkness and confusion that prevailed.

The loss of the enemy must have been considerable. The crash of their falling main-mast, which was shot away by our first broadside, and fell right along their deck, occasioned a wild and universal shriek, that bespoke the devastation it created:—and every subsequent discharge of cannon, laden to the muzzle with grape and canister, thinned their numbers; as the crew were so thronged on their decks that it was almost impossible for a shot to cross them without bearing death or wounds to some one of the crowd in its passage.

It took us all the remainder of the night to clear away the wreck occasioned by our conflict, and bind up the wounds of the disabled; and when this was done, the exhausted crew were so overcome with fatigue, that a cock-boat might have made of us an easy prize, as scarcely an eye could resist the influence of that sleep to which all had been now for so many hours a stranger.

Just before day-break, when I repaired again on deck, it was again

calm, while there remained a gentle swell of the sea, from the opposing airs of the preceding day. Never was there a more tranquil or delightful night: every thing combined to render the surrounding scenery enchanting; and while all the crew still remained absorbed in the profoundest sleep, I enjoyed this hour of safety and tranquillity alone. A thought on the instability of such happiness, and the rapid flight of such delightful moments, threw, it must be confessed, a momentary damp upon the scene; and watching the restless agitation of the water, on whose surface the silver moon still poured her stream of light, I felt the full force and beauty of the poet's reflections at sea:—

> See, how beneath the moon-beam's smile,
> Yon little billow heaves its breast,
> And foams, and sparkles, for a while,
> And murmuring, then retires to rest.
>
> Thus, man, the sport of bliss and care,
> Rises on time's eventful sea;
> And having swell'd a moment there,
> Thus melts into eternity! MOORE.

Unfavourable breezes, which sprung up a little after sun-rise, had driven us to the southward, between Cerigo and Cerigotto. At 8, P. M., we observed several ships a-stern, coming up with a fine breeze from the westward, which did not reach us until 10, when several of the vessels were within hail. We spoke one of them, and found they were from Malta, bound to Smyrna and Constantinople. Taking all advantage of the breeze, we stood in close to Cape St. Angelo, which at 9, P. M., bore S. W., distant about five leagues. Closed in with the fleet, intending to keep company with them, if no detention should be occasioned thereby. At 10, the breeze gradually died away; and at midnight it was again a perfect calm.

As the day advanced, our troubles were renewed. At sun-rise it began to blow freshly, gradually increasing in force, and by noon we had strong gales from the northward, and were carrying all sail possible to keep off a lee shore; we now discovered the bowsprit to be sprung, and from the press of sail necessary to keep off shore, we carried away the main-stay, and parted the larboard fore and main swifters; sprung the fore-topgallant mast a little above the cap, and parted several ropes aloft, most of which had been previously injured by musket-shot in the action of the preceding night. Sent down the royal yards on deck, and struck the masts; close-reefed the fore-topsail, and made the ship snug; it still blowing harder and harder, with a heavy sea running throughout the day.

At day-break, on the following morning, we saw the islands of Christiana on our lee bow, which, from the strength of the gale, we were not able to weather, and accordingly bearing up, ran under their lee, and hauled in for Santorin, intending to anchor under the land. Another ship followed us, and at 8, P. M., being in comparatively smooth water, her captain came on board. We had a range of cable on deck, and the small bower-anchor ready for letting go; but our consort was unwilling to bring up, and urged us to keep the sea. His pilot expressed a confident belief that the gale would continue for five or six days at least; but the captain of the ship now in company, continuing to persist in his intention of standing on, we agreed to accompany him, and made sail. As soon as

we opened the eastern land, however, an increasing gale and heavy sea drove us so far to leeward, that when we wore ship, we could not fetch the anchorage from whence we had come. We therefore continued beating under the land, reefing and letting out occasionally throughout the day; and at night sent down the topgallant yards, and housed the masts for further security.

Another day opened without better hopes; we had still the same weather; and were compelled to beat alternately from Christiana to Anaphi, under the land of Santorin, endeavouring in vain to reach the anchorage under the south end of it. Our situation gave us an opportunity of viewing Santorin in every possible direction; and I felt pleasure in destroying the tediousness of time by endeavouring to collect some particulars of its history from travellers in the East.

Santorin, according to Pliny, received the name of Calista, or Handsome Island, after having issued from the bosom of the waters: it afterwards bore that of Thera, one of its kings. The name which it has at the present day is formed of that of St. Irene, to whom the island was dedicated under the emperors of the East.

This island appears to have undergone various changes from the operation of volcanic fire; and we learn that the islands, Therasia, Aspronisi, and the Caïmenis, have been altogether formed by eruptions which have taken place at different periods.

Olivier, a French traveller, who visited these islands in 1795, says: "After having visited, with the greatest attention, Thera, Therasia, and Aspronisi, and convinced ourselves that these three islands, at a remote epoch, must have formed but one, and that there has taken place a sudden and violent depression, which has divided them, it remained for us to see whether the three islands of the road" (meaning the Caïmenis) "presented an organization different from the other three. We employed a whole day in this examination; and we had reason to be satisfied in seeing that, even had not history told us any thing on this subject, these islands carry with them the stamp of the period of their formation."

Of the Caïmenis, the old one is called Hiera, or the Sacred Island, and was dedicated to the gods of hell, because it had been seen to issue, all on fire, from the bottom of the sea, through the effect of a volcano. Pliny says, that this event took place 130 years after that which had separated Thera from Therasia. M. de Choiseul affirms, according to Father Hardouin, that there is a mistake in the dates, and that it was not till forty years after that the island of Hiera made its appearance.

Brietius says, that in the year 47, there arose, all on a sudden from the bottom of the sea, near Thera, a small island which had not yet been seen. (*Briet. ann. mund. Venet.* 1592. Vol. II. p. 63.) In the year 169 before J. C., says Justinus, there was seen to issue, after an earthquake, an island between Thera and Therasia, which was called Sacred, and was dedicated to Pluto. (*Just.* lib. 30, cap. 4.) Dion Cassius mentions the sudden appearance of a small island near that of Thera, during the reign of Claudius. Syncellus mentions it in the 46th year after J. C., and places it between Thera and Therasia. But it appears that, some time after, there arose another island, called Thia, which either disappeared, or was united to the Sacred Island. Mention is made of it in Pliny, in Theophanes, and in Brietius.

Nothing remarkable afterwards happened until 1427, when a fresh explosion produced a rather great and very distinguishable increase to the island of Hiera, mention of which is made in some Latin verses engraved on a marble at Scauro, near the church of the Jesuits.

In 1373 was formed, after a fresh explosion, which lasted for some time, the Little Caïmeni, such as it is seen at the present day. Father Richard, a Jesuit, says, that in his time there were several old men in Santorin who had seen that island formed in the middle of the sea, and who had on that account named it Micri Caïmeni, or Little Burnt Island.

When Tournefort visited Santorin, at the beginning of the last century, the New Caïmeni was not yet in existence: it was not until some years after, from 1707 to 1711, that it issued by degrees from the bottom of the sea after various earthquakes.

It is not to be doubted but that Santorin must at one period have been one of the finest and most fertile islands in the Archipelago. Its circular form, a soil entirely susceptible of culture, which rose by degrees from the borders of the sea; Mounts St. Stephen and St. Elias, situated at one of the extremities, covered, perhaps, with verdure and wood;—every thing concurred to render Santorin, if not a very beautiful island, at least one of the most agreeable of the Archipelago. The other islands of these seas have their surface very unequal. Many are no more than naked mountains covered with rocks: there are but a few valleys, a few small plains, and a few rising grounds, that are cultivated. Their aspect is far less agreeable than that which Santorin must have presented at this period; and at the present day, notwithstanding the small extent of its territory, though it wants a good harbour, and though it has none but cistern-water, it is still the most populous and the richest of all the small islands of the Archipelago.

In the 'Annals of the World,' by Brietius, we find that, thirty years before the Ionic emigration, Theras, son of Autesion, and nephew of Polynices, caused a colony of Minyæ to be conveyed to Calista, in order to augment there the number of the inhabitants. The Minyæ were descendants of the Argonauts, who had followed Jason into Colchis, and who, on their return, had stopped at Lemnos, and had there established themselves. The descendants of these heroes, driven some time after from Lemnos by the Pelasgi, took refuge in Sparta, where they were kindly received. Lands even were given to them, and they were married to girls of the country. But as these strangers, ever restless and ambitious, were, in the sequel, convicted of endeavouring to seize on the sovereign authority, they were apprehended, and condemned to death. Love inspired one of their women with a trick that succeeded. Having obtained permission to see their husbands previous to the execution of the sentence, they changed clothes with them, and by means of this disguise, the husbands got out, in the dark, from their confinement, and fled to Mount Taygetus. Then it was that Theras demanded them, obtained them, and conducted them to Calista, which since that time was called Thera. Thus it was, says the author, that this wise man found means to render useful rebels and plunderers, who had deserved death, and who, but for this stratagem, would have suffered it.

At day-break, we had light winds and clear weather. While plying to windward, at noon, we observed a boat full of men, under a press of

sail, and towing at least twenty oars, steering immediately after us. As she gained on us incredibly fast, there was not the least probability of avoiding her by flight; and it being beyond a doubt that she was a pirate well equipped for the purposes of attack, particularly boarding, the ship was prepared for action; and the commander, whose illness had returned from fatigue and anxiety, was again carried on deck by some of the crew, in order to superintend personally the preparations for defence. The decks being cleared, and all hands to quarters, we took in the light sails, hauled the courses up, and hove to, to receive our pursuer, giving her a gun at the moment of our hoisting the British flag.

She still continued to bear down on us until nearly within half pistol-shot, when, refusing to answer our hail, and showing no colours, we gave her a broadside, which did some execution, as the carronnades were loaded with grape and canister. The few able hands that remained fit for duty were then ordered to the musketry and boarding-pikes, which the enemy perceiving, found his design frustrated in our being prepared to repulse his boarding; in effecting which he would certainly have carried us, having not less than a hundred men on board, while our number of effective hands was now reduced to twelve. Either from the execution of the cannon discharged, or from a sudden panic at the sight of the muskets and pikes appearing through our nettings, she suddenly wore round, and bore away as fast as oars and sails could carry her. We should have felt a pleasure in making her a prize, but in our present weak and disabled state, we had sufficient reason for congratulation in having escaped without being massacred, or made prisoners ourselves.

The next day opened with light breezes, cloudy weather, and rain. At ten it cleared up, when we made more sail. At noon, however, the wind increased; and at five P.M. a tremendous squall struck the vessel, and carried away the foretop-mast below the cap. The topsails were now close-reefed, and hands sent into the top to secure the mast; the squally weather and rain still continuing, and the climate resembling a northern winter rather than a summer in the Mediterranean Sea.

The following morning again brought us no relief, opening with squally and unpleasant weather, with the wind from the N.W., which drove us so far to leeward, that at noon we were close in with the island of Candia, when we tacked to keep off the shore. I resorted to the best method within my reach, of rendering a painful situation tolerable, by collecting all the notes of this locality from my portfolio.

Candia, the ancient Crete, is one of the largest islands in the Mediterranean Sea. It is about 300 miles long by 50 broad, and supplies, by its extreme fertility, the greater part of the Archipelago with corn.

The Cretan mythologists relate, that the first inhabitants of the island were the Dactyli Idæi, who dwelt around Mount Ida. They were regarded as magicians, because they possessed a variety of knowledge. Orpheus, who distinguished himself so highly in poetry and music, was their disciple. They discovered the use of fire, iron, and brass.

The Dactyli Idæi were the ancestors of the Curetes, who taught men to collect flocks of sheep, to tame the ferocity of wild animals for domestic purposes, and also the management of bees. They likewise first used the bow, and followed the chase.

Leaving mythology for the more certain records and monuments of history, we find that Crete received its name from Crés, the first of its

monarchs. He was the author of several useful inventions, which contributed to the happiness of his subjects. In order to distinguish the true Cretans from strangers, they were named Eteocretes. They inhabited the southern division of the island; they built the city of Præsus, and erected a temple to Jove.

The last king of Crete was Idomeneus. This prince, accompanied by Merion, conducted twenty-four ships to the assistance of Agamemnon. At his departure, he committed the government of his kingdom to Leucas, his adopted son. Leucas flattering himself, from the long absence of Idomeneus, that he was dead, murdered his wife and daughter, and assumed the government on his own account; and when Idomeneus returned to Crete, crowned with laurels, he obliged him to re-embark. The usurper did not long enjoy the fruit of his crimes: the Cretans abolished monarchy, and the island became a republic.

This republic served Lycurgus as a model for that which he established in Lacedæmon. It had, according to antient historians, a system of legislature, whose direct tendency was to call forth the buds of virtue in the heart of infancy; to open and expand them in youth; to inspire man, as he reached maturity, with the love of his country, of glory, and of liberty; and to comfort and support the infirmities of age with the respect and esteem due to that period of life.

The Cretan republic flourished till the time of Julius Cæsar. No other state ever enjoyed so long a period of strength and grandeur. It bravely repelled the attacks of those princes who attempted to enslave her, and knew no foreign masters for a period of ten centuries.

At length the time arrived when the warlike and victorious Romans aspired to the empire of the world. The Cretans had appeared to favour Mithridates, and the Romans thought proper to declare war against them on that account. Marc Antony attacked them, but he was defeated, and lost part of his fleet. The Cretans hung up his soldiers and sailors on the masts, yards, and rigging of their ships, and returned in triumph into their own harbours, after rendering the defeat of their enemies complete.

The Romans never forgot or forgave a defeat. As soon as the Macedonian war was brought to a happy conclusion, they again took arms against the Cretans Quintus Metellus conducted the armament, and met with an obstinate and vigorous resistance. It was three years before the Romans made themselves masters of the island.

From the era of this conquest the Cretans have no longer formed a separate nation, or made any figure among the states and kingdoms of the world. Their noble and ingenuous manners, their arts and sciences, their value and their virtues, alas! are now no more.

The island of Crete, joined with the small kingdom of Cyrené on the Lybian coast, formed a Roman province. Constantine afterwards separated it from Cyrené, in the new division which he made of the provinces of the empire.

When Michael III. (Balbus) sat on the throne of Constantinople, the Agarenians, a people of Arabia, attacked Crete, and made themselves masters of it without opposition. Michael made some ineffectual efforts to expel them; and his successor, Basil I., the Macedonian, was not more successful. It was reserved for Nicephorus Phocas to deliver this fine island from the Arabian yoke. He routed them in various

engagements; and in the course of nine months, he reduced the whole island, took their king, Currup, and his lieutenant, Aremas, prisoners; and united to the empire a province which had been 127 years out of its possession. It remained under the dominion of the Romans till the time when Baldwin Count of Flanders, being raised to the throne, liberally rewarded the services of Boniface, Marquis of Montserrat, by making him king of Thessalonica, and adding the island of Crete to his dominions. But that lord, more covetous of gold than glory, sold it to the Venetians, at the close of the 12th century, under whom it assumed another name.

Candia, the modern name of the island of Crete, is derived from Khunda, the Arabian name of the capital only. It soon began to flourish under the Venetians, who remained in undisturbed possession five centuries and a half.

In the year 1645, in the midst of a profound peace, the treachery of the Turks laid the foundation of their future ill fortunes. It was in the preceding year, 1644, that the restless disposition of the Divan led them to plan an attack on the island of Candia; but being then at peace with the Venetians, they concealed their design under the semblance of amity, until their fleet was fitted out, and had sailed for the island. The Turks then threw off the mask, and in June 1645, landed 74,000 men in Candia; where, in their first campaign, they took the strong city of Canea, with their usual violence and slaughter; and thus began, in injustice, a long and bloody contest, which lasted all that century.

In the year 1665, Sultan Mohammed IV., not satisfied with his predecessor, Ibrahim's, conquest of Canea, began to turn his thoughts to the possession of the whole island; and after great preparations made at Constantinople, the Vizier landed in the following year with a great force in Candia.

It was not, however, until May, in 1667, that the celebrated siege of Candia began, which was opened by the Vizier with an army of 70,000 men, all Turks; as, to prevent suffering by treachery, they would enlist none but true Musulmen. These Turks were provided with every thing necessary for the attack of such a place, and furnished with cannon, some of which carried balls of one hundred and twenty pounds weight. So certain were the whole nation of success, that preparations were made at Constantinople and other cities, for illuminations and rejoicings on the capture of Candia; but that place resisted the most furious and repeated attacks with heroic firmness, and the Vizier was obliged to continue the whole of the winter in the trenches. A second year passed in a repetition of the same furious attacks, and the same obstinate resistance. In two assaults, the Turks lost 30,000 men; but by continual supplies of troops and ammunition, they were still enabled to press forward, and at length carried the outworks of the Christians.

In the year 1670, after a bloody and obstinately contested war of twenty-five years, dating from their conquest of Canea, the island fell wholly under the power of the Turks, when the Grand Vizier made his public entry into the city of Candia, its capital, with great pomp and ostentation.

That capital, however, which once flourished in opulence, is now little more than a village; and the harbour, once the mart of active commerce, is now by neglect become only fit for boats and small craft.

Falconer represents the 'Britannia' as touching at that island in the course of her voyage; and feelingly laments the desolating hand of war that had ravaged it:—

> Thus time elapsed, while o'er the pathless tide,
> Their ships through Grecian seas the pilots guide.
> Occasion called to touch at Candia's shore,
> Which, bless'd with favouring winds, they soon explore;
> The haven enter, borne before the gale,
> Despatch their commerce, and prepare to sail.
> Eternal powers! what ruins from afar,
> Mark the fell track of desolating war!
> Here arts and commerce, with auspicious reign,
> Once breathed sweet influence on the happy plain,
> While o'er the lawn, with dance and festive song,
> Young Pleasure led the jocund hours along:
> In gay luxuriance Ceres too was seen
> To crown the valleys with eternal green.
> For wealth, for valour, courted and revered,
> What Albion is, fair Candia then appeared.
> Ah! who the flight of ages can revoke!
> The free-born spirit of her sons is broke;
> They bow to Ottoman's imperious yoke!
> No longer Fame the drooping heart inspires,
> For rude oppression quench'd its genial fires;
> But still her fields, with golden harvests crowned,
> Supply the barren shores of Greece around. SHIPWRECK.

It was now the 10th of August, and we had for several days been beating about the most open part of the Archipelago, to the north of Candia, in such a state, that a week more of contrary winds and bad weather would have left not a hand in the vessel fit for duty. On the morning of this day we had light breezes from the N. E., and clear weather, but were still employed during the whole of the day in beating to windward, and saw at one view, the islands of Caravi, Kaimeni, Falconera, Milo, Anti-Milo, the Ananes, and Cape St. Angelo of the Morea. Falconer, in his 'Shipwreck,' introducing the third of these, says:—

> Four hours thus scudding on the tide she flew,
> When Falconera's rocky height they view;
> High o'er its summit, through the gloom of night,
> The glimmering watch-tower casts a mournful light.

Which leads one to suppose it inhabited at the time of his writing, and possessing a light-house. On a careful survey of the island all around, I could perceive no traces of habitation, or the least vestige of a building of that kind, and our passing within a mile of it afforded a favourable opportunity for observation.

It was from this spot the Marine Poet formed that animated survey of the classic regions which surrounded him, and from which he so beautifully adverts to the adjacent nations of Greece, renowned in antiquity: to Athens, honoured by the names of Socrates, Plato, Aristides, and Solon; to Corinth, and her architectural beauties; to Sparta, and her heroic son, Leonidas, who with a handful of brave followers scattered the countless myriads of imperial Xerxes at Thermopylæ's immortal plain; to Arcadia, celebrated for its former happiness and fertility, now the seat of rapine, slavery, and oppression; to Ithaca, the scene of fair

Penelope's attachment and fidelity to her absent lord, Ulysses; to Argos and Mycenæ, celebrated by Homer; to Macronisi, or the Isle of Helena, the anchorage of the Grecian fleet in the wars of Troy; to Delos, famed for the sacredness of its hallowed groves; to Lemnos, where Vulcan was hurled from heaven by the avenging Juno, and where Jove's thunder was first forged on Cyclopian anvils; to the illustrious Troy, immortalized by Homer's pen; to the Hellespont and Thracian strand, the scene of the impassioned loves of Hero and Leander; to the plains of Delphos, which bore the sacred oracle of Phœbus, and the splendid Temple of Apollo; and to the hill of famed Parnassus, sacred to the tuneful Nine!

I had read his inimitable work at all times with pleasure; but could not fail to feel its beauties more strikingly, when the eye surveyed the very scenes he so faithfully portrays. Like him, too, I had often had occasion to lament the want of congenial feelings in the bosom of some, at least, of my companions, and could with equal propriety say:—

> ———————— Did they,
> Unskilled in Grecian or in Roman lore,
> Unconscious pass each famous circling shore?
> They did; for blasted in the barren shade,
> Here, all too soon, the buds of science fade:
> Sad Ocean's genius, in untimely hour,
> Withers the bloom of every springing flower;
> Here Fancy droops, while sullen cloud and storm
> The generous climate of the soul deform.

Increasing breezes had obliged us to reef our topsails and take in the topgallant-sails during the night. At daylight it blew strong from the N. E., and the vessel was under snug sail. At 7, A. M., we were brought too by a brig of war, the commander of which informed us that he had positive intelligence of two large pirates now cruizing in the Archipelago, and as his pilot was apprehensive of a N. E. gale, it was his intention to go into Milo, to take shelter until more favourable weather might give a hope of falling in with them in fighting condition. As we were still more unfit to encounter a gale than our adviser, we resolved to accompany him into port, and followed him accordingly. Bent both cables, and got the anchors clear. At ten entered the harbour of Milo; and at noon, came to an anchor in twenty-five fathom water, just within the N. E. point; which, shutting in the Cape that forms the S. E. point of the entrance also, rendered us completely land-locked. Here we took on board a Greek pilot; gave the vessel a long scope of cable; made her snug for the worst weather; and employed the crew during the afternoon in making up our deficiency of fresh water.

We were not long at anchor before we received a visit from the brother of the English Consul, himself a Greek or Levantine; this brother was accompanied by a Greek priest, the Consul's secretary, a Greek also, and a fine young lad, about fifteen, the Consul's son. Learning from the pilot, who spoke sufficient English to be understood, that the secretary was considered the most learned man in the island, and well versed in the ancient Greek and Latin languages, I presented him with some printed books, and manuscript extracts from some of their most celebrated poets and historians, particularly Homer, Hesiod, and Pindar, Plutarch, Plato, and Demosthenes; from the perusal of which he appeared to derive

much pleasure. In Eton's 'Survey of the Turkish Empire,' is a copy of the Memorial presented by the Greek Deputies to the Empress Catherine of Russia, imploring her grandson for their emperor. This being in the modern Greek, he read it aloud to his companions, who, after the most fixed attention to his delivery of it, expressed the warmest interest that can be conceived, and entered into an animated conversation on the subject of the oppression of the Ottomans. The pilot, who spoke good Italian, was our interpreter, and appeared to use no reserve in his communications. He entered fully into the warmth with which his companions expressed the indignation they felt at the tyranny of the Turks, and their regret at finding all their efforts towards the permanent establishment of their independence hitherto unsuccessful; though, he added, "our desire of liberty grows every day more strong, and the courage of our people is equal to any undertaking that might secure it." He then enumerated instances of the unfeeling barbarity of their oppressors, which were sufficient to stir the very stones to mutiny; and concluded by expressing his belief, that not a Greek among them was degenerate enough to withhold the hazard of his life in the cause of that freedom which their ancestors so proudly maintained and cherished, while there existed the most distant prospect of success.

LOCUSTS.

"The earth shall quake before them; the heavens shall tremble; the sun and moon shall be dark, and the stars shall withdraw their shining."—JOEL ii. 10.

THINE are these hosts, when, in thy wrath, O Lord!
High in the obscure heavens, innumerable,
The legion'd swarms, with chariot-sounding yell,
Or noise of roaring flames, at thy dread word,
Bring devastating judgment. The keen sword,
Ominous in the sky, doth not reveal
With dubious boding, which no tongue may tell,
Terror so dark, as when that winged-horde
Of rushing flight, falls like a bloody rain,
Colouring the blessed sunlight.—Mosque and tomb,
And pale-washed spire, wont on the distant plain
To gleam magnificent, and all the bloom
Of branching forests, sink in fearful gloom,
Red, like the clouds above that shower the living stain.¹

CYTHERON.

¹ A gentleman, at Poonah, was witness to an immense army of locusts which ravaged the Mahratta country; the column they composed was said to have extended five hundred miles! So compact was their body, when on the wing, that, like an eclipse, they completely hid the sun, so that no shadow was cast by any object; and some lofty tombs at a very short distance were rendered quite invisible. What added to the horror of the scene was their being of the red species of locusts; for, clustering upon the trees, after they had stripped them of their foliage, they turned the verdant green into a bloody hue.

THE DECCAN BOOTY.

We have lately abstained from dwelling much on this subject, in the constant expectation that a decision on the plan of distribution, by those to whom it was intrusted, would soon set the public mind at rest. Our disappointment, in this respect, will be shared by many of our readers, whose claims to a portion of this prize-property, earned by their services in the field, have so long been kept in suspense. Since the dissolution of Parliament, some correspondence[1] has taken place between the agents for the army and the Treasury, Sir Thomas Hislop and the trustees appointed by his Majesty to award the prize-money. From this it appears that the trustees still adhere to the same extraordinary mode of procedure, in excluding those interested from all knowledge of the nature of the objections started by the East India Company to their claims. The army or its agents have thus no opportunity of rebutting such objections; they cannot even guess at the means or pretences by which their rights may be cut down; and after the decision shall have been pronounced, although the grounds of it may be capable of being proved to be erroneous, the Duke of Wellington and his colleague will then be unable to avail themselves of such evidence. They and their friends will then think their credit concerned in maintaining and defending, at all hazards, the wisdom and justice of the award. Knowing this, and dreading the result of an adjudication thus carried on in the dark, the agents for the army have continued to urge, in the most pressing manner, the necessity of affording them some information, but still without success.

On the 16th of July last, Mr. Atcheson, agent for the army, submitted to the Lords of the Treasury an 'Abstract of the Property acquired in consequence of the Operations of, and different Captures made by, the Army of the Deccan during the late Mahratta War.' It consisted of two parts: the first containing an enumeration of the property which Major Wood, the general prize-agent in England, and Mr. Atcheson, were advised was prize-booty, and, as such, distributable to the army, under his Majesty's warrant; the second part being an account of the various sums of money due to the Peishwa, either for deposits made by his Highness, or arrears of revenue-rents, or tribute due to him, at the time of the conquest of his dominions, from other Native Princes, for lands, &c., held by them under the Peishwa, and now in the possession of the East India Company. This statement was accompanied with a letter, in which the agents for the army reiterated their earnest request to be furnished with copies of the statements and papers submitted to the Lords of the Treasury by the Court of Directors, representing that—

'Without such copies it is, of course, impossible for those acting for the army to ascertain whether they confirm, or increase, or diminish the claims which have been advanced in behalf of the army of the Deccan; whilst, if they differ from the statements and claims of the general prize-agents, (they urge,) our total ignorance of their contents preclude the possibility of our

[1] Abstract of the Property acquired in consequence of the different Captures made by the Army of the Deccan during the late Mahratta War, and the Correspondence relating thereto. Aug. 1825.

submitting to their Lordships, or to the trustees, such additional information as may now be in our possession, or we could easily procure, for the purpose of confirming the claims of the army, and to explain away any parts of the documents which may appear to militate against those claims.

As an additional reason for such information, they stated the fact of their continuing to receive from India further documents, which they were unable, with justice to those for whom they were acting, to submit to the trustees or their Lordships.

We insert the Abstract submitted to the Lords of the Treasury, as it will assist those having a claim in forming a judgment of the expectations of the corps or divisions of the army to which they belonged; that is, supposing the principle is still to be adhered to, which has been laid down by the Lords of the Treasury, of awarding the prize to those engaged in its actual capture. For, although an intended deviation from this rule was some time ago confidently reported, it is not supposed that the trustees will now venture to depart from it, for the easier plan of a general distribution.

Abstract of the Property acquired in consequence of the Operations of, and the different Captures made by, the Army of the Deccan, during the late Mahratta War.

FIRST PART.—POONAH.

No. 1.—By assignments of public property, the sale of which produced rupees 2,71,675 1 79, of which sum, rupees 2,50,000 2 74 were paid by Captain Fearon to the Bombay Government, 30,563*l.* 9*s.* 9*d.*

No. 2.—By sales of property captured at Poorunder and its dependencies, Singhur, Sassoor, Vyzerghur, Chunden and Wunden, Wassoota and its dependencies, the proceeds of which were paid by Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple to the Indian Government, 102,822*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.*

No. 3.—By sales of property captured north of the Kistnah, the proceeds of which were paid by Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple to the treasury of the Military Paymaster of Fort St. George, 1,672*l.*

No. 4. By sales of property captured south of the Kistnah, the proceeds of which were paid to the Military Paymaster of the reserve division of the army of the Deccan, 657*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

No. 5.—Ordnance and military stores taken at Poonah, the value of which has been put to the prize fund, as stated in Major-General Sir Lionel Smith's letter, dated 9th December 1822, 14,404*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.*

No. 6.—Treasure found in Nassuck, estimated by Captain Briggs, in his letter to Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Hislop, dated 5th May 1818, at half a million sterling, and which is estimated in the[a] territorial financial letter from Bengal, of 11th August 1818, at 76 lacs of rupees, but conceived will realize in its ultimate receipt 50 lacs of rupees, 562,500*l.*

No. 7.—By sale of gold and silver articles and cattle obtained at Nassuck, stated by Captain Robertson, in his letter of 12th November 1823, to Major-General Sir Lionel Smith, to have produced 9,786*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.*

No. 8.—Statement of recoveries of the Peishwa's money made by the Bombay Government in right of conquest during the war, or subsequently by the result of the war, as extracted from the records of the Poonah Collector's office, by Major-General Sir Lionel Smith, 387,358*l.* 19*s.* 9*d.*

No. 9.—By old timber in the hill forts at Candeish, valued by Captain

[a] See papers in the financial department, p. 150, printed by order of the Court of Directors, 3d March 1824.

Nutt, in his letter to Major-General Sir Lionel Smith, dated 25th June 1823, at 1,661*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.*

No. 10.—By sale of old military stores in the hill forts in Candeish, sold by Captain Hancock, and the proceeds paid to Captain Pottinger, Collector at Ahmednugger, as stated in Captain Pottinger's letter to Mr. Chaplin, dated 31st October 1823, about 562*l.* 10*s.*

No. 11.—Ordnance of Unkie Tunkie and booty in the forts at Candeish, valued by a committee of officers, as stated in Captain Pottinger's letter of 12th Aug 1820, to Mr. Chaplin, Commissioner in the Deccan, 4,949*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

No. 12.—Grain found in Ahmednugger, [it should have been Poonah,] sold, and the proceeds carried to prize fund, by Captain Fearon on 28th November 1817, 256*l.* 3*s.* 3*d.*

No. 13.—Palaces of the Peishwah and public buildings in Poonah, estimated by Captain Nutt, whose report is enclosed in Major-General Sir Lionel Smith's letter of 22d September 1821, to Major Cadell, at 222,792*l* 3*s.* 9*d.*

No. 14.—Treasure carried out of the fort of Singhur, stated by Lieutenant Picking, prize-agent to the reserve division of the army of the Deccan, in his letter of the 4th May 1823, to Major Wood, to have exceeded greatly 6,750*l.*

No. 15.—Jewels and other valuables, estimated in Major M'Caskell's letter of 21st March 1823, at 30 lacs, but upon which a salvage of three and a half lacs of rupees has been granted by the Supreme Government to the Army, and which is included in "Claim, No. 2," leaving, therefore, to be accounted for, 298,065*l.*

No. 16.—This amount was ordered to be restored to the Killedar of Wassoota by the Hon. M. Elphinstone, British Commissioner, the property having been taken from him at the gates after the place surrendered,[3] 1,500*l.*

No. 17.—Booty seized in the territories of the Peishwa, by the Supreme Government in India, after the cessation of hostilities, mentioned in Captain Briggs's letter of the 30th October 1823, to Major-General Sir Lionel Smith, amounting together to 31,184*l.* 2*s.*

No. 18.—Booty taken at Sattarah and Ahmednuggher, and afterwards recovered, as mentioned in Major-General Sir Lionel Smith's letter of the 18th May 1824, to Major Wood, and admitted to have been received by the Supreme Government, 20,925*l.*

No. 19.—Monies received from Kattywar previous to the breaking out of hostilities, and then in course of payment to the Peishwa, as stated in the same letter of Major-General Sir Lionel Smith, 43,850*l.*

No. 20.—Deposit of public treasure belonging to the Peishwa in the hands of Ahmerchund Beerdechund, and since brought into the Recorder's Court, also mentioned in the same letter of Major-General Sir Lionel Smith, 56,250*l,*

No. 21.—Infantry equipments and ordnance of Bajee Row's two battalions of infantry,[4] 5,130*l.*

No. 22.—Additional small sums for booty, taken in Poonah, now in a course of receipt, and which are mentioned in the same letter of Major-General Sir Lionel Smith, 18,700*l.*

No. 23.—Additional prize funds realized by the Collector of Ahmednugger, not included in former statements, 986*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.*

No. 24.—Treasure found under the house of the Killedar in the fort of Belgaum, captured by the reserve division after a sharp resistance, 600,000*l.*

NAGPORE.

No. 25.—Treasure found in the city of Nagpore by Dr. Gordon, stated by Captain Conry, prize-agent of the second division of the army of the Deccan,

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[3] Vide Prize-Agent's return of sale of booty.

[4] Vide Enclosure, No. I. of Sir Lionel Smith's letter to Major Wood, 21st Sept. 1824.

in his letter of the 27th January 1820, to the Assistant Adjutant-General of the Hyderabad force, to have been estimated at 675,000*l*.

No. 26.—Treasure belonging to the Rajah of Nagpore, removed from that capital to Benares, and there found, as stated by Captain D. Campbell, 17th Foot, in his letter of the 9th July 1823, to Lieutenant Picking, to have been estimated at 337,500*l*.

No. 27.—Booty realised by Captain Conry, according to his account current, dated 30th July 1819, 43,168*l*. 12*s*.

No. 28.—Booty realised by Lieutenant Somerville, according to his account of sales, dated 10th April 1819, 1,219*l*. 6*s*. 9*d*.

No. 29.—Proceeds of sales of property captured at the battle of Nagpore, 40,000 to 50,000 Nagpore rupees, say 5,062*l*. 10*s*.

No. 30.—Jewels and other property belonging to the Rajah of Nagpore, &c. in Nagpore, at the time of the capture, and subsequently found concealed in a drain, 2,500,000*l*.

MAHIDPOOR.

Amount of booty taken at the battle of Mahidpoor, and appropriated by the Silledar Horse to their own use, estimated by Mr. Cole, Resident at Mysoor, in his letter of the 28th November 1818, to the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, Fort St. George, at from 20 to 30 lacs of pagodas, 1,200,000*l*.

SECOND PART.—POONAH.

Arrears of rent or tribute due to the Peishwa from the Nizam, which fell into the hands of the Supreme Government of India, in result of the war, stated by the Marquis of Hastings in his letter of 14th July 1819, to the Chairman of the Court of Directors, to have been 3,50,00,000 rupees, calculated at 2*s*. 6*d*. per rupee, the accounts of Bengal being kept in sicca rupees, 4,375,000*l*.

Arrears of revenue due to the late Peishwa, received by Captain Pottinger on account of the Bombay Government, 1,654*l*.

Amount of revenue collected by Captain Pottinger, on account of the Bombay Government, in the district of Ahmednugger, during the war, 40,178*l*. 2*s*. 9*d*.

Amount of revenue collected by Captain Robertson, in the districts of Poonah, during the war, 7,332*l*. 10*s*.

Amount of sums received by Captain Robertson, in discharge of sums due to Bajee Row, 8,544*l*. 1*s*. 1*d*.

We beg to state that we are in possession of further papers, some of which have but just come to our hands, which will show that other booty, besides that above enumerated, was taken in the territories of the Peishwa, and of the Rajah of Nagpore; and such claims will be forwarded as soon as they can be prepared. One item of such claim is for the sum of 600,000 sterling, the proceeds of booty taken in the southern Mahratta country by the reserve division.

We have summed up the several items of the foregoing abstract, for the purpose of presenting to the reader the substance of it in a few lines:

	£	s.	d.
Part I.—Amount of what is considered prize property by the agents for the army, or their advisers	£7,185,276	17	2
Part II.—Other pecuniary advantages accruing to the East India Company immediately from these military operations	4,432,708	13	10
One item of additional booty discovered to have been taken, not enumerated in the foregoing statement	600,000	0	0
Total	£12,217,985	11	0

The presentation of these documents to the Lords of the Treasury elicited a letter from the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Arbuthnot to Sir Thomas Hislop, dated July 29th. It commenced with the following sentence :—

" The Chancellor of the Exchequer has referred for our consideration a letter from Mr. Atcheson, and its enclosure ; being a list of *claims* on the part of the army of the Deccan, amounting to more than *twelve* millions sterling."

In reply to this, Sir T. Hislop, by a letter dated the 15th of August, intimated to his Grace and Mr. Arbuthnot that they laboured under some misconception, in supposing the documents in question to prefer claims for the Deccan army to the amount of twelve millions ; that its sole object was, to enable the Lords of the Treasury to ascertain the great pecuniary advantages which immediately and directly resulted to the Company from the issue of the war, and to check the accounts submitted by the Court of Directors, but by no means to advance any claims on the part of the Deccan army, which would, as in former instances, have been addressed to the trustees. In conclusion, Sir Thomas pointed out to them that the first head only of the statement contained " an enumeration of the sums claimed by the army as prize, under the advice of counsel." This was as plain as possible, from the statement itself and the letter which accompanied it. But his Grace the Duke of Wellington, with his equally clear-sighted colleague, supposed that the agents for the army claimed the whole twelve millions and upwards, gained by the war ; —a slight mistake of five millions sterling ! a notable example of the accuracy with which these illustrious trustees may be expected to adjust claims of such extent and intricacy, while they go on in their present mode of arbitrating in the dark. His Grace's fame in the Cabinet, which has never yet ranked very high, is not likely to be raised by such blundering procedure.

In the same letter which accidentally brought this erroneous conception to light, the trustees requested additional information regarding Nos. 2, 4, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 17, 18, 22, 24, 27, 28, 29 ; which indicates that they were yet in the clouds, as to, at least, nearly one half of the whole business. In reply, the agents for the army submitted to the trustees (through Sir T. Hislop, by a letter to him, dated August 20th,) a long statement, containing numerous extracts from official and other documents, more fully explaining the nature and supporting the validity of their claims. This statement occupies above twenty pages ; but it would be useless to enter into its details in the present stage of the business, while it is quite uncertain what are the objections which may have been started to any of the several items, and, consequently, what sort of evidence or argument may serve to remove them. It every where appears evident that the agents for the army are, by this abominable system of concealment, placed under the greatest disadvantages in supporting their rights. For instance, (at page 20) it is stated, with respect to clause No. 2, which the trustees had questioned,—

"Two receipts for the money paid into the Company's treasuries were lodged, as before stated, (with the Military Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, p. 15,) and by reference to the accounts in the Accountant-General's and in the Pay Departments at the three Presidencies, not only will these amounts be found, but *also the returns and accounts of the Company's political and civil*

servants, who were employed to collect, estimate, or realise the *other parts* of the booty captured by the army; but of these returns, estimates, and accounts, the prize-agents of the army have not yet been able to obtain copies, with the exception of those recently procured by Major-General Sir Lionel Smith.

"A doubt is raised as to the claim (No. 15) for the value of jewellery, worth about thirty lacs of rupees, stated to belong to the family of the Rajah of Sattarah, part of which was taken in the fort of Wassoota. These jewels having, with their owners, been in the power of the Peishwa for half a century, ever since the Mahrattas took possession of the Rajah's paternal kingdom, they were claimed as prize. But as this property of the captive family had hitherto been respected, it is said, by the Peishwa, and continued in the possession of the Rajah's servants, Mr. Elphinstone conceived that to disturb his possession would make a very unfavourable impression on all the Mahrattas; he therefore rejected the claim of the army. To have granted it, would "tend (he saw) to defeat many of the objects for which the Rajah is to be placed at the head of a government." These objects could only be to secure the territories and revenue of the Company; and for its pecuniary interests, consequently, a present of several lacs of rupees are made to the Rajah, at the expense of the army.

With respect to No. 24, it is stated: That the fort of Belgaum surrendered at discretion on the 10th April 1818, after a siege of twenty-one days, to a part of the reserve division of the army of the Deccan, under the command of Brigadier-General Sir Thomas Munro. On the same day the British took possession of the outer gateway, and the garrison marched out on the 12th. The treasure, estimated at 600,000*l.* sterling, was found concealed under the house of the Killedar, and is reported to have been taken possession of by the East India Company's Officers. The information only came to Major-General Sir T. Pritzler a few months ago, and he communicated the same to Major Wood, in a letter received by the latter on the 15th of July last. Inquiries are now prosecuting in India respecting this treasure, and as soon as the further information is received, it will be submitted to the trustees: but it is generally understood and believed, that the Directors of the East India Company have received returns of this recovery with a full detail of all the circumstances respecting it.

Here the acquisition of a very large treasure by the Company, never before suspected, is accidentally discovered, almost seven years afterwards. Yet, with this striking illustration before them of the injury done the army by concealment, the trustees obstinately refuse its agents all access to the Company's accounts. As it is impossible but that copies of the documents in the Accountant-General's and Pay-Departments of the three Presidencies must have reached the Court of Directors since the war, their production would at once decide the amount of the claims of the army. The opposite course pursued, whatever be its motive or object, has obviously the injurious consequences of a collusion between the trustees and the Company, to frustrate as far as possible the rights of the army. What justice can be expected, when its agents are carefully cut off from the legitimate sources of evidence on which these rights are founded? This is the more fatal to their cause, as the scene of the events is ten thousand miles off. In return for having bravely faced the enemies of the Company, in support of its interests, the Duke of Wellington now compels them to fight in the dark, while contending for their

own interests, and exposes them to destruction from the masked battery of Leadenhall-street. However agreeable it may be to the *present* principles, as well as to the present interest, of Sir John Malcolm and other secret advisers, to pursue this underhand course, it is impossible that the result can give satisfaction to the generality of those interested. His Grace presumes a great deal too much on the public estimate of his character and capacity, if he supposes that the public will trust him, or any one, to deal the cards under the table when millions are at stake. A refined sense of justice and of honour would have made him shrink from a "false position," in which the real friends of his fame cannot see him stand without regret. Justice has been depicted as blind, to represent the total absence of all partiality in her acts; but his Grace the Duke of Wellington has blindfolded the suitors, so that they cannot see whether or not the scales are duly poised. This is a direct violation of every principle of procedure hitherto respected among men; it is almost impossible that truth and justice could be reached in such a manner, even by the acutest intellects; the difficulty of arriving at them must, at all events, be vastly increased. This entails unnecessary delay, which is itself a cruel injustice, from which the parties in this case have already suffered so much. And when the decision is at last pronounced, whatever it may be, that which has been arrived at by a process so dark, suspicious, and irrational, cannot be received with general confidence and satisfaction.

THE MIDNIGHT WATCH.

At midnight's dark and dreary hour,
Forsaken e'en by Cynthia's beam,
When tempests beat, and rains fast pour,
And twinkling stars no longer gleam,—
The wearied sailor, spent with toil,
Hangs on upon the weather-shrouds;
And singing, tedious hours to 'guile,
Marks the thick beds of gathering clouds:
But who can speak the joy he feels,
As o'er the foam his vessel reels,
While his tir'd eyelids slumb'ring fall,
He rouses at the welcome call
Of—"Starboard Watch! a-hoy!"

With anxious care he eyes each wave,
That, swelling, threatens to o'erwhelm;
And, his storm-beaten bark to save,
Directs with skill the faithful helm;
With joy he drinks the cheering grog
Midst thunder-storms and whirlwinds hoarse;
With joy he heaves the reeling log,
And marks the distance and the course:
But how much greater joy he feels,
As o'er the foam his vessel reels,
While his tir'd eyelids slumb'ring fall,
He rouses at the welcome call
Of—"Starboard Watch! a-hoy!"

CHRISTMAS PRESENTS.

Forget Me Not.—Friendship's Offering.

In forming our opinion of these pleasing little volumes, we have followed quite a new plan. At a glance, we perceived that certain names and signatures ushered us invariably into the company of gloom and melancholy, and certain others, fewer by far, into that of cheerfulness and mirth. We immediately thought of the practice of the players, who dry up the tears of tragedy with a farce, that the audience may go home in good humour, and be encouraged to come again. We will profit, thought we, by our small acquaintance with the theatre, and despatch the bitter part of our entertainment first. "From grave to gay," shall be our motto. Accordingly, we steeled our mind as well as we could against excess of feeling, and plunged into the tristful reveries of many a gentle authoress and sighing swain. The affair was not half so terrible, however, as we had expected, for if we were horrified now and then, we shed few tears,—a circumstance which the pathetic authors may impute, if they will, to the critical hardness of our hearts. We account for it in another way: from the fact that these sad tales approach us, as it were, with a sorrowful countenance, like a beggar; as if they would give us to understand we have nothing but whining and words of misery to expect from them. We know the worst of it from the beginning, and make up our minds accordingly. Now this is most unskilful management. The writer who would wring our bosoms, and pierce us with the shafts of grief, must make his work a copy of an April heaven, now brightening with sunshine, now melting into showers. It is when we see brilliant expectations vanish, and glowing hopes quenched, and are ourselves passive to the same vicissitudes in miniature; that is, have our expectations excited, our hopes raised, and all but to be disappointed; it is then that we are moved, that we forget ourselves, that we smother our hasty smiles with tears. But young and inexperienced writers, conscious that they have pre-ordained their heroes and heroines to misfortune or death, always appear to overwhelm them with a presentiment of their fate, and let them see through a rent, as it were, in the curtain of destiny, a glimpse of the pall or hearse-plumes they have provided for them. This stifles sympathy in the reader, as it would banish feeling in the sufferers, if they were real human beings. Condemned criminals grow comparatively tranquil when they know their doom, and can number their hours. Hope being banished, the heart resolutely musters up all its forces to meet the worst. In bystanders, there is but one predominant feeling,—an anxious, curious, reluctant desire to know how the unhappy wretches will go through their last scene. The same thing happens in reading a melancholy tale. If you know from the outset it is to end miserably, like a man entering a low arch-way in the light, you bow down your mind to suit the occasion, and feel no sudden shock, though you may be in an uneasy posture. But when through hope and gladness you pass suddenly to their reverse, the unexpected stroke is too much to be borne tranquilly, and you are stunned and sickened by the change.

Lively tales and sketches, when they are at all pleasing, generally possess more merit than sad ones; because, as they wield much lighter weapons, if they make any impression, it must be through skilful handling. There are but very few things of this description in the Christmas Presents before us, for it is unfashionable to appear lively or happy in this age.

However, the 'Forget Me Not,' of this year, contains many pieces of real merit, both in verse and prose. We may enumerate among the best, the contributions of Miss Mitford, which are distinguished by a masculine vigour of thought very rarely to be met with in female writers; though, it must be confessed, she affects a too great rudeness of expression occasionally. Perhaps, however, the most pleasing piece in the whole volume is that entitled 'The Wanderer's Return;' an exquisitely simple tale, that goes with natural and easy power into the heart. 'The Regretted Ghost,' too, by Mrs. Hofland, is an extremely well-told tale, though the title be childish. Other pieces there are, of various degrees of merit; but, altogether, we can safely recommend the little volume to our readers as a present which they may venture to send, without fear of any imputation on their taste, to their youthful friends of either sex. It contains several pretty poetical pieces, and is embellished with very neat engravings. One in particular, 'The Bridge of Sighs,' is particularly good.

'Friendship's Offering' is also a pleasing collection. It contains, to be sure, a good many things in the wild unnatural German taste, but it has likewise good pieces, and is remarkable for its great variety. 'Stage-coach Physiognomists,' by the late Mr. Edgeworth, is very excellent in its way; as is 'The Lady of Beechgrove,' by Miss Mitford; and 'The Conscript,' by Mona. We may even venture to assert that, in the last-mentioned piece, there is actual genius, so very powerfully has its author sketched the most heart-rending of all earthly things,—the oppression of a noble people by an intellectual, lofty, and dazzling despot.

In respect to poetry, 'Friendship's Offering' has, perhaps, the advantage of the 'Forget Me Not.' It has, indeed, *too much* verse; and, as might consequently be expected, a great deal of very sad stuff. Still, several pieces, from Mr. Bowring, Mrs. Hemans, Miss Landon, &c., and one or two from Lord Byron, have sufficient power to make us overlook the bad. We shall extract more than one of these pieces, which will be found acknowledged in our present Number.

The embellishments of this little work are tasteful and pretty. The engraving from Claude, the 'View of Ispahan,' from Sir Robert Ker Porter, 'Dido and Eneas,' (with the exception of Ascanius, or Cupid, which is a grinning ugly figure,) are good book-prints, and add value to the publication. 'The Hindoo Girl,' from a sculpture by Westmacott, is likewise pretty. Altogether, the book is an agreeable, entertaining miscellany, and certainly deserves to meet with encouragement from the class of readers for whom it is designed.

DR. GILCHRIST'S UNIVERSAL CHARACTER.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR, *Clarges-street, Nov.* 13, 1825.

By a reference to page 202 of your Journal for August last, it will there be seen, that you were to have been then furnished with the accompanying plate, now ready for insertion in your Number for December; and conformably to the prudent adage, "better late than never." I trust you will now enable yourself and me to perform our promise to the public, postponed chiefly in consequence of my absence from England.

To my former letter, dated the 10th of June last, I hardly have one sentence to add in this, except that, since my return, daily experience at the lecture-room of the students' accelerated rapidity in orthoepigraphical proficiency, from following my universal plan, confirms its efficiency, and animates me in the immediate prosecution of several elementary works, to render the study of Oriental philology, in future, much cheaper, easier, and shorter than formerly; and all by means of the British Polyglossal Atlas, which I am pushing, with my whole might, for that purpose, through the press.

Your readers, I presume, as well as myself, have been highly gratified with the sight of a very ingenious essay and projected universal character, which was inserted in your nineteenth Number, because it alone may yet excite that collision of sentiment among intelligent men, which will eventually throw considerable light on a subject hitherto enveloped in visible darkness, for reasons that every one may see if he pleases, without any recital by me in this place.

To such solitary devices my grand objection is, their almost total want of adequate impetus, or comprehensive fulcrum for obtaining the end in view, which I wish to accomplish by the slight modification of an exertive general character, and a rational view of the English, as a wide-spreading, unlimited, sterling tongue, actually pervading the whole world in our own days, on the wings of commerce, science, and liberty combined, with which, under these circumstances, French, German, Italian, or Latin even, is no more to be compared, in practical efficiency, than I to Hercules for strength and courage.

From an American oration, recently delivered in Boston, and abounding in sentiments which would do honour to any nation, allow me to extract, on this occasion, the following sample of republican magnanimity, which we would do well to copy in more ways than one:—

In spite of all that has passed, we owe England much; and even on this occasion, standing in the midst of my generous-minded countrymen, I may fearlessly, willingly acknowledge the debt. We do owe England much,—nothing for her martyrdoms, nothing for her proscriptions, nothing for the innocent blood with which she has stained the white robes of religion and liberty;—these claims our fathers cancelled, and her monarch rendered them and theirs a full acquittance for ever;)—but for the living treasures of her mind, garnered up and spread abroad for centuries, by her great and gifted sons. Who that has drank at the sparkling streams of her poetry, who that has drawn from the deep fountains of her wisdom, *who that speaks, and reads, and thinks in her language*, will be slow to own his obligations? One of our

present patriots, when he sat down to bless his heir with the last token of a father's remembrance, bequeathed the recorded lessons of England's best and wisest men; sealing the legacy of love with a prayer, which we have seen fully accomplished, "that the spirit of liberty might rest upon his son, who still wears the honoured mantle and name of JOSIAH QUINCY."

While the United States may be safely trusted with the boundless diffusion of English in the West, a variety of concomitants will induce Great Britain, sooner or later, to similar exertions in the East; and the advancement of human intellect, even in Europe, through the latent agency of the English nation alone, bids fair to dispute the palm of victory, in this grand contest with France, in favour of old England's mother tongue; and if freedom should once more rear her fascinating head on the continent, the language of a free people will naturally be preferred to every other *lingua franca*, and must, in the long run, be adopted as more congenial, in every respect, than any colloquial competitor whatever, being, in fact, the fittest and only cap that liberty can ever beneficially wear upon her own transcendant crown.

JOHN BORTHWICK GILCHRIST.

CAUSES OF THE FAILURE AT THE SIEGE OF BHURTPOOR.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—The illiberal remarks, by the Editor of the Bombay Gazette, on the engineer officers employed at Bhurtpoor, in 1804-5, are almost too contemptible to call for any notice or observation; and unless you had mentioned his article generally in terms of approbation, I should not have deemed it necessary to offer any comment on a statement so totally void both of candour and of truth.

The Bombay Editor is both unjust and inaccurate, in attributing the unfortunate failures at Bhurtpoor to the ignorance or to the inexperience of the engineer officers employed. It is true their voice was little heard in council; and it will be known to those who have served with armies, that the voice of the captain or subaltern has not always its due weight, when opposed in the scale to the opinions of the higher ranks, usually appertaining to the official situations of general staff.

If an officer, selected to fulfil the important duties of chief engineer with an army in the field, does not possess the confidence of the commander under whom he serves,—if he has not sufficient influence to enforce his opinions, in opposition to all other advice or suggestions,—if he does not, at the same time, enjoy the entire control, and the exercise of direct authority over every branch of his department,—I assert, without fear of contradiction, that whatever may be his abilities, he cannot, in justice, be considered responsible for the success of any measures supposed to depend on his talent and exertion. Unless the Bombay Editor is prepared to show that such advantages as I have described were at the command of the engineer department at Bhurtpoor, (and I am too well

satisfied it is not in his power,) his remarks are ungenerous and libellous.

Having noticed the illiberal observations of the Editor of the Bombay Gazette, it would be unnecessary to pursue this subject, if it was not supposed that the general reader of your valuable publication might feel some curiosity to know what were the causes of our failure at Bhurtpoor, and on what changes or improvements in our military system we are to depend for a successful termination to any future attempt that may be made to gain possession, by siege, of that important fortress.

The first great cause of our failure may certainly be traced to the too hasty resolution of attacking so extensive a fortress, defended by a brave and powerful people, before a siege-establishment adequate to such an undertaking had been collected; for it is not to be expected, that the most determined bravery on the part of troops will succeed, if the artillery and engineer departments are inefficient.

When the attack on Bhurtpoor was commenced, the artillery was deficient in battering-guns and mortars, in officers, and in men; the engineer department was wanting in every thing which could lead to a successful exertion of talent, and devotedness to the service on which they were engaged.

The above short statement is fully sufficient to account for the unsuccessful attempts made on Bhurtpoor; and that it is generally correct, I leave to be decided by those who can judge of its accuracy. If public investigation into the cause of failure had been deemed expedient, it would no doubt have been ordered at the time; and many particulars would in that case have been elicited, accounting for our reiterated attacks and continued defeats. Such a proceeding was not, however, considered necessary; and the only object of inquiry, at present, is with respect to those improvements which have since taken place in the several arms of the service, that afford such reason to expect a successful result to any future operations.

With reference to the first great cause of failure, we can only look for a remedy there in the judicious proceedings of the higher authorities in India, by the selection of a proper moment for the attack, as connected with our external policy and internal convenience.

With reference to the inefficiency of the artillery and engineer departments, I would observe, that the artillery has been placed, in every point of view, on a most respectable footing: the magazines are well stored, and a train of 100 pieces of iron ordnance, with every other equipment necessary for the siege of so important a fortress, could be collected at a very short notice. The engineer department, though in some respects rendered more efficient, is still, I regret to say, lamentably defective; and in the late military arrangements, its improvement has been entirely overlooked. If failure, then, at a siege, may be supposed to occur in consequence of an inefficient engineer establishment, let those alone be hereafter held responsible, who neglect to place so important an arm of the public force on that footing which would insure a successful result to the exertion of talent and enterprise.

MILES.

STUDY OF THE CHINESE LANGUAGE.[1]

An Essay has lately come into our hands, which has the singular merit of presenting this uninviting subject in an attractive form. The object of its Author, himself a diligent labourer in the field of Oriental literature, is to induce others to join him in cultivating that portion of it which has been hitherto so much neglected. At first sight it does seem very remarkable that so little attention has been paid to a language spread over an extent of space including, perhaps, one-third of the inhabitants of the globe. It appears somewhat discreditable to the literati of Europe, that the records and monuments of the thoughts and deeds of so large a portion of the human race for many thousands of years, are suffered to remain almost quite unexplored and inaccessible; while our *savans* are engaged in an eager scramble to filch from each other the merit of discovering the meaning of some scanty fragments of Egyptian hieroglyphics. The reason of this must be sought chiefly in the peculiar manner, different from that of all other nations, in which the Chinese record their thoughts. But this, instead of condemning their literature to entire neglect, ought to render it so much the more an object of curious research and speculation with philosophic minds.

The learned and ingenious Bishop Wilkins, in his elaborate 'Essay towards a real Character and a Philosophical Language,' adduces the example of the Chinese, among other proofs, of the practicability of his design. It is commonly reported, he says, of "the men of China, that they do now, and have for many ages, used such a general character, by which the inhabitants of that large kingdom, many of them of different tongues, do communicate with one another, every one understanding this common character, and reading it in his own language." In like manner, it was the object of the learned Bishop to introduce "a real universal character that should not signify *words* but *things* and *notions*, and, consequently, might be legible by any nation in their own tongue." To the same purpose, a wish is said to have been expressed by Galen that some way might be found out to represent *things* by such peculiar signs and names as should represent their natures; "ut sophistis eriperetur decertandi et calumniandi occasio." It appeared to Bishop Wilkins that the supplying of this great desideratum in Western learning, would provide a remedy for the "curse of the confusion" of Babel. It would, he thought, "very much conduce to the spreading of the knowledge of religion; next to the gift of miracles, and particularly that of tongues poured out upon the apostles on the first planting of Christianity." He considered this confusion of tongues the grand source of the confusion of ideas among mankind; the words now in use being in his opinion the masks of error or disguises rather than pictures of truth, and therefore not calculated to diffuse any correct knowledge of her features.

The variety of letters or characters, again, he styles "an appendix to the curse of Babel." He does not explain, however, that we are aware

[1] An Essay on the Nature and Structure of the Chinese Language, with Suggestions on its more extensive Study. By Thomas Myers, of Trinity College, Cambridge. London, 1825.

of, why this supplement of the penal statute has not been extended to the Chinese; but he probably imagined that they enjoy an exemption as the children of the blessed Shem. That they are a very favoured race, cannot be doubted, if their language possesses any considerable degree of the excellencies which the Bishop conceives to belong to the system of writing analogous to it, which he has proposed. It would, he says, "contribute much to the clearing of some of our modern differences in religion, by unmasking many wild errors that shelter themselves under the disguise of affected phrases; which, being philosophically unfolded, and rendered according to the genuine and natural import of words, will appear to be inconsistencies and contradictions. And several of those pretended mysterious profound notions, expressed in great swelling words, whereby some men set up for reputation, being this way examined, will appear to be either nonsense or very flat and jejune. And though it should be of no other use than this, yet were it in these days well worth a man's pains and study, considering the common mischief that is done, and the many impostures and cheats that are put upon men under the disguise of affected insignificant phrases."

In order to accomplish this happy reform, it was necessary to make first a just enumeration of all things, (substances, qualities, actions, and notions,) according to their "true nature and relations." This being done, and the whole properly arranged according to their several classes, genera, species, &c., the composition of the universal language and character would be a matter of little difficulty. For, a certain sign or symbol being chosen for each class of objects, another for each genus, a third to distinguish the species, and so on; these, combined on regular principles, would represent with scientific accuracy every individual existence. In this manner, by a comparatively small number of signs, judiciously chosen and arranged, all manner of ideas, with their various distinctions and modifications, might, he thought, be accurately discriminated and conveyed to the eye by written symbols, or to the ear by sounds similarly contrived. We shall now state briefly the advantages expected from such a system, and the objections to which it is liable; and then inquire how far either of these appears to have been actually experienced by the Chinese.

The real character provides, in the first place, a general medium of communication, independently of the endless varieties of spoken languages. Secondly, it is to be freed from the fallacies interwoven with the language now in use. Thirdly, it is to be less liable to change, and consequently render the records of knowledge less perishable. On the other hand, it is to be observed, as to the first point, that this adoption of a real character as a universal medium of thought could not possibly supersede the use of speech, one of man's grand attributes. While the acquisition of both, therefore, would entail double labour, the entire separation of the one from the other would allow spoken language to run into still more numerous and perplexing varieties, when no longer rectified, as now, by the written standard to which it is at present referable. Secondly, the vulgar errors accidentally associated with portions of the languages now in use, would be succeeded by the errors of the learned inventors of the new system, inseparably interwoven with its whole frame, so as to be incapable of being eradicated without tearing it to pieces. Every important discovery in science, showing the relation of

ideas and things to be totally different from what they were before supposed, must cause a revolution in the language; or, if this be too firmly established to give way, it will check the expansion of the human mind. This, in fact, appears to be the tendency of the Chinese character; and its permanency, therefore, instead of being an argument in its favour, is its greatest evil. Already one half of the rational persons in England would not subscribe to all the doctrines embodied in the system of Bishop Wilkins: what a bed of Procrustes for human ideas, were they to be subjected to it, like those of the Chinese to their system, for some thousand years!

We shall now give a concise account of the view of this system contained in the pamphlet before us. The number of ancient symbols, or primitive characters, are said by Chinese authors to have amounted to 479; and Dr. Morrison has enumerated 373. They were not complete pictures of the objects represented, (like the writings of the Mexicans, or the Egyptian hieroglyphics,) but only slight outlines; such as a lively fancy might recognise. From these elementary characters 214 were selected as heads of classes, under which the others are afterwards arranged. These are called "radicals," or "keys," or "superintending characters;" and each of them has a distinct meaning and use, and also a pronunciation of its own. Certain expressions of ideas, once fixed upon, formed a basis whereon to raise a superstructure. Some of them were soon applied figuratively; in other cases, certain additions were placed above, below, or within the original character, to represent some new quality superadded, or kindred idea. At length two significant signs were combined, with the view of representing, by their union, a third; as "the sun and moon" united, to signify "bright." Thus, from 214 elements sprung 1600 primitives, which, producing each from three to seventy-four derivatives, constitute the great mass of the Chinese written language. The manner of its composition may be conceived from the following passage of Mr. Barrow:

Under the element or key which signifies *heart*, we shall find all the characters arranged expressive of the sentiments, passions, and affections of the mind; as, grief, joy, love, hatred, anger, &c. The element *water* enters into all the compounds which relate to the sea, rivers, lakes, swamps, depth, transparency, &c. The key or element *plant* takes in the whole vegetable kingdom. *Yen*, a *word*, enters into the composition of those characters which relate to reading, speaking, studying, debating, consulting, trusting, &c. All the handicraft trades, laborious employments, and a great number of verbs of action, have the element *hand* for their governing character. Of the 214 radicals thus employed, not more than 150 can be considered as effective; the rest being very rarely employed in the combination of characters. Of the 40,000 characters, or thereabouts, contained in the standard dictionary of the language, sixty of the elements govern no less than 25,000. The most prolific is the element *grass*, or *plants*, which presides over 1423 characters; the next *water*, which has 1333; then the *hand*, which has 1012. After these follow, in succession, the *mouth*, *heart*, and *insect*, each having about 900; then a *word*, *man*, and *metal*, each exceeding 700; next a *reed*, or *bamboo*, a *woman*, *silk*, a *bird*, *flesh*, *mountain*, &c. each governing from 500 to 600.

The characters are divided into six classes by philologists, viz.: 1st, Those resembling the object. 2d, Those pointing out some quality or accident. 3d, Those arising from combination of ideas. 4th, Characters partly to give the idea, and partly the sound. 5th, Representing

opposites by inversion. 6th, Borrowed, metaphorical, or allusive. As a specimen of the 3d and 6th classes: a *hand* and a *staff* united, denote a man ruling in his family, or "a father;" *words* and *to exchange* mean to "converse," or "speak;" the *middle* and *heart*, "fidelity;" the *mouth* and *gold*, "volubility of speech" (chrysostomos); *high* and *horse*, "proud" (*i. e.* to be on one's high horse). "To flatter" is composed of *words* and to *lick*; "levity," of "girl" and "thought." As an illustration of the metaphorical use, "the wife of a magistrate" is said to denote "an accomplished lady."

There appears to be no analogy whatever between the written and spoken languages in their mode of composition. Thus, when (*jih*) the "sun" and (*yue*) the "moon" are united to denote "clear," "illustrious," &c., the Chinese do not pronounce this character *jih-yue*, or any thing resembling it, but *ming*. In writing, there are five different kinds of hands now in use: first, what is called the *right* character, or "plain" hand; next, the *walking* character, or "free" hand; then the *running* hand; fourthly, the stiff "antiquated" form; lastly, the "seal" character. The number of words in the standard dictionary of the language is 40,000; but in the early writings they employed a comparatively small number, the works of Confucius containing scarcely 3000 different characters. Even now, it is said, that whoever has acquired 2000 words is never at a loss; and with 1900, is in possession of all the materials of the language. We shall now notice the Chinese mode of speaking, which is equally extraordinary with their mode of writing:

The *colloquial* language (remarks Mr. Barrow) is not less singular than the symbolical characters; being, like the latter, exclusively their own, having borrowed nothing from, nor lent any thing to, the rest of the world. The 330 monosyllables, each generally beginning with a consonant and ending with a vowel or liquid, or the double consonant *ng*, which complete the catalogue of words in their language, are by means of four modifications of sounds, or intonation to each syllable, extended to about 1300; beyond which not one of them is capable of the least degree of inflexion, or change of termination; and the same unchangeable monosyllable acts the part of a noun substantive and adjective, a verb and a participle, according to its collocation in a sentence, or the monosyllables with which it is connected."

The written character appears manifestly to have a pernicious influence on the spoken language. It is computed that, in the latter, the same word has at an average 100 different meanings; and even allowing three accents to each, there are still, on an average, thirty-three sounds with precisely the same accent, but whose significations will be totally distinct. "Hence, in reading a Chinese composition to a Native audience, it cannot always be understood, except the reader wave his hand, or fan the characters themselves, or, at any rate, the key from which they are derived. In colloquial intercourse, however, they remedy this deficiency by the addition of synonymes, which, becoming parts of of the original language, render it, in some degree, polysyllabic." Is not this a proof that the spoken idiom improves in proportion as it is emancipated from the trammels of the character? But it is to be considered also, that a reader in China, even to a Native audience, is, in fact, a translator from a written to a spoken language totally different, and he may therefore "fan the character," or make the sign of it with his hand in the air, when the proper expression for it does not readily occur to him.

The Chinese have nothing corresponding to our ideas of grammar; the inflection of words, which constitutes the groundwork of it in other languages, being here totally unknown. Their syntax consists wholly in *position*, of which the rules are simply the following: that the subject, verb, and object, must immediately follow each other; and a dependent term, or clause, precedes that on which it depends. Notwithstanding this apparent simplicity of structure, the difficulty of the language to the European student may be conceived, from the totally different mode of associating ideas in a species of composition so very peculiar.

The author thinks the acquisition of the Chinese more difficult than that of either the Latin or the Persian, but less so than that of Greek or Arabic. Its analogy with these and other languages is briefly described in the following passage:

As it respects the character of its symbols, attempting to convey the meaning rather than the sound, it resembles the hieroglyphics of Egypt, or the picture-writing of Mexico; in the invariable termination of the nouns and verbs, it has some affinity to the English; in its pronunciation and monosyllabic character it is not unlike the French; in its regular derivation from well-known radicals, each of which has its own meaning, pronunciation, and use, it seems to resemble the Hebrew or the Arabic; in the variety and richness of its compounds it may be compared with the Greek; while in its being perfectly complete without the use of an alphabet, and in its character presenting nothing to the eye by which the sound can be determined, it seems to stand aloof from all further comparison. Dr. Leyden, however, describes five languages, in some respects, like the Chinese, "which fill nearly all the countries from China to the borders of Bengal. These possess three characteristics, those of being originally monosyllabic, nearly all intonated, and without inflexion."

The account given by Dr. Morrison of the literature of the Chinese, in which he is himself so deeply versed, cannot but excite wonder, both at its neglect hitherto, and that, while so rich a mine exists, so little has yet been extracted from it for the benefit of the Western world:

The Chinese (he says) possess antient and modern literature in abundance, and an unlicensed press, and cheap books suited to their taste. With poetry, and music, and elegant compositions; and native ancient classics; and copious histories of their own part of the world; and antiquities; and topographical illustrations; and dramatic compositions; and delineations of men and manners in works of fiction; and tales of battles and murders, and the tortuous stratagems of protracted and bloody civil wars. With all these, and mythological legends for the superstitious, the Chinese and kindred nations are, by the press, most abundantly supplied. Nor is their literature destitute of theories of nature, and descriptions of her various productions; and the processes of the pharmacopolist, and the history and practice of medicine.'

We are happy to add, as a farther inducement to the study, that facilities are now presented for it in this capital, such as never before existed. Dr. Morrison has established a public Chinese Library in the city of London, containing about 1000 works of various authors, consisting of more than 10,000 volumes. At this library the learned Doctor, or some of his senior students, attend every day, ready to give every assistance to those desirous of acquiring the language. Notwithstanding these facilities, we apprehend that, while the East India Company's charter continues, the British public will make little more progress in Chinese literature than it has hitherto made. Few will have the heart

to study the language of a country in which they dare not set a foot; consequently, a Chinese library would have more chance of being read in Paris, or in New York, than in London. All that John Bull need know of China is this, that it is a country producing *tea* in great abundance, and at a cheap rate; but he is made to pay double or triple its value, and much more than any other nation, for one of the first necessaries of life. While he has not the sense to make use of this knowledge, it is not to be supposed that he will profit by the maxims of Confucius.

OPINION ON THE BURNING OF HINDOO WIDOWS, ENTERTAINED FORTY YEARS AGO.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR, Clarges-street, 7th Nov. 1825.

HAVING observed a *prominent* article in some of the periodicals of late, on the awful subject of *Suttees* in British India, which will probably be discussed during the pending Session of Parliament, I deem it my duty to call the attention of your readers, in the mean time, to the annexed quotation from the preface to my 'English and Hidoostanee Philology,' now entirely out of print, having been published forty years ago in Calcutta. In the belief that the accompanying extract might then have done some good, I did not fail to point it out to the notice of the ruling powers at that distance of time and place: but, alas! what could the solitary lexicographer, in a plebeian tongue, know of those mystic springs and wheels which regulate the destinies of mighty empires or states? His lucubrations were of course despised as the officious aspirations after official influence far above his reach; and from that period to the present they continue neglected, and on such interesting themes as the cremation of widows, are almost wholly unknown among his fellow-citizens. Were all the English governors, satraps, great men, and their civil or military satellites, to reject every festive invitation from opulent Hindoos, among whom any widows, after a limited time, should be immolated on the funeral piles of their deceased lords, this act of self-denial alone would speedily render such an abominable rite unfashionable at the metropolis of British India, and thence it might gradually fall into disuse in each of the subordinate presidencies and their provincial dependencies, without causing much, if any, great inconveniency to the parties concerned on either side of this horrific question. Having thus far premised, I shall allow the extracted note, with every imperfection on its head, to speak for itself; and if my opinions be deemed erroneous, let some individual, who may think so, expose them and me in your admirable miscellany, which, I firmly believe, is open to all correspondents, and shut against none, who can any way interest the public by their writings.—I remain, Sir, Your very obedient servant,

JOHN BORTHWICK GILCHRIST.

P. S. Nearly half a century has elapsed since something *efficient* might have been *safely attempted* to lessen, perhaps *eradicate*, the most flagrant of atrocities which could be committed in civilized countries, and under a Christian government too, that affects still to fear the resurrection of *Smithfield fires* and *inquisitorial roastings*, were the Catholics of the United Kingdom treated merely as human beings in the land of religious and civil liberty. Without wishing to cast a severe retrospective glance at the sacrilegious execution of a Brahmin fifty years ago, by an *ex post facto* law, for an offence that even never was, in his native place, considered capital, who can avoid wondering that Hindoo prejudices were thus braved, though they have not yet been as manfully opposed, for the salvation of thousands of females sacrificed, since the sacred Nunkoomar was hanged by the neck like a dog ?—why, let impartial historians tell a tale that must raise a blush on both cheeks of every honest Briton, so long, at least, as helpless women are consigned alive by hundreds, annually, in British India, to the devouring flames, lest the interference of our laws in favour of humanity should excite the timid Hindoos to rebellions against us.

EXTRACT.

" I have long since viewed the reverence and veneration with which we behold the fabric of the Hindoo religion, as a species of infatuated idolatry, for which, take it all in all, I cannot easily account. How a system that inculcates perfect adoration to priestcraft, also perjury, and the most horrible species of murder, can find so many admirers, I am totally at a loss to conceive. That human victims are still immolated to Kalee, within the precincts of Calcutta, is believed by more gentlemen than one, on suspicions so well founded, that it will not be easy to erase them from the minds of those who heard the circumstances stated, just after one such victim suffered not many months ago. I must, in strict justice, add, that robbers were the supposed sacrificers; but was not the officiating priest a Brahmin, and a murderer too? I state this more as a caveat for the future, than any reflection on the past. In the eye of reason and justice, what else are the dreadful immolations of unhappy females on the pile of their husbands, but the murderous arm of unfeeling savage priests extended, under the very eye of Government, to plunder these deluded creatures, first, of their earthly happiness should they decline burning; next, of their lives by the most inhuman of all deaths; and lastly, of whatever personal property, jewels, &c. they may leave behind them. A superficial traveller, who has not the means of going even skin-deep here, though he perhaps publishes the profoundest speculations at home, is struck with admiration on seeing a sleek, placid, naked Brahmin seated with his rosary, and every exterior of sanctimonious humility, under the umbrageous shade of an Indian fig-tree. An interesting conversation, real or pretended, ensues, which, to support with tolerable propriety, would require a greater knowledge of the current dialects than I can boast of. Many a moral reflection and declamatory contrast follow, commonly at the expense of Europeans of all descriptions in this country, where, although a few may richly deserve to be branded with infamy, surely nothing can be more cruel and unjust than to take *them all in the gross*, and abuse them without mercy, as of late has been too generally the case. Were these ephemerists, however, condemned for some ten years *to feel*

the reverse in subordinate stations or narrow circumstances, of the illiberal comparative opinions they industriously disseminate against their own countrymen, they would learn, by sad experience, that ignorance, malice, and hypocrisy, have oftener painted facts for certain purposes, than real inquiry or truth dictated them, for the information and improvement of their readers. They would likewise be more apt to discover, from a knowledge of the languages, domestic manners and customs of the country, under the seeming innocence and sanctified demeanour of these Indian druids, instead of harmless saints, so many demure cats, purring with inward satisfaction over the unhappy mice, which in their vicinity are about to be devoured; or, to drop the allusion, over the miserable women whom their doctrines, intrigues, and avarice, have consigned to the flames, and whose very jewels and toys those sacred tigers expect soon to admire, sparkling on the bodies of their own favourites; for I have been assured these valuables become the legal spoils of the priests, who officiate at such infernal rites as the burning of a poor female. Could this digression pave the way for some judicial investigation and control, where a widow, sometimes a virgin, is unfeelingly committed to the fire, I shall be amply recompensed for it; and as the Musulmans even conceived certain legal precautions necessary, and constantly observed them, the subject is not altogether unworthy the cognizance of a legislature, which wisely tolerates every religion, though without any necessity that I can see, for winking at the most unmanly brutality and downright murder. To fine severely every destroying priest of this sort; to disqualify him and his relations from ever serving the Company; to confiscate the charity-lands he holds from Government; to put him without the protection of British laws; to apply the personal wealth of the deluded victims to real charity; to discountenance all families in which the women burn themselves; are easy steps that might gradually eradicate a practice (which is more common than people imagine) shocking to humanity, and a flagrant satire on the Indian clergy and their hellish tenets, which have perverted, in this instance, in a very artful manner, the endearing ties of nature to torturing chords on the funeral pile, by having too successfully taught the nearest relatives to repeat, while their impious hands are murdering the being who gave them birth, this monstrous sentence, 'better burn once than ever.'"

FROM THE ARABIC OF ANTAR.

In the land of Shureebah are valleys and mountains,
And those who dwell there have a home in my heart;
Their image is traced there as landscapes in fountains,
And ne'er does the faithful reflection depart.

And oh! from that land, when at night gleams the lightning,
I weep burning tears and unsleepingly lie,
Till the past, as the flow'rs waft their perfume, comes bright'ning,
And I think on Shureebah's musk rose with a sigh.

'Tis a dream! 'tis delusion! what then? 'tis endearing;
And thou, dearest maid, with thy phantom the rest
Of the picture of fancy supply, by appearing
And hushing the sorrow that troubles my breast.

MOORE'S VIEWS IN THE BIRMAN EMPIRE.

We find matter of congratulation in every circumstance that tends, either directly or indirectly, to bring before our countrymen the history of our proceedings in the East. The pen of the public writer, and the agency of the press, derive essential support from the pencil of the artist and the attractive skill of the engraver: and in no instance that we remember, has this been more strikingly illustrated than in the case of the Views now before us. The newspapers of England have in vain endeavoured to rouse public attention to the warfare in which the servants of the East India Company, contrary to the wishes of their masters as well as the honour and interests of the nation at large, have contrived to plunge our countrymen in the East. The few of our senators who interest themselves about our distant possessions, have also in vain endeavoured to call the attention of Parliament to the wanton sacrifice of reputation, blood, and treasure, by which our invasion of the Birman territories has been distinguished. Despatch after despatch has been published, speech after speech has been delivered, comment after comment has appeared; but the public indifference to Indian affairs has remained as decided as ever. The exhibition of the 'Views of Rangoon,' in the shop-windows of the publisher in Ludgate-hill, has done more to make the Birman war talked of among the people generally, than all that has before been done, whether in disquisition or declamation; so much more quickly are common minds wrought upon by the most ordinary appeals to the senses, than by the most powerful facts or reasonings addressed only to the judgment or the understanding. We sincerely hope that some speculative individual will make the Burmese war the subject of a panorama, a melo-drama, or some other equally popular exhibition; and then, perhaps, from the general sympathy excited by such means, we may see some inquiry instituted into the state of affairs in that portion of the British dominions which is too distant to become the subject of general interest, except when some particular and striking events happen to draw attention to so remote a quarter.

The 'Views of the Birman Empire' now before us, are the work of Lieutenant Moore, of his Majesty's 89th Regiment, who was himself engaged in the scenes and operations which his pencil has so vividly portrayed. The series is intended to include eighteen views; of which a descriptive catalogue is given, in a pamphlet of notes to accompany the whole already printed: but no more than six of the drawings have yet appeared, the rest being still in progress through the engraver's hands; these six are the following:—

1. The Harbour of Port Cornwallis, with the Fleet getting under weigh for Rangoon. 2. Landing of the combined Forces at Rangoon. 5. Scene on the Terrace of the Great Dagon Pagoda at Rangoon. 7. Gold Temple of the Idol Guadma at Rangoon. 12. Position of the Army previous to attacking the Stockades at Rangoon. 15. Attack of one of the principal Stockades at Rangoon, showing the interior of this description of fortification.

The general character of the whole of these 'Views' may be said to display the hand of an able and practised artist. The scenes selected

are marked by striking features of interest, and powerfully picturesque effect. The drawing is free and accurate; the colouring of all the natural objects rich and glowing, and that of the artificial ones no doubt faithful; though, from the nature of the objects themselves presenting large masses of red, blue, yellow, and green, they are not so soft and harmonious as they might have been, had the mere landscape only been the picture to be presented, and no more figures required to be introduced than were sufficient to give life and variety to the scene.

Adverting to the 'Views' in detail: No. 1. appears to us to possess great merit. The woody islets, the distant hills, and the glowing sky, are all indicative of a tropical climate. The ships are executed with unusual fidelity for an artist not professionally a marine-painter; the only fault is in the colouring of the sea, a point of such difficulty as to baffle the skill of all but the most accomplished in that particular branch of the art.

In No. 2, the land-scenery, ships, sky, beach, boats, and troops, are excellently done. The attitudes of the rowers are the least happy among the figures; but the general character is scarcely affected by this subordinate consideration.

No. 5 presents a characteristic specimen of that strange mixture of the deformed and beautiful, the mean and gorgeous, which is to be found in all the temples or pagodas of the East. The figure of the winged sphinx will remind the classic artist of Egypt, Babylon, and Persepolis; while the projecting roofs bespeak an approach to Chinese taste; and the pyramid and dome, which are both seen in the same assemblage of buildings, offer a remarkable union of the ancient and modern features of Asiatic architecture.

No. 6 would furnish hints for ornamental decorations to the Pavilion at Brighton, and we have no doubt the architectural portions of the views will possess peculiar interest for its exalted possessor. The idol Guadma, of which the head is concealed, exhibits the usual attitude of Bouddha, of whom it is probably a personification. It is worthy of remark, that the worship of this deity (unfamiliar as his very name still is to English ears) is extended over a greater portion of the surface of our globe than that occupied by the professors of any other religion whatever; and that the Bouddhists, of whom we know comparatively nothing, are much more numerous than all the Christians of every denomination, and even the Jews added to them, put together!

No. 12 possesses great interest. The first blush of dawn upon a tropical sky is beautifully expressed, while the rich hues and graceful foliage of the palmyra, the bamboo, the peepul, and other Eastern trees, add greatly to the charms of the scene. The figures are grouped with as much skill as their numbers and occupations would allow, and the general effect of the whole is pleasing.

We cannot say this with truth of No. 15. As a work of art, it is not at all inferior to the preceding ones; and as a representation of a real event, it appears to possess all the marks of fidelity. But the scene itself is most revolting. In warlike operations generally, where great masses are collectively opposed, and little is seen in detail beyond the consultations of the generals on the staff, the flying of aide-de-camps on horseback, charges of cavalry, and columns of infantry moving under the obscurity of smoke, the imagination revels in all the seductive sophisms of military

glory, transcendant heroism, and national renown, while the blood of the slain is unseen, and the groans of the dying are unheard amidst the din of arms and shouts of victory. In the picture before us, however, none of these delusions can prevail. We have presented to our eyes a series of acts of individual butchery. The whole more resembles an angry and vindictive affray than a great and dignified assertion of public rights by the armed forces of the state. An officer is seen acting individually, rather than at the head of his men, running a Burmese through the neck, or, as it were, cutting his throat. A soldier is plunging his bayonet into the bowels of one who has already fallen. A third is singling out his victim as if he had a personal revenge to gratify; and the British troops, who, when employed to defend their country's rights, or to avenge her wrongs, are objects of patriotic admiration and regard, are in the scene before us degraded to the condition of a herd of marauders invading the very dwellings of men whose only offence appears to be the blackness of their skins; and butchering them, one by one, because they dared to defend their homes, their wives, and children, from the murderous weapons of men paid to act against them by others, without their having the power to refuse except on pain of death, though engaged in a cruel, an insolent, and an unjust invasion!

We turn from this revolting scene to one of more interest depicted in the vignette, which stands as a title to the Work. The British grenadier and Madras sepoy engaged in holding up the extremities of a curtain or pall, on which the name of his Royal Highness the Duke of York is inscribed, is far from inappropriate. But what shall be said of a royal tiger of Bengal being sufficiently tamed, (by his respect for British authority, no doubt,) to stand on his hind legs, and, in this erect position, support with his mouth and one paw the centre of the cloth of which the soldiers hold up the extremes! Really, unless the tiger be of the race into which Mr. Canning facetiously supposed Lord Amherst must have been turned before he could 'commit the tyrannies at which, in his previous state of existence, his lamb-like nature would have revolted,' we do not think such an occupation at all in character. Asia, however, is the land of transmigration, and wherever the doctrine of the metempsychosis prevails, such apparent contradictions are easily explained:—if the wolf can wear the sheep's clothing, the tiger's ferocity may also be united with the seeming meekness of the lamb.

Our object in adverting to this vignette was, however, to point out the fallacy of an illustration of which the artist has taken skilful advantage to throw an air of benevolence and humanity over what is full of cruelty and death. It deserves to be told in his own words, which we therefore copy verbatim from his printed notes. He says:—

The groupe to the right of the royal arms represents an English sailor restoring to a Birman woman her infants. The idea is taken from the following anecdote. Upon one of those detached expeditions against the Birman stockades, in which the navy always had their share, a party had landed up the river near a village, the inhabitants of which fled at their approach, all but one woman, with her two boys, the eldest about two years old. This woman, seeing the party approach, hid her eldest boy up to his chin in the swamp, close to the house, and, in an agony of terror, she threw the younger into the mud out of the house, to avoid seeing it (as she thought) butchered before her eyes. A sailor, who was the foremost of those advancing to the place, saw this latter act, and fortunately saved the infant and restored it to

its astonished mother, who instantly ran and released the other boy from his miry abode, and made him make salaam, (return thanks,) on his knees, for his life. The mother and infants were brought into Rangoon, and received the *protection* of the Commander of the Forces.

This anecdote, with the pictorial illustration founded on it, has already produced, no doubt, in the minds of many, all the impression it was intended to convey. The war itself must be set down by such persons as being conducted in the most humane manner possible. Women are spared from seeing their infants butchered before their eyes, by the very commonest individuals engaged in the warfare, and even the Commander of the Forces condescends to extend his august protection to the little helpless innocents!—What can be more noble or more engaging!

Alas! for the dignity of rank and titles: it only proves that "common sailors," as they are called, have often more humanity than the refined personages who send them on such revolting undertakings. But, were there no *great* and helpless innocents as well as *little* ones that deserved to be spared in this bloody warfare? or, is all our pity to be reserved for infants, who are much less in need of it?—Were there no fathers, husbands, and brothers, butchered before the eyes of daughters, wives, and sisters, by this humane army who spared the little children?—And were there no other families throughout the whole empire, to which the Commander of the Forces might have extended his protection as well as to this one brought in by the kind-hearted sailor? The fallacy of supposing that a character of generosity is to be given to a war by selecting one isolated instance of good feeling, and leaving in the shade ten thousand incidents of an opposite description, is sufficiently apparent. Let the reader add to this a recollection of the sad detail of cruelties already known:—in the plunder of temples, the massacre of unresisting prisoners in stockades that had already surrendered, and other features of atrocity, by which this warfare has been characterized from first to last; and he may form some idea of how much more of misery remains unknown to English ears at least, resulting from an invasion founded in injustice, planned in imbecility, conducted with no one redeeming feature beyond the animal bravery in which man is often surpassed by the brute, and let it be concluded whenever it may, likely to terminate with a sacrifice of life, a waste of treasure, and a loss of reputation, which the conquest of every inch of ground belonging to our enemies would never sufficiently repay.

FRAZER'S VIEWS OF CALCUTTA.

It is an agreeable relief to turn from these considerations to other efforts of the pencil, which have no such painful associations immediately connected with the scenes they delineate. Mr. Frazer is already well known to the literary world as the author of a 'Tour in the Himalya Mountains,' accompanied by a series of splendid views among the sublime and stupendous scenes with which these lofty regions abound; as well as the author of a 'Journey into Khorassan,' reviewed in a late Number of this Journal. The views of Calcutta, now in course of publication by Smith and Elder of Cornhill, were taken by him during his residence

in that city, of which he was for some years an inhabitant; and they deserve the utmost praise for the minute fidelity observed in all their parts, as well as the happy union of objects at once characteristic of the costume and manners of the country, and highly picturesque in their grouping and effect. These have been some time before the public: and the extensive sale they have already enjoyed, is strongly indicative of the general estimation in which they are held. This circumstance is, in itself, sufficient to render it unnecessary to offer our opinions on the separate views in detail. But, being on the subject of the arts, and noticing these productions as illustrative of Indian scenes and events, we could not, in justice to Mr. Frazer, withhold our testimony to the general accuracy and corresponding value of his excellent and interesting views of the metropolis of British India.

MORE UNJUST TREATMENT OF THE MEDICAL SERVICE BY LORD AMHERST.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

Sir,—A few short weeks have only elapsed since I wrote you, in the hopes of attracting the attention of the Court of Directors to the nomination, of nearly the junior Assistant-Surgeon in the Service, to the situation of Apothecary-General, which appointment has been held for a long period of years solely by senior surgeons on the list; in fact, within the last ten years, by express sanction of the Court of Directors, a surgeon was permitted to hold it after attaining the rank of Superintending Surgeon, without prejudice to his succession to the Medical Board.

Sorry indeed am I so soon to be obliged, in defence of the rights of the medical branch of the Service, to endeavour to bring the attention of our Honourable Masters to another instance of misplaced patronage, exerted in the face of the existing rules of the Service. The instance to which I at present allude, is the appointment of Mr. Assistant-Surgeon Julius Jeffries to the situation of Medical Storekeeper at Cawnpore. After detailing the general orders of Government on the formation of this appointment, and showing who have successively held it, I feel confident I shall not be viewed as a turbulent, discontented subject, in deploring these innovations in our Service, highly prejudicial to the welfare of that important branch of the Bengal army.

"*General Orders of the Governor-General, 6th February 1809.*

"The Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council having had under his consideration the expediency of depôts of medical stores and instruments being established in the upper provinces, on the principle as well of affording a more prompt supply, on demand being made in the ordinary course of the Service, as for providing for the possible exigencies of a distant frontier; was pleased, on the 15th of February 1808, to determine that a depôt of this description should be maintained at each of the principal stations of Cawnpore and Agra.

"The following list of the establishment to be entertained at these stations respectively, or at such other station as circumstances may eventually render expedient, that one or both of these depôts should be transferred, being sanctioned by his Lordship in Council, is now directed to be published in general orders:

"One Surgeon, per month, with the pay, full batta, and gratuity of his rank, but no tent allowance, - 400 rupees.
"One European Apothecary, - - 100
"One Writer," &c. &c.

Mr. Meik, now second member of the Medical Board, was the first surgeon who was selected to fill the situation at Cawnpore, was so high on the list of full surgeons, that he was very shortly obliged to vacate on promotion to Superintending Surgeon, and was succeeded by Mr. Surgeon Durham, who held it for a few years, when he proceeded on furlough to Europe in 1818, close on promotion to a superintending surgency; he was succeeded by Surgeon Law, who, in little more than a year, was promoted also to the same rank. Mr. Surgeon Venour succeeded him, who has recently been succeeded by Mr. Assistant-Surgeon Julius Jeffries. The similar situation to this at Agra has also uniformly been held, and is now, by surgeons of considerable standing.

Mr. Assistant-Surgeon Jeffries, who was appointed in general orders of the 11th ultimo, in succession to the full surgeons who have successively held charge of the Cawnpore depôt, stands on the list of medical staff of the Bengal Army, junior to 257 individuals, and senior to only 29. It is quite unnecessary for me to point out the mischievous tendency of such a reversal of the order of things in a military establishment, constituted in the manner the Indian army is, as is evinced by the selections made by the present Governor-General for the Apothecary-Generalship and Superintendency of the Cawnpore* depôt. Most confidently do we all look forward for a reversal of these nominations by our Honourable Masters, which will have the effect of relieving the minds of the members of the medical list from the fears they may well entertain of further inroads on their privileges; on a similar principle, and hardly with greater injustice, the most junior assistant-surgeons on the list may, for what we know, be about to be made members of the Medical Board and Superintending Surgeons. I shall only further remark, that on this occasion the same feeling pervades every member of the medical list from the top to the bottom, perhaps with the exception only of the two too much favoured individuals themselves.

Bengal, March 1825. AN OLD SURGEON.

P. S. In my former letter I hinted at the belief that Dr. Abel, in addition to the appointment of Apothecary-General and Surgeon to the Governor-General, was about to be appointed Inspector of Opium, a situation that has lately been held as a single appointment by an old full surgeon; the nomination of Dr. Abel has not been announced in orders, but the Treasurer has been authorized to pay the allowances of the situation to that gentleman.

A. O. S.

SUMMARY OF THE LATEST INTELLIGENCE FROM INDIA AND OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE EAST.

BENGAL.

By accounts from Bengal, up to the middle of June, and from Bombay, to the beginning of July, it appears that the *second* campaign against the Burmese had closed, but there was as little prospect as ever of a conclusion to this ruinous war, in which we have been so needlessly and impolitically involved by Lord Amherst and his councillors. As we anticipated, the hopes of peace they held out have again proved delusive. Notwithstanding the letters received at the India House from "high authorities" at Calcutta, and the assurances confidently circulated in the public papers, that the Burmese were begging for peace, it is now certain that their pretended envoys have turned their backs on Sir Archibald Campbell, leaving him at Prome to meditate at leisure on the situation which he has chosen for his troops during the rains. Unteachable by experience, he has thrown himself into that place exactly at the season so madly chosen in the previous year for taking possession of Rangoon, which in consequence became the grave of a great part of his European troops. Private letters, since received, declare Prome to be still more unhealthy, placed as it is in a low damp situation, in the midst of a quagmire, and sickness has already begun its destructive ravages. Those who had partially recovered from the effects of the former wet season, now fall ready victims to a recurrence of the same fatal atmospheric influence, which now, like a destroying angel, stretches its deadly arm over the British camp. This main body, which was expected to dash forward towards the Burmese capital, buoyed up on the wings of recent victory, has nevertheless stopped short at Prome, arrested in its progress, like Napoleon at Moscow, by the invincible hand of nature, which paralyses the efforts of our gallant countrymen. The dismal prospect they have before them, cooped up at Prome for five or six months during the rainy monsoon, was somewhat cheered by the circumstance of their having captured, it was said, considerable magazines of provisions; so that it was to be hoped want would not this season add to the ravages of disease. But subsequent accounts have destroyed this illusion, as scarcity began already to be experienced. The capture of Ramree Island, sometime before attempted unsuccessfully, but on a second trial effected without any resistance, is an isolated affair, which can have little or no influence on the general fate of the contest. It may, indeed, add another island to our empire at the conclusion of peace; but can it be any object* to us to multiply such dependencies, who have lately given up to the Dutch the continent (it may almost be called) of Sumatra, with all its numerous islands?

A more important circumstance, is the apprehended attack on our settlement at Penang by the Siamese. It will be recollected, that notwithstanding the assurances of their friendship to us, blazoned forth by the Indian Government, we have always regarded the conduct of the Siamese as extremely suspicious. They made a show of bringing an army into the field to join us against the Burmese; but they never cont-

mitted themselves with the latter by striking a blow. They made professions of a desire to come to our assistance, but made them *unofficially*, leaving an opening for retreat, should it become politic to retract them, in order to preserve peace with the Burmese. Their motive evidently was not any good-will to our cause, but a desire to ascertain whether they could not, through our aid, regain possession of their ancient territory in Pegue. Despairing now of accomplishing their object by our means, they may prefer courting the friendship of the Burmese by joining them against us. A paragraph in the 'Singapore Chronicle' has explained the movement of the Siamese, which excited this apprehension of an attack on Penang, as being merely an armament destined for the conquest of the Malayan principalities of Perah and Selangore, lying between Penang and Malacca. The force is stated at 300 boats, containing each forty men, making in all 12,000, which, in passing Penang, are supposed to have given rise to the panic at that settlement.

As to the Bhurtpoor transactions, the Indian papers are silenced, as we know, by the supreme authority, and the Court of Directors are equally silent at home, most probably because they are kept as yet in entire ignorance by the same authority abroad. The intended return of Sir David Ochterlony to England is, however, mentioned in the Calcutta prints, although they dare not hint at the cause. The story of the ill-treatment and resignation of this gallant veteran, has excited very general indignation throughout the country, among all who have a just conception of our true Indian policy. It is impossible to speak of it in adequate terms of reprobation. Such seems to be the panic-fright, the weakness and shallowness of the present Governor-General and his saintly Council, that they cannot distinguish between necessary defensive wars, in support of our supemacy in the centre of India, the fruit of Lord Wellesley's and Lord Hastings's achievements, and the absurd, impolitic, and bootless broils with half-civilized neighbours like the Burmese, who are totally out of the sphere of our Indian politics, and belong not at all to any of the companies who act a part in the scene of our Indian drama, between the Ganges and the Indus. But these rulers, who are very "bulleys," (in the Oriental style,) where they apprehend no danger, but see a chance of some booty and renown, become "crestfallen" under the cudgel and taunts of their real enemies. Can it be sheer folly and incapacity? or is it base and unmanly fear that makes them cower before their ancient and insolent vanquisher, Bhurtpoor? The Rajah of that state, says Mr. Prinsep in his late work, from the successful defence of the capital against Lord Lake, has been raised to "a dangerous pre-eminence;" and in all the subsequent dealings with the British, displayed the most arrogant haughtiness, not exempt from suspicion, distrust and fear. Bhurtpoor thence stood forth as the "rallying point of disaffection," courting that character, and seeking every opportunity, as far as it dared, to irritate and insult the British power. It was one of the last states, we understand, to come in most unwillingly to the general scheme by which Lord Hastings accepted the protectorate of the Rajpoot Moosulman and Jaut states of the north-west and centre of India, and so terminated for ever, as was supposed, the scenes of devastation and bloodshed, as well as the insecurity for all the neighbouring states, which had resulted from the fatal experiment of Barlow, and the ruling *Grant* party in the Direction, of seeking an ignoble safety and security by

setting our neighbours at variance, and keeping aloof while they worried one another; as if they would have rightly interpreted our forbearance as springing from choice, and not from weakness or fear.

It was clearly Sir David Ochterlony's duty to take the most prompt and effectual steps to uphold the supremacy and dignity of the government he represented, as arbiter by treaty of all the political proceedings of the protected states. He had done so before on successions of other musnuds in Rajpootana, and with unquestionable propriety and easy success. But if there was one state, or one place more than another, where especial firmness and promptitude were needful in the exercise of our acknowledged supremacy—where not the slightest relaxation, not even the possible imputation of wavering was admissible—Bhurtpoor was that state. In no other place, before no other walls, had we ever been fairly and humiliatingly beaten, over and over again, nor had Lord Lake's compounding the matter with the old Rajah under the semblance of a treaty of peace and submission, really tarnished the honour of the virgin fortress of Bhurtpoor. We have heard repeatedly from our officers that this formed the ordinary topic of taunts and abuse showered on us whenever accident threw parties of our troops in *wordy* disputes with the officers or soldiers of the Mahrattas or Nepaulese, or even of petty zumeendars of Oude, or the Deccan! Proofs of this appear in the huge volume lately issued from the India House, regarding the affairs of Lucknow. All this, Sir David Ochterlony doubtless knew from extensive personal experience. He was, indeed, the intimate companion both in politics and in war, of Lord Lake, as more recently of Lord Hastings; and few men have been produced by our Indian struggles more capable in either department. Yet, at the close of such a long and eminent career this truly great man is meanly betrayed, abandoned, and dishonoured; his mature judgment and experience thwarted and set at nought by a bed-chamber Governor, who, from the moment he set his foot on the shores of India, has brought nothing but disgrace and disaster in his train, disgusting all that are most worthy, and following the advice that is most worthless; from which the public voice might have saved him, if he had allowed it to be heard.

Will Sir John Malcolm, who cannot deny but he would have taken the same course as Sir David Ochterlony did, on this occasion, not step forward and defend his antient brother in arms and diplomacy? What would Lord Hastings or Lord Wellesley have done at such a crisis? They would have only risen the higher in proportion to the greatness of the exigency, and the insolence of their enemy. But, perhaps, it is thought we have not European force enough to carry on the war above and below at the same time, and we dare not leave the middle country to disgusted sepoys! The Indian Government is now trying, (and we hope it is not too late,) to conciliate this important race of men by ungibbetting the bones of their unfortunate brethren, the relics of those butchered at Barrackpore, and striking off the fetters of the survivors. As these men, with the dismissed and degraded Native officers, will now be enabled to spread through the country in its naked truth the bloody tale of the 2d of November, it is more than doubtful if the tardy mercy shown them will tend to recruit the deserted ranks of our old corps, or fill up the dozen of new regiments now ordered to be raised. What would the Government now give to have a force of some thousand European planters

and settlers spread over all our provinces; each a little militia commander, at the head of his workmen and dependants, to garrison the chief places, and protect the judges and collectors while the regular troops were absent, and enemies from without stirring up insurrection within? But our Indian rulers have forsworn the blessings of Colonization, and are madly determined to commit a political *felo-de-se*, to sacrifice the British possessions in Asia, rather than permit their countrymen to participate with them in their enjoyment.

After the fall of Prome, when it was believed the Burmese would come to terms, the Bengal Government, in its eagerness to get rid of the war-expenses, discharged the shipping taken up to convey supplies to the troops, as no longer necessary. They soon found, however, that this measure was somewhat premature: the Burmese were not yet disposed to "own a conqueror, and sue for chains." The ships have consequently been again taken up, and are now more indispensable than ever. A private letter from Calcutta, dated in the end of May, mentions, that "already the army was in want of provisions at Prome, although Rangoon was well supplied. This (the writer adds) arises from the difficulty of the water-conveyance,—the *distance*, I should rather say, at present; but in the rains the communication will be extremely difficult." So here are our troops, cooped up in a vile swampy place, described as "a miserable hole, almost entirely composed of huts," and worse supplied than Rangoon, the scene of their former unparalleled sufferings from disease and bad food. As to advancing on the capital, the same letter says, that "if Sir Archibald Campbell attempts advancing before the termination of the rains, it is my opinion he will lose half his army." Therefore, whether he advance or stand still, there must be a great consumption of human life, more of our European troops, the most valuable part of the army, to whom the climate is so particularly destructive. There is the waste, also, of the public treasure and resources still going on. Many millions have already been thrown away on this useless war, which might have been much better employed in improving the condition of our subjects, and securing their loyalty by relieving them somewhat of the grinding salt-monopoly, the judicial tax, or other grievous imposts. In order to supply this waste, the Government is proceeding with its five per cent. loan, which is said to take chiefly from its affording an easy remittance to England. That there is a scarcity felt in the money-market, and a run on the home-treasury, appears by the rate of exchange, which has risen to 1*s.* 11*d.*, and even as high as 2*s.* 1*d.* per rupee. At the same time, the interest of money is quoted as high as nine per cent.

A most extraordinary financial scheme has been proposed to the Indian public by Mr. John Trotter, a senior merchant of the Bengal Civil Service. It is for the civil and military services of the Company to form themselves into a huge agency association, with a capital of one crore and forty lacs of rupees, or nearly a million and a half sterling. There is to be a scale of shares, from one to ten thousand rupees each, according to the rank in the service of the persons subscribing; but each person may hold as many shares as he can purchase, that is, invest his whole property in the agency concern. It is proposed to have one branch of it in India, and another in England, by the joint operations of which the whole pecuniary concerns of the civil and military bodies (as, remittances to Europe, investment of their property at good interest) are to be

transacted by their own constituted agents for their own benefit. The extensive views of the projector may be guessed at from the following brief enumeration of the objects, to which, he says, the Calcutta branch of it will be *confined*:

The business of the Calcutta establishment will be confined to banking; the accommodating members of the Service, and others, on the principle of the Scotch banks, with open cash accounts, (on the responsibility of two respectable sureties;) the management of estates; the purchase and sale of Government securities; the disposal of goods consigned by European and other correspondents; the purchase and sale of bullion, or real property, as advantageous opportunities may offer; the discounting of unexceptionable bills, and the granting of loans on real or collateral securities; the effecting of life, sea, or river insurances; the agency of any persons who may be in the service of his Majesty, or the East India Company, or attached to any of his Majesty's Supreme Courts in India, or elsewhere; and of such persons resident in Great Britain as may desire to invest any part of their property in the securities of the Bengal Government. All the profits, benefits, and advantages, arising out of the concern, in any of the ways above enumerated, shall (the charges of management only deducted) be divided periodically among the proprietors or constituents for the time being, according to their respective shares of stock. The dividends (after the first five years) it is proposed to make twice in each year.

This looks so like a trading association, that some persons in India were weak enough to suppose that the servants of the Company could not join in it without a violation of the rules of their service, and the oaths by which they bind themselves to abstain from trade. They feared that they might incur the penalties of the 33 Geo. III. c. 52. § 137; but on this point, Mr. Trotter sets their doubts at rest, saying: "I have consulted two of the most eminent counsel in Calcutta, and they have given me both their decided opinion, that *a purchase of goods for remittance* would not so subject any of the persons in question, more especially those concerned in the collection of the revenue, or the administration of justice." He again argues, that as the act prohibits their "buying goods, and selling them again in the same province," it does not mean to forbid their purchase for exportation to England; and as this is the object of the Association, it is only buying goods "for the sake of a remittance;" therefore not a violation of the act. He also states, as to the General Order of January 1825 against trading by the Company's servants: "I am informed, on authority, that it arose out of the discovery in the cases referred to, of a positive habit of trading, (or, in short, such a buying and selling as is clearly interdicted by the statute,) but never contemplated the prohibition of purchases merely to answer the purpose of a remittance." This order, however, if found too strict, he thinks the Government will modify, without hesitation, if required. The judicial and revenue oath also, he trusts, will be kindly dispensed with by the Court of Directors, that nothing may stand in the way of his grand project; for as the oath was imposed when the rate of exchange was probably 2*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* 8*d.*, to continue it after the exchange has fallen to 1*s.* 10½*d.*, is, he thinks, the height of injustice. It is equivalent to paying their servants in "a debased currency." Therefore, "an overruling necessity compels the Civil Service of this Presidency to pay for a dispensation from the oath;" and surely, he adds, "such a tardy compensation for the future, as they might obtain from its *cancellation*, will, if

asked, never be denied by so liberal [so liberal and so just !] a Government." That is, he thinks the Company will not consider whether it be proper that judges, and collectors of revenue, should be tempted to abuse their powers to the oppression of the people, by coming into the market as merchants, and exercising a virtual power of pre-emption and unlimited extortion. The directorial legislators will simply be guided by the interests of their servants, and the number of pence sterling procurable for a sicca rupee, without the slightest regard to the interests of their subjects. But a bribe is also held out to the Court of Directors for their concurrence in the plan. As, at the present rate of exchange, there would be a necessity, Mr. Trotter thinks, for recasting the scale of allowances of their servants, the Company, by encouraging the present project, may shift a considerable part of the ultimate burden of such augmentation "from its own shoulders." That is, in plain terms, he points out to the Company how it may save its own finances, and at the same time enrich its servants, by licensing and encouraging them to *rob* its subjects!! It is Mr. John Trotter, an old experienced servant of the Company, who, from mature consideration, ascribes such diabolical principles to his honourable masters; and it is not for us to question the accuracy of *his* judgment on such a point. He seems to bear in mind the well-known anecdote of one of his countrymen, who, in seeking employment, said that he did not require much wages, as, about a large house, he would always be picking up small trifles. So Mr. John Trotter tells the Company: "If you allow us to be judges, collectors, and merchants at the same time, we do not require any addition to our salaries."

The Calcutta 'Government Gazette,' we observe, gives all the countenance of its authority to this infamous and absurd scheme, which, after all, is an insult to the common sense, as much as to the character, of the Court of Directors. The official organ of the Bengal Government says, "It is highly satisfactory to those who regard the projected agency with feelings of approbation and anticipations of *great public good*, to be assured that purchases for the mere object of remittance are decided to be not within the prohibitory words of the statute; and as the general orders of the Government, (No. 1, of January 1824,) *were not intended* to be interdictory to such purchases, it is *earnestly hoped* that the clause in the oath administered to judicial and revenue servants, which forbids their availing themselves of the medium of remittance, may be soon either abrogated or modified." It afterwards adds, that "the judicial oath is considered to be the only real obstacle, and it is one which, under the existing state of things, will probably soon receive some modification." The Government organ is as eager for the commencement of the said agency as if Lord Amherst and his Council were longing to lay their hands upon the capital which would most probably be invested in the public funds, and might help forward the Burman war. Their official 'Gazette' says, "It is, we understand, a subject of very general regret that the establishment of the plan should be deferred until so large a capital as one crore and forty lacs shall be raised. Would it not be better to commence as soon as one crore shall be subscribed, or even seventy-five lacs?"

Among the other merits of the plan so countenanced, if not expressly patronised by the local Government, it is "obviously calculated (says the projector) to check a recurrence of the many instances in which indivi-

duals, after attaining high situations under Government, have withdrawn from the service to support interests diametrically opposite to those of their original employers, and, moreover, to overcome some of the principal inducements for Colonization in India."

Most effectually would it overcome them, by rendering it a country in which nobody would live who could escape from it. The new universal association claims the right of purchasing goods for a remittance; that is, for monopolizing, as far as in its power, the whole homeward trade. Now this consists in the products of the country, drawn forth by the capital of our merchants, advanced to indigo planters and others scattered over the country, who urge on the cultivation. This capital is abundantly supplied by the savings of the Company's higher civil and military servants, deposited at interest with the merchants, who know how to employ it so beneficially. By the new Joint Stock Company this capital is to be diverted into a totally different channel; and every private trader must either become the dependant of the united agency, or be driven out of the market. The combined interest of the civil and military services, with their extensive ramifications throughout the country, must carry every thing before them. How hopeless would competition be, when the private merchant saw the judge, the magistrate, the collector, and, in a word, every person in authority throughout the country, united against him as rival traders, and enjoying a thousand means of driving him to despair. So dreadful a nuisance could not be tolerated in any country; and if it were to exist for a few years, such a combination would put an end to the East India Company itself,—no great evil, we admit, if it were not to be supplanted by a more mischievous monopoly than even the Company itself has been. The strong encouragement it has received in Bengal, shows more, perhaps, than any thing that has yet happened, the pitch of folly and wickedness to which the Government there may arrive when unchecked by public opinion, expressed through a free and unfettered press.

The projector himself is hardly worth our attention: he is merely labouring in his vocation of a sordid money-maker,—one whose thoughts by day, and dreams by night, have apparently, for years past, turned on nothing but mere gain, for its own sake only, and without regarding it as the means of doing good to others or procuring pleasures for himself; this sordid spirit having not only steeled him against the influence of a sense of duty in his public career, as import warehouse-keeper, but even against the most ordinary allurements that could not fail to subdue the heart of almost any other man. He merely asks, in return for his cogitations, to be constituted, along with two others of his own selection, a triumvirate for the management of the concern in India, with a yearly salary of two lacs and ten thousand rupees (upwards of 20,000*l.*) per annum, to defray all expenses there; and at the end of five years, if the proprietors choose, their funds may be divided, and the copartnership dissolved. Branches of the universal agency are also to be established at Madras and Bombay, for the sake of the Company's servants within these Presidencies; and lastly, those resident in Great Britain, "wishing to become proprietors or constituents," (proprietors of what, unless it be of Mr. John Trotter's chimerical ideas!) are invited to make application to his agents in London.

That the Company's servants abroad suffer severely under the low rate of exchange, and that this is a hardship deserving of every consideration,

we fully admit. But who would consent to remedy even this evil by inflicting a far deeper one on the whole mass of the Indian people? It appears that the Bengal Government of 1823, urged by the memorials of many of its military officers, distressed for the means of supporting their families in Europe, while their funds suffered so much diminution in remittance, earnestly recommended to the home authorities, to allow all officers, having such calls on their salaries in Europe, the means of remittance for them, by bills of exchange, to the extent of their British pay, at the same rate at which it is issued in India, viz. 2*s*. 6*d*. per sonat rupee. "To this proposition, however," says the Gazette of authority, "no answer has yet been received." Yet this is a most just and reasonable proposition, from which the Court ought to be ashamed of withholding its assent. It remains to be seen, whether it will listen more favourably to Mr. Trotter's plan, backed as it is with bribes to every species of injustice.

As an example of the result to be expected from creating the new monopoly proposed, we give the following extract from a letter in the 'India Gazette,' explaining the manner in which the Company's regulations cramp and destroy the trade of the country:—

I wish it to be understood, that I here condemn "regulations" only under the terms of the present Charter, and if, in reference to the prejudicial effect which the Company's trade is alleged to produce over the interests both of individuals, and particularly the service, an example should be required, I may instance the silk branch. At every station where the mulberry will grow, is a factory erected, and the manufacturers being placed under large advances for the public investment, the private adventurer is utterly unable to compete with such formidable rivals. Indeed, the manufacturers are, in a way, interdicted by their pecuniary obligations to the Government, from supplying the exigencies of any individuals. The practice is, in truth, restoring the very principles which were before so much reprobated; namely, the confining the winders of the raw material to the places where they could only be employed for the Company's benefit, to the obstruction of the private trade and prejudice to the revenue. And hence, in a manner, the Company may be said to re-assert their claim to pre-emption; whilst, from similar causes, arises, in a great degree, that deplorable depression in the exchanges we now witness. It may be urged, that the practice complained of is no more than the treatment the Company originally received from private merchants, when they used to advance so largely to their weavers, and to give greater prices than had ever been given by the Company. But as regards the interests of their service, the present practice is deeply to be regretted; whilst it is subversive of that unrestrained freedom on which the commerce of India is avowedly constituted; and I apprehend little prospect of amendment, without Government can be prevailed upon to modify some of the existing regulations for providing this branch of the public investment, or to allow to the service, bills on the home treasury for part of the proceeds of this silk at an exchange of, say two shillings the sicca rupee.

In addition to the public institutions and associations formerly noticed, founded by the East Indians of Calcutta, for promoting their social and intellectual improvement, we now observe that they have formed themselves into a Literary Society. The number of members is to be unlimited, and it is to have periodical meetings for the discussion of subjects previously chosen, and the reception of the literary productions presented by its members. These daily accumulating proofs that a new race of men is fast springing up in our Indian empire, will surely at last rouse the

Company from its dream of security, in thinking that it can continue with impunity to trample them down as unworthy of the common privileges of British subjects.

The Calcutta 'John Bull,' of the 26th of May, contains a biographical notice, from a missionary work, of a converted Hindoo, lately deceased, which places in a striking point of view the labours of the missionaries in evangelizing the heathen. Sukharee (so the convert was called) had belonged to the washerman caste. Having lost at once two of his children, and also his wife, who was brought by sorrow to the grave, Sukharee became plunged in a deep melancholy. He then, through the persuasions of his master, "entered upon a profession of Christ." But instead of improving with his new profession, he became a worse man than before. In the words of his biographer, "being even as the Gentiles which knew not God, he walked according to the course of this world, fulfilling the desires of the flesh and of the mind." That is, "he took to drinking liquors, eating intoxicating drugs," &c., the consequence of which was, that his master (who had *converted* him!) turned him about his business. The Christian Sukharee then became "little better than one of the wicked"; for the missionary account says he "led a most beastly life, being constantly intoxicated, and lying insensible in the bazaars and streets." He was so desperately reprobate at last, as to revile Christians, and particularly Paunchoo, another Native, who was a preacher of the gospel. In September 1823, however, the judgment of heaven overtook him in the great inundation which destroyed so much life and property on the Sulkea side of the Hooghley. Being thus driven out of his habitation, he was obliged to take refuge with Paunchoo, the preacher, in company with his wife, (probably a second helpmate,) and Boonsee, a barber. Paunchoo pitied their distress, and, having gathered them all together, "improved the afflicting dispensation" with a discourse on the history of Noah. Sukharee, being now reduced to poverty and overwhelmed with debt, had nothing to drink but water, and was obliged to work hard to live; so he became, by the blessing of Providence, sober and industrious. He was then "poor, and of contrite spirit." Together with his toils and misfortunes, he, some months after, was afflicted with sickness, and at last died, saying, "I shall cross the ocean of this world by making Christ's death a vessel for my transport." *After* this (query *before?*) he became, for a short period, insane; but, recovering "like the setting sun that emerges from the clouds which secure his resplendence, and then displaying his glories for a while in the horizon,—so did Sukharee depart in triumph, the soul forsaking its tabernacle of flesh in peace." Dr. Bryce's newspaper (the 'John Bull') adds to this the following item of intelligence: "The good Editors (of the missionary work) entertain no doubt that, when he died, his soul winged its way to immortal happiness."

It is even said (in the 'India Gazette') that the famous Burmese General, Bundoola, who was killed in the siege of Prome, began, before his death, to evince symptoms of Christianization. When the Mugh who reported this interesting fact was pressed to explain what these symptoms were, he replied, with much simplicity, that Bundoola was of "master's caste," having acquired a relish for the enjoyment of roast beef, pork, and brandy. This seems also to have been the original principle of Sukharee's Christianity.

The last hot season in India appears to have been unusually oppressive. In the month of May, cholera morbus was very prevalent at Dinapore and Patna. At the latter place, it is said, upwards of 100 Natives daily were falling victims to that fatal disease. Some European soldiers had also died of it at Dinapore. A private letter from Bengal, written on the 18th of June, says: "We are suffering the most oppressive heat ever known; numbers of people are laid up with fevers in Calcutta; among the rest, Lord Amherst and Sir Edward Paget."

"PEACE, HARMONY, AND GOOD ORDER OF SOCIETY" IN CALCUTTA.

We have repeatedly shown how this much-lauded harmony is promoted by a shackled press, and shall therefore, without any further comment, present the sequel of the editorial fracas described in our last Number. We stated that the 'Scotsman' had applied to the Editor of the 'Hurkaru' the terms "bully" and "bravo," and have since learnt, from a private letter, that this difference between them was made up through the mediation of a brother Editor, their mutual friend. This private compromise, however, could not silence the 'John Bull' party, who threw the above terms in the teeth of Mr. M'Naghten, the Editor of the 'Hurkaru,' till he was driven to call out Mr. Greenlaw, their Editor. The latter having chosen Captain Husband (of his Majesty's 87th Regiment) to act as his friend, he gave it as his opinion that Mr. M'Naghten, after suffering the terms "bully" and "bravo" to pass unnoticed in a proper manner, was not entitled to demand such satisfaction from Mr. Greenlaw. This Tory tool took shelter under the screen of this opinion; and Mr. M'Naghten consequently denounced him as a "liar" and a "coward," intimating, at the same time, that Captain Husband was far from consistent or blameless in screening such a fellow from the chastisement he merited. In a letter, dated April 7th, Mr. M'Naghten addressed the latter as follows:—

As the friend of Mr. Greenlaw, a *man long since branded with falsehood,* and now with *cowardice,* you thought proper to throw a most unjustifiable imputation on my character; but I, of course, considered that you were authorized to act as you thought would be most advantageous to him. You compelled me to appeal to the public, and before I can take any farther notice of you, I must learn whether the judgment of that public on your conduct will warrant my considering you more worthy of my personal notice than you were pleased to think me of Mr. Greenlaw's.

P. S.—You say I have only *dared* to pronounce you inconsistent. If I have occasion to notice you in a public manner again, you will probably find that in confining your conduct to inconsistency, I was rather merciful than timorous, and the moment you say (other than in the character of Mr. Greenlaw's second) that my character as an officer and a gentleman is in the least degree stained, I shall pronounce that you have uttered an infamous falsehood.

R. A. M'N.

In consequence of this sharp epistle, Captain Husband, along with his friend, Captain Kennelly, called on Mr. M'Naghten at his newspaper-office, viz. the 'Hurkaru' Library, when a tremendous explosion took place. Two accounts of it have been published by the different parties; but as they do not differ materially with regard to facts, we merely insert one of them, preferring, of course, that which is attested by two gentlemen, to Mr. M'Naghten's individual statement:—

STATEMENT OF CAPTAIN HUSBAND.

The following is the substance of a conversation which took place in the 'Hurkaru' Library, and the room adjoining, in which, I believe, Mr. Macnaghten and his friend, Mr. Smith,[1] usually sit, viz.:—

On reaching the Library, Captain Kennelly sent in his name to Lieutenant Macnaghten. On a person coming out, Captain Kennelly addressed him,—"Mr. Macnaghten, I presume."

Answer.—Yes; I am Mr. Macnaghten.

Captain Kennelly.—Allow me to introduce Captain Husband to you.

Captain Husband.—Are you the author of these statements?

Lieutenant Macnaghten —I am.

Captain Husband.—Will you withdraw them from circulation as publicly as you have put them forth?

Answer.—No, not now; I can't at present.

Captain Husband, (looking round.)—There are too many witnesses here; have you no private room?

Mr. Macnaghten.—I must have a friend.

Captain Husband.—You cannot suppose there will be any advantage taken.

On entering the room, Captain Husband again said: Are you, Sir, the author of these statements?

Answer.—I am.

Captain Husband.—Then I insist on your withdrawing them. They contain aspersions on my character, and they must and shall be removed.

Mr. Macnaghten.—You have attacked my character as an officer and a gentleman in not allowing Greenlaw (correcting himself)—Mr. Greenlaw to meet me.

Captain Husband.—If I have done so, I am ready now to give you an opportunity of wiping off the stain. Will you meet me?

Mr. Macnaghten.—I'll consider of it.

Captain Husband.—There is no time for consideration now; will you meet me?

Answer.—I cannot at present. [*i. e.* He could not answer at the moment.]

Captain Husband.—You must meet me.

Mr. Macnaghten.—I will send you an answer in writing.

Captain Husband.—Mr. Macnaghten, I will have no shuffling or evasion here;—will you or will you not meet me?

Mr. Macnaghten.—No—o—o.

Captain Husband.—You base coward; you disgrace to manhood and the coat you wear—take that. [Here a blow was given.]

Mr. Macnaghten (appealing to Captain Kennelly).—I call upon you to witness that.

Captain Kennelly.—I'll witness it.

Mr. Macnaghten (appealing to Captain Husband)—You promised that there should be no unfair advantage taken.

Captain Husband—Nor has there, you cowardly scoundrel; it's man to man. You base coward, had you your red coat on, I would tear it from your back, and throw it in shreds on the floor. Captain Kennelly, look at that man: did you ever see coward more completely stamped on a man's face than on that fellow's?

Captain Kennelly.—Never.

Mr. Smith, about this time, came into the room, interposed, and said, "I think you look as much like a coward."

Captain Kennelly immediately replied, "Come along, Husband; you have nothing to say to that fellow."

This is in substance all that happened.

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[1] Present proprietor of the 'Hurkaru;' a person some few years ago a private soldier in the Company's European Regiment.

I must declare that Mr. Greenlaw's name was never mentioned by me in this affair: it was my character which that wasp had dared to assail, and I personally resented it.

The hint at unfair advantage is false. Mr. Smith was in the room when I entered it; it was a room (as every person who ever saw it can testify) with three or four open doors. Mr. Smith and all the 'Hurkaru' establishment were outside, and Captain Kennelly saw that there was no unfair advantage. Man to man was my very expression; and on a hint from the trembling coward, I desired Captain Kennelly to leave the room; but Captain Kennelly interfered, I am happy to say, and prevented my proceeding further.

Mr. Macnaghten first saw me in the large room of the establishment, and I observing many Native writers there, was struck with the impropriety of a personal altercation with Mr. Macnaghten before them, and therefore asked for another room.

I have done with him, and henceforth I have no communication with him, unless he molests me; for I never yet saw a man who, like him, could not lift a finger in the defence of every thing that is dear to man.

Tuesday morning, April 13. P. B. HUSBAND.

I was present during the whole of this conversation, and am ready to swear to the correctness of what is written herein. I never saw a man in my life who appeared so totally devoid of courage.

JAMES KENNELLY, Lieut. H. M. 87th
Regt. and Brevet Captain.

There is an appearance of extraordinary want of spirit in Mr. M'Naghten's suffering himself thus to be insulted and beaten without resistance. Again, the sudden intrusion and attack upon him were quite unjustifiable, since Captain Husband could not deny him the same right which Mr. Greenlaw had just exercised, of consulting a friend to determine whether or not a challenge given ought to be accepted. On this ground it was, no doubt, that Mr. M'Naghten refused to answer at a moment's warning, having some scruple, as above intimated, on the subject; but we cannot find any excuse in this, or in his opponent's superior strength, for his submitting tamely to be beaten. His next step, we believe, was to call out Captain Kennelly, and here again the latter refused to accept his challenge, on what precise ground we do not know. He then had Captain Husband tried by Court Martial for enticing him into a room under the pledge of taking no unfair advantage of him; and notwithstanding committing a most unjustifiable assault. The Court found the accused guilty of having behaved in a manner violent and unjustifiable, but acquitted him of any disgraceful conduct. Next, Captain Kennelly had Mr. M'Naghten tried by Court Martial for sending him a challenge, or grossly insulting message; after it was intimated to him that such a proceeding would subject him to a trial, as he had refused the call with the advice and approval of all his brother officers. The Court found Lieutenant M'Naghten guilty, and, as a punishment, sentenced him to be cashiered. This sentence was in so far reversed by the Commander-in-Chief as to restore him to his rank in the army; but he was removed from his situation of Deputy Judge Advocate, as having displayed a degree of intemperance and indecorum that rendered him unfit to be entrusted with such important duties. Three duels in agitation, and two Courts Martial, all in the short space of a few weeks, and all occasioned by the licentiousness of the Company's licensed Press!—a notable example of the advantages of the harmony-making gagging laws invented by the wise men of the East, and so much lauded by the sages of Leadenhall-street.

As far as Sir Francis M'Naghten was concerned, his friends may, perhaps, urge that his mode of promoting harmony is truly *Irish.*

ADDRESS TO THE LATE MR. ADAM.

A portion of the *non-existent* Calcutta public has once more enacted the farce of voting an Address to the late Mr. John Adam. For this purpose a Meeting was held on the 2d of May, Mr. Larkins in the chair; who, in a long speech, part of which has reached us, extolled "the talents and virtues," the "zeal and integrity," the "amiable and inestimable qualitities," &c. &c. &c., of their late temporary Governor, who had reached among them the summit of excellence as well as of power. After ringing the changes on such vague generalities, without specifying a single act of Mr. Adam that deserved approbation, the Chairman observed, that "Although they should have in Mr. Adam a memorial of *him*, he was still persuaded the public feeling could not be satisfied in the *full* measure of its *plenitude* until they had transmitted to him some memorial of *them*." He therefore proposed an Address expressing the high esteem and respect of the British inhabitants of Calcutta. Mr. Ricketts objected to such an Address on two specific grounds, founded on the public conduct of Mr. Adam, while their temporary Governor-General, viz., his arbitrary banishment of Mr. Buckingham, and his enslavement of the Press. As to the first point, Mr. Ricketts observed, if Mr. Buckingham had deserved banishment, why had not Lord Hastings inflicted it, who had abundant opportunities of doing so? But his Lordship would not, because he *had* a character to lose, and therefore "would not stoop to an act revolting to the feelings of Englishmen." But, Mr. Adam, took advantage of the power with which his official situation invested him to pounce upon Mr. Buckingham ere scarce a month had elapsed since his accession to the Government; and not contented with that, first shackled the Press, and then made an appeal in defence of his conduct to that public which he had gagged, and "whose very existence he had absolutely denied." Mr. Ricketts concluded by saying that, in their present state of abject slavery, no man, though he was in the right, dare express himself fearlessly on any subject; but he was persuaded that the feelings of the majority were on his side of the question, though the peculiar interests, connexions and circumstances of individuals might operate as a restraint upon their conduct.

Mr. Martin, in reply, said, that he had come there "impressed with the idea that there was to be *no* discussion on the *merits* or *demerits* of Mr. Adam's conduct, but that there was *simply* to be *an address voted*." The only argument he used was the following, to show that he and his co-addressers were not enslaved. In proof of their entire freedom of opinion, he appealed to the sentiments just uttered by Mr. Ricketts, who had spoken freely and fearlessly.

The fact is, that Mr. Ricketts happened to be an East Indian, therefore not banishable at the pleasure of the Governor-General, or he would not have ventured to express those truths, to which those of the British community dared not give utterance. This is appealed to by Mr. Adam's flatterers, as a proof that their minds are unshackled! But their reasoning and their address, which was voted as a matter of course in such an assembly, are equally unworthy of notice.

ALLOWANCES TO CIVIL SERVANTS.

The following has been given in the 'India Gazette,' as the new rules adopted for the furlough and retiring fund of the civil servants of the Company:—

The Service solicited from the Court of Directors an annuity of 7000 rupees, consenting to contribute two-thirds. The Court have granted an annuity of 10,000, and require the Service to pay only half the value.

The Service asked the Court to contribute a lac of rupees per annum. The Court have consented to give three lacs and 26,000 rupees per annum. The Court have also agreed to give six per cent. for all balances of subscription. To which may also be added other advantages; for instance: any annuitant disliking to deprive his family eventually of so large a sum as will be his subscription for half the annuity, may, by either selling that half gain more than its cost, or by insuring his life give to his heirs the full value of it at a less expense than its annual receipt will give him; so that, under either of these arrangements, a Civil Servant annuitant receiving 500*l.* a year gratis, whilst the junior part of the Service acquire great acceleration of promotion by the seniors retiring in the Annuity Fund much sooner than they otherwise possibly could do. We are led to understand that the despatch of the Honourable the Court of Directors, on the Furlough and Annuity Fund, is to be printed and circulated among the members of the Civil Service immediately.

Civil servants, after an actual residence of ten years in India in the Civil Service, to be entitled to come once to Europe on leave for three years, and to receive for that period an allowance of 500*l.* per annum. No greater number of servants to come home under this regulation annually than seventeen from Bengal, nine from Madras, and six from Bombay. The preference to be given, first, to those producing medical certificates on oath, that a visit to Europe is indispensably necessary for the restoration of their health, and then to servants according to seniority of rank.

Civil servants compelled by illness, certified on oath, to come to Europe, previous to their completion of the period of residence in India above prescribed, to be presented with 2000 sicca rupees as passage money, and to be entitled, for a period not exceeding three years, to an allowance of 250*l.* per annum. Servants having received this indulgence, shall not, in the event of their again coming to Europe, after having completed a residence of ten years or upwards, be entitled to any allowance under the first regulation, unless their return be again occasioned by illness, and then only to the difference between what they have before drawn as absentee allowance, (exclusive of passage money,) and 500*l.* per annum for three years.

Servants going in the first instance to the Cape for their health, and being compelled from the same cause to come thence to Europe, to be entitled to the benefit of the foregoing regulations.

In all cases the said allowances to commence from the date of leaving India, and terminate at the end of three years from that date, or at the time of arrival in India, which ever may first happen.

The allowances in question to be paid half-yearly in Europe, and on no account to be extended beyond three years.

No servant drawing an absentee allowance from a civil fund, to receive during the same period of absence, the allowances prescribed by these regulations, beyond such amount as may bring the total of his receipts from both sources to the sum hereby limited.

We have heard that the plan for paying off the debts of the civil servants of Government is not likely to be adopted for some time to come.

CENTRAL INDIA.

The following is the only hint regarding our internal situation which has met our notice in the late Indian papers; but it is very significant

of the belief entertained by the Bengal Government, that Bhurtpoor is drawing other states into a general combination against us; and this while the strength of our army is still wasting away in the marshes and forests of Ava:—

The Ukbars relate, that on the 10th of the month of Shahaban, Mr. Stewart made an address to Maha Rajah Doulut Rao Sindia Bahadoor, to the following purport: "That he had been informed of his inclination to succour the Bhurtpoories with a number of forces under the command of one of his ablest commanders; and were that report to be really so, he absolutely considered him to be the first cause of the breach of treaty and friendship between them. Nevertheless, he was greatly anxious to have a particular account of that." The Maha Rajah, in reply to Mr. Stewart, informed him, that what he had learnt from the report was false, which proceeded from nothing more than the stratagems of some cunning men, and therefore he recommended him never to put confidence upon mere reports, until they were sufficiently authenticated.—*Kowmoody, May* 21, 1825.

MILITARY OPERATIONS IN THE BURMAN TERRITORY.

Our former accounts broke off at the fall of Donabew, the particulars of which we shall now briefly state. On the 2d of April, shortly after day-light, silence was observed to prevail throughout the whole of the fortifications; and a little before sun-rise, two Burmese deserters reported that the place had been evacuated by their countrymen, leaving the whole of their artillery in the place. The British forces then taking possession, found the guns left loaded, cattle running about loose, and every thing bearing the appearance of a precipitate retreat. The cause is stated to have been the death of Bundoola, the Burmese General, which, according to current report, was occasioned by the explosion of a shell under his cot. This he had placed in an exposed situation, upon the N.W. angle of the stockade, under a canopy, for the purpose of being able to view the operations of the British force. According to other accounts he fell while going his rounds. The Burmese, disheartened by the loss of that distinguished leader, who died about mid-day on the 1st of April, decamped the same night, leaving the whole of his personal property, war-drums, musical instruments, hat of state, &c. in his dwelling-house; it being unlawful among them for any one to appropriate the effects of a superior officer. The relics of him so found, therefore, strongly confirm the belief in his death. The Oriental parasites have, since this event, begun to extol his merits as a General, wishing it to be supposed that his removal will leave the Burmese little or no further power of resistance. They have still, however, powerful allies in the seasons and elements; in the woods and swamps of their inaccessible country. During the siege of this place, the enemy, while yet under the direction of Bundoola, had made several bold and desperate sorties on our lines; which, however, were quickly repulsed. One of them presented a scene at once novel and interesting, in front of both armies: seventeen large elephants, each carrying a complement of armed men, and supported by a column of infantry, were observed moving down upon the right of our columns. The body-guard charged them, under Captain Sneyd, and boldly mixing with the elephants, shot the men off their backs, and finally drove the whole back into the fort. The fall of Donabew made Lord Amherst again express his joy, and celebrate this triumph, as usual, by ordering a discharge of musketry from all the stations of the land forces in the East

Indies. These reiterated *feux-de-joie*, will certainly form a considerable item in the war expenses.

Sir Archibald Campbell having then moved back upon Prome, the enemy retired at his approach, making no offer of resistance, although the hills were fortified to their summits; and the city being evacuated during the previous night, he took possession of it on the 25th of April, without firing a shot. He states, having found in the place 100 pieces of artillery, (jinjals and blunderbusses of course included in his enumeration,) and extensive magazines well filled with grain; although one-fourth of the place was burnt by the enemy before he took possession. He describes the fortifications as exceedingly strong; so that, with ten thousand steady soldiers, they might have held out against ten times the number. He will be a better judge of this, however, at the end of the rains, when he has supplied his troops and cattle with provisions and forage for five or six months, in the midst of a country of swamp and jungle, with hostile bands hovering round him, and disease and famine preying within. "Nothing," he says, "but prompt measures could have saved Prome from general conflagration, and its inhabitants from a wretched fate;" it being the policy of the Burmese to lay waste the country, so as to leave no resources for their invaders. General Campbell says, that the people are very generally returning to their houses, throwing themselves on his mercy; and adds: "Nor shall the proud characteristic of our country be forgotten, in extending shelter and protection to the suffering families that have been wantonly exposed to the inclemency of an approaching monsoon, by the barbarous policy of their own countrymen"! Who drove them to adopt that barbarous policy which *our* allies, the Russians, practised to so much more frightful an extent in the late memorable case of the burning of Moscow? Is it the defending people, or the aggressors, who incur the guilt of such tremendous sacrifices, which nations are compelled to make for the common safety? On whose head will rest the moral responsibility of all the misery that has been created, of all the blood that has been shed, in this unnecessary war? On the Burmans, who are merely standing on the defensive; or Lord Amherst and his Councillors, who have wantonly and unjustly plunged the two states into this ruinous contest? Yet General Campbell, after having been himself the instrument employed in filling the Burmese territories unnecessarily with slaughter and devastation, cants about British kindness and clemency, and Burman barbarity!!

After the capture of Prome, and apparently in expectation of General Campbell's immediate advance upon the capital, the King and Court, with all their wealth, were said to have been secured from danger; the King having retired into the more inaccessible hilly country, where he would be secure from our attempts. The manner in which they warded off the immediate danger by negotiation, likewise shows no little dexterity, and seems to evince a determination of the Burmese, to leave no art of resistance untried, which may serve to protract the war, till it exhaust the patience and resources of their enemy. This now appears to be the decided character of the Burman policy; and it is the wisest they could possibly adopt. 'The Globe' evening paper says:—

The reported negociations for peace are stated to have ended in rather a farcical manner, by the absconding of the Burmese Ambassador during the night, when he had so far succeeded as to prevent the march of the English

troops on the capital, and when he ascertained the necessity of the troops remaining at Prome, and the neighbourhood, during the rainy season.

The same paper gives the following extract of a letter from Madras, dated July 12, 1825:—

The war in Ava seems to be as far from a termination as it was this time twelve months. Sir A. Campbell, with the main force of the army, is at Prome, the rains have set in very heavily, and the troops are becoming unhealthy. The very great expense of this disastrous war has nearly exhausted the Government treasury; and if it be continued much longer, they will be obliged, we apprehend, to open a new loan, and perhaps it is such an expectation, with accounts of the London market, that has occasioned a favourable turn in the exchange in Calcutta. Here also it has improved a little.

A letter dated Prome, 30th of May, given in a Madras paper, states, that a body of 950 men, composed of the flank companies of the European regiments, was to be pushed on by Sir A. Campbell, supplied with fifteen days' provisions to attack a strong position taken up by the enemy on the road to Ava. The army was miserably housed at Prome, one half having no houses at all. The supplies were scarce, and all the flotilla had been sent back to Rangoon for provisions. A letter dated Prome, June 4, states, that the Burmese were making every preparation for a stout defence of the capital, mounting guns, and hiring troops at fifteen tickals (equal to above fifteen rupees) per month. A nephew of the late General Bundoolah is said to be their generalissimo. Price of provisions in the British camp at Prome: beer twenty-four rupees a dozen; bad madeira thirty-five; brandy sixty, or ten shillings a bottle, and other articles at the same exorbitant rate. We may merely add, that from the latest accounts we have seen, there was no prospect of a speedy termination to the war.

MADRAS.

The Governor of Fort St. George has published an extract of a despatch from the Court of Directors, dated in December last, conveying to him their high approbation of the "zeal and energy" with which he has seconded the efforts of the Bengal Government, to bring the Burmese war to a "*speedy* and SUCCESSFUL issue." Sir Thomas Munro has, in our opinion, displayed "zeal and energy"; but the "speedy and successful issue" is yet apparently far off. The Court, at the same time, expressed its high sense of the spirit and alacrity early shown by the troops of that Presidency, officers and men, in entering upon this service, and desired that these sentiments of approbation should be made generally known to them. Sir Thomas Munro has, consequently, taken the opportunity of publishing the paragraph in praise of himself, like a consistent enemy of "pernicious publicity."

In another late paper, we find an extract of a despatch from the Court of Directors, which states that Sir Thomas Munro had, for some reasons alluded to, (probably the dangerous situation in which India had been placed by Lord Amherst,) withdrawn the wish formerly expressed to be relieved of the office of Governor of Madras. This wish had been expressed in despatches written to the Court, so far back as September 1823; and, withdrawn as stated, in letters dated 3d of March and 19th of July 1824; that is, after the commencement of the Burmese war. The Court of Directors express their satisfaction with this devotion to their service in these words:—

We have derived the most sincere satisfaction from the foregoing communications. We consider Sir Thomas Munro to have evinced the same high public spirit and ardent zeal to promote the interests committed to his charge on the present as on all past occasions throughout his long and honourable course of public service. As no arrangement has yet been made for the appointment of a successor to the Governor of Madras, we are happy to signify to you our unanimous desire to avail ourselves of an extension of Sir Thomas Munro's services in that high station, at a period when his distinguished talents and peculiar qualifications cannot fail of being eminently beneficial to the country under your Government, as well as to our interests; and we have accordingly unanimously resolved to abstain from nominating any successor to Sir Thomas Munro, until we shall have received from you an acknowledgment of this communication, and an intimation of his wishes in consequence.

This flattering testimony of their approbation, signed by his ten "Loving Friends," W. Astell, C. Marjoribanks, &c., was published by their express direction in the Government Gazette. Lord Amherst finds it more agreeable to keep the despatches addressed to him quietly in his pocket, an indication that they are not quite so flattering respecting his share in the management of the Burman war.

The Supreme Court here was occupied for three days, towards the end of May, in hearing a cause of great importance, of which the following is a brief outline: Syud Kassim Khan, the dewan or prime minister of the former Nuwaubs of the Carnatic, had obtained a grant from them of a valuable jaghire, in *altumgha enam*, in consideration of services performed. By this species of tenure, the estate is hereditary in the family of the grantee. When the Government of the Carnatic was *afterwards* assumed by the Company, Lord Clive issued a proclamation, declaring that all jaghiredars and others holding of the Nuwaub, might rest assured that their rights would be respected. The Board of Revenue also, to whom his titles were submitted, reported, that they were perfectly valid, and confirmed the grants in perpetuity. The Government, however, refused to acknowledge them; but after his death, granted a *liferent* only, of the estates, to one of his sons, Kullee Moollah, cutting off all the rest of the family, as this applicant did not mention he had any brothers or sisters. The latter, consequently, raised an action, which the Court decided in their favour; but the Company appealed it to the King in Council, on the ground, that the Prince who made the grant was a despot, and they were his legitimate successors. That as he, in virtue of his despotic power, might have repealed the grant, they might justly do the same; therefore, it was not competent for the Court to restrain them. In the meantime, the defrauded family were involved in the utmost distress for the means of subsistence, and of prosecuting their rights. They therefore applied to the Court for relief, which the Company also strenuously opposed, knowing that want might force them to abandon their claim. The property in question is said to be immense; and the mere costs of the petition, for the money, amounted to 10,000 rupees, which arose, the Chief Justice said, from the opposition met with from the Company. His Lordship supposed that the Court was to be visited with a lecture, for not having gratified the East India Company in their wish to assume an immense jurisdiction and oust that Court. It appears, however, that the King in Council would not listen to the Company's plea of having, as a despot, uncontrolled right to rob its subjects, but

dismissed the appeal, claiming so very modest a prerogative! In the meantime, its illegal grantee, Kullee Moollah, had absconded, with as much of the property as he could get, to the French settlement of Pondicherry, thus defrauding the rest of the family.

On the 7th of June, Sir Ralph Palmer was sworn in as Chief Judge of the Supreme Court of that Presidency; and the former Chief Justice, Sir Edmund Stanley, was to proceed to England by the ship *General Palmer.* Sir Charles Grey, another Member of the Madras Bench, had proceeded to Calcutta, to assume the office of Chief Justice at Fort William.

Bombay.

The Lord Bishop of Calcutta has been visiting the Societies at this island for spreading education and religion; and much is said, of the piety and benevolence to which the Natives of India owe these institutions. On account of the lowness of the funds of the Branch-Society there for spreading Christian knowledge, his Lordship added to it a donation of 1000 rupees from funds intrusted to him by the parent Society. At a Meeting of the Education Society, the children of the two central schools were examined in his presence, when, as usual on such occasions, he expressed his satisfaction at their progress. From the report it appeared, that there were 236 scholars in the boys' school, and 65 in that for girls. The receipts for the year 1824 amounted to 37,000 rupees, and the payments to 34,500 rupees Of the receipts more than 14,000 rupees were the benefactions and subscriptions of private individuals. In order to enable the society to erect new buildings for the accommodation of the two schools, 40,000 rupees had been transferred to it by the Government from the old Church and school fund. The total amount of the Society's resources on the 31st of December last was, it is said, 128,973 rupees, or nearly 12,000*l.* sterling. It was proposed that the new buildings should accommodate 350 children; that is, 200 boys and 150 girls.

At the laying of the foundation-stone of the two central schools about the beginning of May, there was a grand assemblage of the chief dignitaries in Bombay: the Honourable the Governor, the Honourable the Chief Justice, and Lady West; the Lord Bishop and Mrs. Heber, the Commander-in-Chief; Mr. and Mrs. Warden; Sir C. and Lady Chambers, Sir Ralph Rice, Mr. Goodwin, Mr. Meriton, Major-General Wilson, Archdeacon Barnes; and, adds the account, "almost the whole society of the Presidency." Magnificent preparations were made to give full effect to this triumphant display of British philanthropy. The flies of two tents were erected, so as to extend almost from the site of the one school to the other, and the children were drawn up in the intermediate space under a *shakmianuh.* Hymns ascended up to heaven; and coins were deposited; after which followed the prayers of the Bishop for a divine blessing on the work of charity; and hymns of thanksgiving by the children concluded the ceremony. Then the whole party partook of an elegant breakfast; which being over, the Bishop addressed the company in a splendid oration, said to be of "exquisite fitness" for the occasion. He commenced by addressing the Governor, and said :

It was a gratifying sight, and he thought he might indulge an honest pride in expressing his belief, that the British are the *only people* among

whom such a scene could be exhibited; while he felt convinced that the Protestant was the only religion which could lead to it. It was a grateful sight to see the high, the talented, the valorous, and the fair, unite to grace with their presence the education of the poor.

In the above national eulogy he forgot to mention that at Bombay 1200 children are educated by the *American* Missionary Society; and only 1000 by the Education Society on the British system! So it is stated in the Report of the British and Foreign School Society published in May last. Yet our English Bishop has the confidence to stand up in the face of a large assembly and assert, that "the British are the *only* people;" they who, enjoying the whole revenues of the country, devote to the education of its inhabitants less than a farthing per annum! He afterwards said with equal justice, "If the sway of England, like other dynasties should pass away, which may God grant to be far distant, we should be remembered chiefly for the blessings we had left behind us." Assuredly, unless a new era is soon to commence in our Indian policy, which we sincerely hope, the British will be remembered only as conquerors and greedy monopolists of the trade, wealth, and power of the country; perhaps as the abolishers of the Native punchayet, or trial by jury, the best institution that ever existed in India; and as the authors of all the perjury, fraud, and general demoralization which have notoriously flowed from the grossly defective judicial laws established by the Company. The Bishop's extravagant praises of the very little that has yet been done for the improvement of India are extremely pernicious, as they tend to persuade the public that it has done enough. His object may be, however, to encourage the performance of more; as he bears the character of a truly liberal and benevolent man. In the following advice he gives, as to what it is our duty to do, we fully concur:

We should train up, in the first place, that numerous class of children with which we are so nearly connected, (the Indo-British race,) a class which is now seen around every camp—showing, by stronglineaments, the progress of British population. We should train them up to support the name of our country in the East; to disseminate among the Natives the arts in which we excel, and even to become the harbingers of the Christian faith. It must be by this liberal policy, and by mixing all classes of the Natives with the children of our own fellow countrymen, that we might hope, by the blessing of Providence, the mightyexample of England would work upon their hearts.

This is the true theory of Indian amelioration; and it is of some value to have it from the mouth of a bishop. In proportion as the British and Indo-British race shall be increased, the influence of their example will operate upon the Native population, and gradually raise it towards the same standard of morals and intelligence. They are the most deadly enemies of India who, therefore, as far as in them lies, retard this salutary process by opposing Colonization.

We have great satisfaction in observing, that the strictures of the *Oriental Herald* are felt in India, in those high quarters which otherwise set the voice of public opinion at complete defiance. Though the rulers of that country have banished the freedom of the Press ten thousand miles off, its censures still fall, with unerring force, on the proud hearts of these Lords of the East; and unwelcome truth finds her way into their halls and palaces, notwithstanding the crowds of flatterers

that surround them. The observations contained in this work, on the conduct of Mr. Warden, as a member of the Bombay Government, and proprietor of a newspaper there, in league with the Bar, to throw obloquy upon the Judges, have elicited from that gentleman a sort of manifesto against us. But, instead of issuing it boldly to the world, challenging refutation—the proper course of a man who is conscious of being in the right—he circulates it to a chosen few, among his friends and others, who are not likely to refute it. A copy of this hole-and-corner production has, however, fallen into our hands; and we shall, therefore, give Mr. Warden all the benefit he can expect from being heard in his own defence. The public is the only tribunal before which we have arraigned him, and before that, whether he will or not, we now make him plead. He commences with—

"I disdain to notice any of the remarks contained in No. XIV. of the *Oriental Herald*, of a personal nature, which have relation to the Press of this Presidency."

He disdains to do the very thing he is doing! "Oh, what a fall was there!" But let him proceed—

I disdain to notice any of the remarks contained in No. XIV. of the *Oriental Herald*, of a personal nature, which have relation to my connexion with the Press of this Presidency. I shall be prepared to afford any explanation that may become necessary on that subject, to the Honourable the Court of Directors, who alone have any right to require it of me. It is at present necessary for me only to say, that I am not aware of any law or regulation, or of any obligation, moral or political, prohibitory of a civil servant, in or out of council, vesting any portion of his property in a periodical publication.

My object in this statement is, to expose an unfounded insinuation contained in the *Oriental Herald*, proceeding from a quarter entitled to more consideration than the Editor of that work. In page 197 of that Number, there are the following passages:—"We have a letter before us from an authority on which we can rely, saying, the report of OUR late proceedings in Court have, as usual, been put into the 'Gazette' in the most partial and incorrect manner; indeed, this practice has now become quite systematic." Another letter says—"I need not remind you, that the 'Gazette' is intirely influenced by one of our Members of Council, who is its proprietor: but had it ventured to publish one-half of the calumnies against the Government which it has against the Court, it would long since have been suppressed, and shared the fate of the 'Calcutta Journal.'"

The plain meaning of those passages is this—That the 'Gazette' being entirely influenced by Mr. Warden, as its proprietor, the publication of the reports of the proceedings in Court, in a partial and incorrect manner, has been systematically pursued; and that calumnies have been published in the 'Gazette' against the Court, under the encouragement of Mr. Warden, a member of the Government. And from whom does that charge proceed? From one obviously connected with the Supreme Court. I should hope the author was one of its subordinate officers. Be he, however, who he may, I cannot allow so serious an accusation to be published against me, emanating from an authority on which the publisher relies, without justifying myself to those to whom I am officially responsible.

This is not the first time that I have been compelled to deny accusations of a similar nature. In the month of March 1824, reports reached me of a complaint having been sent home of my countenancing publications in the newspapers of matter connected with the proceedings against Mr. Erskine and the barristers. I judged it proper, in consequence, to address a letter to the distinguished individual to whom the accusation was forwarded, denying its justness. From the tenor of the reply I received, which was perfectly satisfactory to me, no other impression could be formed, than that there was a foundation for my suspicions of such a charge having been preferred against me.

I am free to acknowledge, that my private feelings and friendships have powerfully preponderated in favour of those individuals whose cases have so much agitated and disturbed the harmony of this society. I must, at the same time,

assert that I have been too long trained to official discipline, not to have been fully sensible of the public duty it was incumbent on me to respect and fulfil towards the Supreme Court of Judicature. I have, therefore, studiously endeavoured to preserve that neutrality in the dissensions that have so unfortunately prevailed at this Presidency, which it appeared to me the most becoming my official situation to maintain. It would, nevertheless, appear that whilst I have thus been endeavouring to uphold the respect due to the Supreme Court, I have been charged, by some one connected with it, with privately influencing a systematic attack in a newspaper, the object of which was, by misrepresentations, to degrade its character.

That I have exercised an influence over the Press of this Presidency, I have no hesitation in unreservedly acknowledging. But that influence has been anxiously, and, I will say, beneficially directed to the suppression of publications that would certainly have proved offensive to the Supreme Court. I have repeatedly enjoined the most rigid observance of the regulations for the Press; more I could not do. If, then, a libel, a contempt of Court, or a "calumny," has been published in the 'Gazette,' it only proves the inefficiency of my influence. Had I perceived any disposition in the late Editor to violate the regulations for the Press, I should have relinquished the portion of interest I had in the 'Gazette,' which certainly never possessed any attractions of a pecuniary nature, to render me, one moment, anxious for the connexion on that score.

I, then, most unequivocally deny the justness of the accusations contained in the passages which I have quoted from the *Oriental Herald*, and assert, that whatever right of control I may have possessed over the Press, has been uniformly, and whenever the opportunity was afforded me, positively, directed in a way diametrically opposite to that which I have been accused of encouraging. Evidence of that fact I have in my possession.

I feel a proud conviction, that to a society in which I have passed the best period of my life, and among those at home who have any knowledge of my characeter, any justification of my conduct, in this instance, is wholly unnecessary. As, however, the authorities in England, to whom I am officially responsible, and whose good opinion and confidence in my integrity, it has ever been, and still is, an object of my solicitude to maintain, may attach some weight to insinuations calculated to undermine my official reputation, proceeding, as they are said to do, from an authority "on which the Editor of the *Oriental Herald* can rely," a sense of duty to myself has uged me to prefer this appeal to their consideration, under a solemn assurance, that the accusation of which I complain is a calumnious attack on my character.

I have delivered a copy of this paper to each of the Honourable the Judges of the Supreme Court, and submitted it to the perusal of a very limited number of my friends at this Presidency. It is my intention to forward copies of it only to the Right Honourable the President of the Board of Control, and to the members of the Honourable Court.

Bombay, 10*th June*, 1825. (Signed) F. WARDEN.

We shall make very few observations on this document, because but few are necessary to demonstrate that it confirms, rather than refutes, our former conclusions. He knows of no "obligation, moral or political," on a civil servant in or out of council, to abstain from having property in a newspaper. We see a very great objection, both moral and political, to a member of a despotic government engaging in trade of any kind, more especially in that of newspapers, of the conduct of which it is the judge; because no man ought to be a judge in his own cause, or wield an instrument which gives him a despotic power over the characters of others. He admits that he exercised an influence over the press, but asserts that this was always used beneficially. So every man on earth *thinks* his own power used beneficially; but is *he* to be the judge of this? Let us look for the proof of it in the result. The Paper over which this beneficial influence was exercised is guilty of a systematic misrepresentation of the Court. This is a known fact, which Mr. Warden does not venture directly to deny; but he says, "Had I perceived any disposition in the late Editor

violate the regulations of the press, I should have relinquished the portion of interest I had in the 'Gazette.'" Then he saw nothing wrong in it: the systematic misrepresentation which every body else could see, which the Judges complained of, and the Governor punished, was all right, fair, and proper, in Mr. Warden's eyes. For the very purpose of encouraging this course, so much condemned by others, Mr. Warden retained his share in the 'Gazette;' for it "possessed no attraction of a pecuniary nature." We must suppose, however, that the Paper would have gone greater lengths still, but for Mr. Warden's caution and advice; for he states that he "*repeatedly* enjoined the most rigid observance of the regulations;" and that his influence was "directed to the suppression of publications that would have been offensive to the Supreme Court." Was that not a disposition to violate the regulations which required to be so "repeatedly" checked? But as that disposition did not, we are told, exist in the Editor, yet the Court *was* insulted through his Paper, and the regulations were violated;—whence sprung this contumacious spirit? If not from the Editor, from whom else but the controlling influence of Mr. Warden himself or his friends?[2] The Editor, who is now confessed to have been innocent, was made the scape-goat of their offences, while the Paper, which was really the guilty instrument in their hands, but the property of Mr. Warden, is left untouched! Mr. Elphinstone, who, under such circumstances, banished Mr. Fair, (here clearly exculpated by the confession of his accomplices,) will not thank Mr. Warden for furnishing evidence against himself, which more strongly proves the cruelty and injustice of that despotic measure.

We have next to notice an outcry raised against us by the Barristers, which has been re-echoed by the 'Asiatic Journal,' under the title of "Slanders upon the Bar of Bombay." To begin at the beginning of this subject: the first time the dissensions between the Bar and the Bench were noticed in our pages, was in our Number for April 1824, (vol. i. p. 676,) where we stated, that "the Natives had petitioned the Recorder to reduce the lawyers' fees, to which he assented. He had also increased the jurisdiction of the Small-Cause Court from 400 to 1000 rupees, which has given great satisfaction to the Natives; but has been proportionally displeasing to the attorneys and barristers, as lessening their gains." In the same Number, (p. 691,) we inserted a full account of the proceedings in the Recorder's Court, on the 7th Oct. 1823, when the whole of the barristers were suspended for six months, for having presented an insulting memorial to the Court. As so gross a contempt must necessarily have proceeded from some strong dissatisfaction with the Recorder, and as we knew of no cause for such violent animosity but the Recorder's known disposition to reduce the profits of the Bar, we readily believed that it originated in this alone. If this inference, which we, as well as others, have drawn from these premises, be wrong, let another adequate cause for the virulent spirit we have alluded to be assigned, and then we shall be open to conviction. The 'Bombay Courier' of April 9th argues, in behalf of the Bar, that a certain discussion about fees, mentioned by us, had occurred *after* (not *before*) the presentation of the memorial on the 10th of September, which occasioned the suspension of the Bar. But it has

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[2] And who could these friends be, but the well-known league formed against the Court?

since admitted, that previous discussions on the subject had taken place a good while earlier, in which two of the same counsel were concerned. If the result of it had been satisfactory to them, it would no doubt have been stated. The enlargement of the jurisdiction of the Small-Cause Court, another grievance, had also, we suppose, occurred previously. At all events, the desire of the Recorder to curtail legal emoluments was well known; and our position is, that this avowed disposition on his part excited the animosity against him which produced the memorial that occasioned the suspension. Unless the first link in this chain be destroyed, the conclusion is unavoidable. But it is absurd to say, therefore, as is done by the 'Bombay Courier,' that we "have insinuated that the decree of suspension was grounded on some alleged extortions about fees." So far from dealing in dark insinuations, we gave, in our Number for April, a full and accurate account of the proceedings when the suspension took place; in which the grounds of it are clearly and distinctly stated. While the perfect accuracy of this is not disputed, where is the pretence for accusing us of misrepresenting or disguising the truth?

The Calcutta 'John Bull,' in discussing this subject, has been guilty of an audacious distortion of fact, worthy of that infamous paper, and its reputed proprietor, the Reverend Dr. Bryce. In reply to the 'Bengal Hurkaru,' who had taken up our defence, the 'John Bull' says:—

> Our contemporary may depend upon it, that Mr. Buckingham's statement, "that the Bar at that Presidency was suspended on account of their rapacity and extortionate conduct, in regard to fees," did *not* originate in "information which, from whatever quarter it came, must have been sent to him for a base and unworthy purpose, and by one utterly devoid of every honourable feeling": on the contrary, we have shown that the information Mr. Buckingham had, and on which he reasoned, and on which he came to the *above conclusion*, was full, and the most authentic possible.

Now the "above conclusion," and the words *so* quoted as "Mr. Buckingham's statement," are words put into his mouth by 'John Bull,' which he never uttered; and forged as his, for the purpose of aspersing his character. Such are the base artifices of a paper under the control of a Reverend Divine of the Church of Scotland, who is believed to be its real proprietor, under the cloak of his brother-in-law. The Editor, whom he chooses for conducting it, is Mr. Greenlaw, a person (in the words of the Deputy Judge Advocate of Bengal) "long ago branded with falsehood;" of which the above might serve as a specimen.

We may here notice, that the same excellent authority, in his implacable enmity to Mr. Buckingham, has alleged, that the latter is not entitled to denominate himself a member of the Asiatic Society. He was invited to join that body by the late Col. Mackenzie, Surveyor-General of India, at whose motion Mr. Buckingham's name was duly enrolled among its members, after the usual forms of ballot, election, &c., and he continued, up to a short period before his leaving Calcutta, to pay all the usual contributions of other members, amounting to a considerable sum per annum. Whatever nominal honour he derived from being so elected by that body, could only be cancelled by the same authority which conferred it,—a vote of the Society. His powerful persecutors have not yet descended to this mode of showing their malice and meanness; or if they have attempted to use their influence on the Asiatic Society for such a purpose, it has not chosen to divulge it. We believe the assertion con-

tained in Dr. Bryce's paper to be worthy of him, and his editor-elect, whose character is so well known in India.

SINGAPORE.

We have much satisfaction in observing the progress of this infant settlement, already exhibiting many symptoms of vigorous youth, which does so much honour to its founder, Sir Stamford Raffles, and his able successor. The 'Singapore Chronicle,' of May [illegible], states, that—

The reputation of the Singapore institution, and of its learned and zealous supporter, Dr. Morrison, has, within the last fortnight, brought to this place a student all the way from the United States of America, a young gentleman of the name of Hunter, of a highly respectable and opulent family of New York. The object of Mr. Hunter's parents, as we are given to understand, is to obtain for him a thorough knowledge of the Chinese language, as subservient to his future mercantile pursuits. We wish every success to this very liberal and enterprising scheme, which becomes the enlightened spirit of the American people, and the magnitude of their commercial relations with the Chinese empire.

A large Chinese junk had been wrecked in the Straits of Malacca, and the crew, twenty-two in number, after taking to their boat, were all massacred, with the exception of five, by the Malay pirates. Why is it that the supreme rulers of these seas, the Dutch and English monopolists, do not extinguish these hordes of savages, who live by murder and rapine? The large Indiamen are too strong to incur any danger from the attacks of Malay prows, which are suffered to prey on the weaker merchantmen; becoming thus useful allies to the monopolists, who would be glad to see every ship driven off the ocean but their own.

COCHIN-CHINA.

We formerly noticed the retirement of Messrs. Vannier and Chaigneau, the two French gentlemen who have so long held the rank of Mandarines at the court of Cochin-China. Their departure for France, with their families, is hailed by the 'Singapore Chronicle,' (that is, we believe, by Dr. Crawfurd, the Resident,) as "the final extinction of the French party in Cochin China; a party," it is added, "which at one period excited no small degree of uneasiness in our Indian councils, at home and abroad." Further, that not an individual of the French nation now remains in Cochin-China, with the exception of two or three Franciscan missionaries, residing in different parts of the kingdom, and "destitute of influence or connexion." This may be, as stated; but it is well known, that the present system of excluding British subjects from all the countries to the east of the Cape of Good Hope, gives the French, the Americans, and foreigners of every nation, superior facilities for establishing themselves in that quarter of the world, and that they have, in fact, become exceedingly numerous, even within the Company's proper territories. The American interest, we believe to be already very strong in China, as the French and Russian is in Persia; and if we have again to struggle against European influence in the East, it will be a higher game than the miserable squabbles and cabals with second and third rate semi-barbarous states, which engross the attention of Lord Amherst and his Councillors. By-the-by, Dr. Crawfurd found the French, or at least, the anti-British influence, too strong for him on his late mission to Siam and Cochin-China, the object of which was to

cement some closer kind of alliances with these states than they have yet been induced to form.

NETHERLANDS INDIA.

The 'Singapore Chronicle' of April 28th, gives a detailed account of the death of Mr. Thornton, member of a respectable mercantile house in Batavia, who some time ago fell into the hands of pirates, and was long supposed to be living their captive. Four of the Javanese crew of his brig, the *General de Kock,* having at last effected their escape, relate that two days after sailing from Batavia, when abreast of Indramay's Point, eight pirate boats pulled close alongside of them, it being a dead calm. The brig commenced a smart fire, but her ammunition being soon spent, the pirates boarded her; the Captain and chief officer leaped overboard; and Mr. Thornton the owner, the only European then left in the vessel, was run through the body by a spear when working one of the quarter-deck guns. He soon after expired, and his body was thrown overboard by the pirates as soon as they got full possession of the brig. The crew were then carried into Borneo and sold as slaves, from which situation four of them escaped by seizing upon a boat belonging to one of their masters, at midnight, and steering for the island of Java.

According to letters from Batavia of the 31st of July, a proclamation has been issued on the 21st, declaring Anjier and Rhio free ports for all nations, upon paying one per cent. for bonding goods, time or amount unlimited, but not for a less sum than 1,000 guilders. It is gratifying to see the principles of free trade thus forcing their way into the most obstinate strongholds of monopoly. The Dutch India rulers found that their harbours had been deserted for the free port of Singapore; therefore both envy and avarice compel them to follow its example. But it appears that a new scheme of monopoly is in contemplation: a Joint Stock Company to monopolize the tin, spices, and other articles of trade, heretofore exclusively engrossed by the Government. This is freely condemned by the English papers, as the establishment of a system still more pernicious than even the Dutch system hitherto. But not a word is said in reprobation of the monopoly concocting in British India, with the countenance of the Bengal Government, which is to be armed with the whole civil and military revenue, and judicial authorities of the country, the functionaries themselves being embodied as its members. All men of real honour and integrity in the Company's service must scout such a confederacy, and the generality of them cannot but feel the proposition as an insult.

The Dutch authorities in India have lately been threatened with a formidable insurrection at Djockjockarto, in which some of the Native princes were concerned; and although the danger has been averted, strong precautions are still necessary for maintaining order. Their Indian finances appear to be in a very distressed state, requiring considerable loans to be raised in Europe for their relief.

The following is an extract of a letter dated Batavia, Aug. 1:—

The Sultan of Soolo has declared war against the Dutch, and by the last accounts his armies were only 20 miles from Samarang. It is supposed that the Emperor of Jug-Jug-Jarta would join him. Every thing is confusion here: General de Kock, the Lieut.-Governor, has set off express to join the forces. The Buggeese, at Macassar, are in revolt. The Chinese, and inhabitants of

Pontiana and Banjermassin, are also in rebellion, and have massacred their respective residents. It appears the government of this place are most peculiarly unfortunate.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

We some months ago remarked on the strange sort of redress granted by the Colonial Office to Mr. Greig, the persecuted proprietor of the South African Advertiser, which was to send him back to experience again the power of his oppressor, Lord Charles Somerset. On his arrival at the Cape, we are now informed, he found that all his printing materials and property, which the Government at home promised should be restored to him, had been sold, during his absence, by the colonial authorities; and as, on the faith of these assurances, he had been prevented from taking out a fresh stock from England, he found, on his arrival at the Cape, that he was totally without the means of commencing the world again, the materials there, on which he had been taught to rely, being entirely dissipated. Nearly all the oppressed Colonists have joined in a petition to the King in Council respecting the late change in the currency. There has been a failure of one of the first houses in London connected with the Cape trade, and it is feared that the measures lately taken with respect to the wine duties, and the changes in the currency, will lead to further distress. By later accounts from the Cape, it appears that Mr. Greig had managed to collect a fresh stock of materials and recommenced his paper.

The *Mulgrave Castle*, Ralph, from London to India, ran ashore on Green Point, Cape of Good Hope, on the 3d of September, and it was feared would become a complete wreck; but the cargo was expected to be saved.

COLONIAL PRESS.

The fortune of the press in the different British dependencies presents at present a remarkable contrast. At the Cape of Good Hope, a publication, advocating the interests of the colonists, and therefore suppressed by the local government, has been re-established under the express protection of his Majesty's Ministers. At Calcutta, the 'Scotsman in the East' started as a successor to the 'Calcutta Journal," and carried on a long while at Mr. Buckingham's expense for the sole benefit of the son-in-law of Mr. Harrington, Member of Council, has been discontinued. This gentleman, standing in so fortunate a relation to the Government, which forcibly made him proprietor, and was enriching him at the expense of another, went on well enough so long as Mr. Buckingham's agents supplied the funds; but when this source, the wrecks of Mr. Buckingham's property in India, was at last dried up and exhausted, the Paper was abandoned as an unprofitable concern. It had been the only daily publication in India sincerely devoted to liberal principles, and an independent advocacy of the interests of the community.

The settlers in our Western dependencies seem much more alive to the advantages of having a press to advocate their cause. It appears by the Demerara Papers, that, not satisfied with having the colonial publications in their service, possessing as they do the superior efficiency of freedom, they were raising a fund by subscription to support a *daily* paper *in London*, in the West Indian interest.

INCIDENTS AND EVENTS IN EUROPE CONNECTED WITH THE EASTERN WORLD.

ANTICIPATED CHANGES IN THE EAST-INDIA DIRECTION.

THE firm phalanx of that corrupt but strongly adhesive mass of power concentred in the East India Direction is about to give way, or, at least, to open its ranks a little for the admission of other (would we could conscientiously say, and, we hope, better) men. Most of our readers are, by this time, pretty well aware of the motives which lead men to seek a seat at this Board of Despots and Monopolists, and many are also acquainted with the mode of abject servility in which these future tyrants wind their devious way, through every dirty lane and alley in the city, to solicit, cap in hand, the "honour of the vote and interest" of men whom, while they outwardly flatter, they inwardly despise!—Not unfrequently, the whole of the members who are within the polluted precincts, club together their forces to keep the more pure from coming among them; and on the other hand they sometimes unite, like the unclean spirit in the Gospel, "to take to them other spirits more wicked than themselves," so that their last state is even worse than their first. On what other principle than this can it be at all explained that Colonel Baillie, the *dismissed servant*, whose removal from his office in India, was approved, not only by the Government of the day in that country, but by the Directors here, is now accepted as an *honourable master* in England?—that he who was deemed unworthy to *serve* in a land of despotism abroad, is thought quite worthy to *rule* in a company of despots at home? There are certain stories of threatened recrimination on each side, which led to this happy compromise; and of the dismissed servant being made an honourable master to prevent him from disclosing what he otherwise might have done, had he not been so satisfactorily silenced. But, into this, it is not our present purpose to inquire. The broad fact of a man thrust out of a dignified and lucrative post in India, as unfit to retain it, by the very men who almost immediately after receive him with open arms as one of their own body in England, is sufficient for our present illustration. We may give more details when we review, as we hope to do soon, the constitution and character of the whole body itself.

The immediate changes expected in the direction are the following: Mr. W. T. Money, who is appointed British Consul General at Venice, goes out, in consequence of that event. Mr. Hudlestone, whose ill health requires his residence at Bath, resigns; and Mr. Daniell, a West-India merchant, from pecuniary embarrassment, has been compelled to sell his East-India stock, and is consequently disqualified. It has been long expected that Mr. Elphinstone, whose advanced age and infirmities render him unable to give any regular attendance to business, would have also resigned before this; but, it seems, from some strange notion of a point of honour, certainly a point "more honoured in the breach than in the observance," he intends, it is said, to die a Director, as if there were something of patriotism in thus maintaining to the last a post which

should not be held a moment longer than it could be filled with usefulness as well as integrity.

The three vacations thus offered will admit, of course, only an equal number of new Directors; and, among the candidates who are thought most likely to succeed, the names of Sir Robert Farquhar, Mr. Henry Alexander, and Major Carnac, are mentioned. Mr. James Stuart and Mr. Trant are also thought likely to succeed by others; but for ourselves we have no such fears of their success.

It is so difficult to speak of the public characters of men who are not seen or known through the medium of any public acts which can be safely traced to their individual influence—that on the present occasion we have little room for blame or eulogy on any of the retiring members. Of Mr. Daniell we know absolutely nothing, either good or bad. Of Mr. Hudleston, we know little more than that he has for many years been content to hold a post the duties of which his state of health has not enabled him to fulfil. But of Mr. Money, whoever has known him personally here, or by reputation at Bombay, the scene of his former service, knows that the oppressed Natives of India have few more sincere or zealous friends than himself. Like all those, however, who enter the Direction in England, he has been utterly powerless as one of the junior members of that talentless body, and would have remained so for years to come until he had passed up through the absurd gradations of Private Trade and Shipping Committee—Buying and Warehouse Committee—and other stages, through which alone the oligarchical and select circle of the "Committee of Correspondence," the only class that possesses any influence, is to be reached.

The retirement of all these from the Direction can hardly be deemed an evil: since, from different causes, they were powerless there: and no loss to any good cause can therefore be sustained by their secession. For nearly the same reasons, the accession of the expectant candidates can hardly be hailed as affording any hope of a better state of things. Sir Robert Farquhar, as a man of firmness and of business, will perhaps be somewhat stubborn and unbending at first: but he, like all others that enter this unholy Alliance, must bend his neck to the yoke, and wear the chains and fetters, whether gracefully or otherwise matters not, for the stated period of servitude at Tea Sales, Baggage Examinations, and other dignified and statesman-like occupations, to which, after ruling a King's colony in the Indian seas, he must stoop, before he can be fit to have a voice at the Council Board of a Trading Company in London!—Major Carnac has the reputation, and, we believe, deservedly, of great benevolence, an intimate acquaintance with Indian policy, and the best disposition towards the unhappy Natives of that misgoverned country. But these very qualifications, which would endear him to all other hearts, would tell against him with his colleagues: and even should he get among them, what influence can he hope to obtain in opposition to so many?—Mr. Henry Alexander is, we believe, also an individual of benevolent intentions:—but so also is Mr. Trant, and even Mr. Stuart may have that or some equally redeeming quality. It is unfortunately too evident that this alone is not sufficient to effect any reform in such a monstrous mass of iniquity as that which is covered by the roof of the India House. The day will come, we hope, when the besom of popular disgust and indignation will sweep that gloomy fabric of all its inmates,

as the Temple of Jerusalem was swept of the money-changers who defiled it, and turned the House of Prayer into a den ————. We will not pursue the parallel farther. Nothing short of the entire dissolution of the odious monopoly itself will satisfy the claims of justice when the day of reckoning arrives—for come it will—and at that period, and until then, we hope to be found at our post. Let others who also aim at the distinction of public sentinels, instead of indulging a vain hope of doing good within such unhallowed walls, where the voice of conscience and of duty is answered only with laughter and derision, turn their attention to other quarters if they would be honoured in the latter day.

NEW GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

Various rumours and speculations have been current during the past month respecting the new Governor-General of India. All parties seem now to give up Lord Amherst as indefensible and irreclaimable; but there are many jarring interests to reconcile before all shall be equally unanimous as to a successor. The Company, it appears, wish to send up General Munro from Madras, a man after their own hearts, as a supporter of the detestable ryotwarry system, and to fill his place by a servant of their own. But the ministers will not permit *their* patronage to be thus invaded. They are willing to send the Duke of Buckingham: but to this the Court demur for reasons stated in our last: Lord Palmerston has been since suggested, but to him there are also objections. Lord Bentinck the ministers will not have, because he is their political opponent; and Lord Hastings the Court reject, because a majority of their body have done him the grossest injustice before; and, like all base and low-minded men, they repair one injury by heaping others on it, in order to justify, to themselves, by an obstinate persistance in wrong, a persecution which they can never atone for to others.

Amidst this conflict of corrupt motives and diabolical passions, unhappy India is to remain still misgoverned for the benefit of some needy favourite of the one party or the other. But it would not avail much, were it even otherwise; for, even with Lord Hastings, the best Governor-General for their own interests, as well as that of the Natives, they have ever yet seen, how impotent was he to extend permanent protection to the injured and oppressed? Let the wrongs of the robbed and plundered merchants of Hyderabad, and all their constituents, as well as the spoliation and ruin of those connected with the 'Calcutta Journal,' answer. It is the Company and its execrable system that are the cause of all the hideous deformity that appears; and, till these are abolished, there is no rational ground of hope for a better state of things.

The following remarks on the anticipated appointment of the Duke of Buckingham, appeared in the 'Sunday Times,' which, though evincing a strong inclination to speak slightingly of his Grace, admits him to have some good qualities, and to be " neither destitute of talents nor discrimination":—

"The embassy to France was what he aimed at; but the Foreign Minister and the Stafford family were too closely united, and Mr. Canning gave that place to his friend Lord Granville. Even the mission to Vienna, the Duke would have accepted, but the Wellesleys crossed him there. With vast estates, uniting the Temple and Chandos fortunes, in England, and that of the former Lord Clare, in Ireland, all in himself,

the Duke is still greatly embarrassed, and was the largest borrower on mortgage from the Bank. The splendid salary of five-and-thirty-thousand a year, in Bengal, would help him over the stile, and be a remedy against this consumption of the purse, which borrowing only lingers out. The government of Ireland, the Duke has also been speculating on. It would pay as well as India, and be much more consonant to his pride, his feelings, and his health; but that is said to be destined for Lord Hastings. India, after all, is but a splendid exile; and the 'proud revolving Duke of Buckingham' cannot yet bring himself to quit princely Stowe, and all past recollections, for such a scene. Yet that he is either coquetting with Ministers, or has thought seriously of the change, is certain; for he has gone so far, as to name the individuals he wished to form his suite, and cross the Equator with him. What particular qualifications his Grace possesses for the rule of eighty millions in India, we do not know, unless his cousin, Mr. Wynne, has imparted to him some of his knowledge. But the Hindoos are never troubled with any inquiry as to whom they would like or dislike; like the bed of Procustes, if the couch does not fit them, they are fitted to the couch; and, Mohammedan or Christian, it is the same to them, if the high delegation is confirmed in Leadenhall-street. Should the Duke go to Bengal, his station, just now, will not be a bed of Persian roses; between the Burmese war, and the new crusade against the Rajah of Bhurtpore, his hands will be tolerably full. The refractory Rajah is a near kinsman of the warlike Runjeet Sing, and should *he* cross the Indus, with his Sikhs and Afghans, to the aid of Bhurtpore, the contest would be an alarming one. Yet the Duke of Buckingham is certainly better qualified for this important station than the feeble Lord Amherst. We must ever reprobate the mercenary compact by which the Grenvilles returned to power, and their leader obtained a dukedom. But his Grace has some good qualities: he is splendid in private life, and liberal in his religious opinions; he has supported the cause of toleration warmly and undeviatingly; and as avarice seldom accompanies ambition, the former vice never blotted the Duke's escutcheon. Should the Duke of Buckingham go to India, his court at least will be splendid. He is fond of pomp and pageantry, and may there exhibit his awful presence to prostrate crowds, begirt with guards, and surrounded by elephants and silver howdahs; nay, like the Moguls, he may go through the ceremony of annually weighing his sublime person, if he pleases, and rival, in bulk, the proudest of the Tartars."

BURNING OF HINDOO WIDOWS.

We have lately received a set of papers printed for the use of the House of Commons, relative to the burning of Hindoo widows alive on the funeral pile of their husbands; and shall take an early opportunity of discussing this subject. In the mean time, we give the returns of the numbers of human sacrifices sanctioned by the Company's Government during the last four years:

	Bengal.	Bombay.
In 1820	597	66
1821	654	50
1822	583	47
1823	575	38
	2409	201
Total, (exclusive of Madras)	2610	

Two thousand six hundred and ten *innocent* women deliberately burnt to death, one by one, with the most excruciating torture, in the short space of four years, under the government of a civilized people, and that people the British nation! We might leave this appalling fact without a word of comment to make its own impression on every mind not completely deadened to all sense of humanity. But, for the sake of the callous of heart and obtuse of understanding, who have hitherto upheld, or at least tolerated, this monstrous practice, it is gratifying to be able to quote the solemn judgment of the highest authorities on the spot, including Mr. Courtenay Smith, second Judge of the Nizamut Adawlut, a gentleman whose talents are an honour to the Civil Service of the Company, who has repeatedly declared it to be his opinion, that " the practice of suttee might be abolished with *perfect* safety."

We have this month to record the melancholy fate of an East India vessel, homeward bound, on the shores of England. The *Ogle Castle*, private trader from Bombay, under the command of Captain James Weynton, run a-ground on the Goodwin sands on the morning of the 3d of November, and in the course of the day became a complete wreck Notwithstanding the exertions of the boats on the coast, a number of which kept hovering near her for several hours, none of them could approach within two cables length, on account of the violence of the storm, and, consequently, all on board perished. As it was reported that six ladies were seen on the poop, it was feared that many families must have suffered in the number of passengers lost, besides the crew. But it has been ascertained that there were not more than two passengers, Lieutenants William Howard and William Noton, adjutant of the marine battalion, of whom the latter is said to have been in such a state of health at St. Helena, as almost to preclude the hope of his reaching England alive. The *Ogle Castle* carried no surgeon, although of 600 tons burden; and the crew did not exceed thirty-three men. The cargo, it is said, was extremely valuable, and there was also a considerable sum in bullion on board. Captain Weynton is spoken of as an excellent seaman; and the loss of the vessel can, therefore, only be attributed to the violence of the weather, her inability to procure a pilot sooner, and possibly some want of skill or attention in the person who might be in charge at the time when she was unfortunately led into danger in this difficult navigation. It was reported, erroneously, that she had refused a pilot; but the truth is, that the person who spoke her was not one, or his services would have been gladly accepted; and if those whose duty it was had been more alert, this lamentable occurrence might easily have been prevented. A bag of letters, containing about 400, drifted ashore, and was forwarded to the Post-office.

The *Courier* of November 25th, contains the following paragraph, which we copy verbatim from its columns:—

The following incredible story is told in a letter from Madras, quoted in a provincial paper:—" You have doubtless read, both in the English papers and *Asiatic Journal*, of the Burmese war; by the last accounts their famous General, Maha Bundoola, was killed by a shell on the taking of Donabew; he is supposed to be Major Carroll, who was dismissed from his Majesty's service about a year and a half ago for giving in false returns; it is generally

reported that he is the illegitimate son of the Marquis of Hastings, through whose interest he was promoted from a private. It was thought at one time he had embarked for England, but it is now very well ascertained that he did not. He has certainly revenged himself upon the Indian Government: for through his means the Emperor of Ava declared war; to defray the expense of which has cost the Company immense sums of money.

There is nothing in the nature of this story at all incredible, for in all ages there have been instances of disappointed and injured men, like Coriolanus, going over to the enemies of their oppressors, and taking revenge, which Lord Bacon calls "a wild kind of justice;" and he adds, "the most tolerable sort of revenge is for those wrongs which there is no law to remedy." It is well known that there are French, English, and even Americans in the service of the Burmese: and the history of India presents numerous instances of men warring against their own country. Nevertheless, we believe the story above related, though not incredible, to be untrue. Major Carroll was undoubtedly promoted from the ranks to be an officer, as many braver and better men have been before him: but there does not appear to be any foundation for the assertion that he was an illegitimate son of Lord Hastings, through whose influence his advancement took place: although this also has nothing incredible in it, nor is without example in the history of half the great men of the day. But the assertion, that Major Carroll did not embark for England when he left India is untrue; for the writer of this article, who knows Major Carroll's person well, saw him, during the month of February 1824, walking in Fleet-street, just after his arrival in the *Claudine* from Bengal. In the *Oriental Herald* for that month, Vol. I., p. 384, his name will be found entered among the list of passengers from India, as "Captain Carroll of his Majesty's 86th regiment," his rank of Major being by brevet, as holding a staff appointment at the period of his dismissal by sentence of a court-martial from the army. Captain Carroll was well known at Calcutta, having been for some time attached to the Commander-in-Chief's office there; and, during that period, bore the character of a strictly honourable man: as, indeed, most delinquents and defaulters do until their malversations are discovered. The fraudulent practices for which he was dismissed, were such as must have deprived him of all sympathy from his brother officers and countrymen generally: and in this state of destitution and desperation, he may have thrown himself into the arms of any power ready to accept his military services. But, as to the fact of his being actually a leader in the Burmese war, we should still think that extremely doubtful, unless some stronger proofs of it were produced than that offered by the assertion contained in the foregoing paragraph.

BURMESE STATE CARRIAGE.

The *spolia opima* of the Burmese war are now exhibiting in the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, for the gratification of all those who do not expect to witness Lord Amherst's triumphal procession, at some future day, from the Board of Control in Westminster to the India House in Leadenhall-street, accompanied with all the rich spoils of the gorgeous East. The chief of these is called the rath (ruth), or "Burmese *imperial* state carriage," which was captured, it is said, on the 9th of September 1824, at Tavoy, by a detachment of the British army under the command of Lieut. Col. Miles, C. B. of his Majesty's service.

FURTHER DISCLOSURES RESPECTING THE DESTRUCTION OF MR. BUCKINGHAM'S PROPERTY IN INDIA.

The People of England generally, of whatever party in politics, or whatever profession in life, are earnestly entreated to peruse this plain and unvarnished *Statement of Facts;* and then, through such channels, or in such manner as their own feelings may direct, to express their candid and unbiassed opinions on so unexampled a violation of personal property, which, should it be *now* countenanced, may be hereafter approved, referred to as a precedent, and even imitated in England. For it has been well said by an eloquent and powerful writer, that one precedent creates another; they soon accumulate, and constitute law; what yesterday was fact, to-day is doctrine; examples are supposed to justify the most dangerous measures, and where they do not suit exactly, the defect is supplied by analogy. On this ground, it may be safely added, in the words of the same author, "This is not the cause of faction, or of party, or of any individual, but the common interest of every man in Britain."

The events which led to the suppression of the Calcutta Journal are now too well known to need a repetition here: indeed, the object of this brief statement is chiefly to show what measures were taken to effect the utter ruin of Mr. Buckingham's property in India, *after* that suppression had taken place.

It may be proper, however, to state that there had been expended, in sterling money, upwards of 20,000*l.* in bringing the Calcutta Journal to the state in which Mr. Buckingham left it when he was banished from India; the great bulk of this having been laid out in erecting new and appropriate buildings, and accumulating the most efficient and valuable stock of printing presses, types, paper, books, &c. that had ever before been collected together under the roof of any establishment in the whole of our foreign possessions, whether in the East or in the West, and not inferior to the largest and most complete of those in England.

The productiveness of this property corresponded to the amount of capital, and still greater amount of labour, that had for five years been incessantly expending upon it, for, at the close of this period, it yielded to Mr. Buckingham, then sole proprietor, a net income or profit of 8,000*l.* sterling per annum. To show that this value was well known to the community of India, it will be sufficient to state, that about one hundred English Gentlemen, of the highest respectability, in the East India Company's Civil and Military service, invested their funds in the purchase of shares in the property; and that 10,000*l.* sterling was actually paid by them for shares, amounting to one-fourth of the whole; on which shares, so purchased, they received two successive quarterly dividends at the rate of thirty-six per cent. per annum profit.

The suppression of this Journal, without notice, trial, or hearing, for the mere re-publication of an English pamphlet, written by the Hon. Leicester Stanhope, advocating the benefits of a Free Press to India, and containing no one allegation or sentiment of which a court of justice could complain, or of which any English Gentleman would be ashamed, was of itself as flagrant a violation of the rights of property as ever was perpetrated in the most despotic country on earth. But the subsequent conduct of the Indian Authorities was infinitely worse. It was not sufficient, it seems, to satisfy them, that the most important part of every newspaper, its copyright, or good name, should be taken away; that the value of Mr. Buckingham's shares in it, equal to 30,000*l.*, and those of his one hundred co-proprietors, equal to 10,000*l.*, should be reduced to half their marketable amount, by being confined to the mere cost of the stock in trade, printing materials, books, &c. It was further determined that even this stock, and those materials, should not be used for the benefit of their lawful owners; and a series of operations was commenced, which ended in the Government refusing to permit any use to be made of the materials in question so long as Mr. Buckingham had any property in them, and compelling his agents, by this determination, first to make a fictitious transfer of the property, and a real transfer of all the profits, to Doctor Muston, one of their own servants, who had not the shadow of a claim to either the one or the

others, and eventually to make a forced sale of the worn and injured wreck of an establishment, admired by all who saw it for its excellence and perfection, for a sum less than 3,000*l.* sterling, not a twelfth part of its actual selling value when Mr. Buckingham, its original founder, was forcibly torn from its management; nor a sixth part of the mere prime cost and selling value of the materials at the period of the forced transfer, by order of the Indian Government, from the hands of its lawful proprietors to the hands of one of their own servants, who had not the slightest claim to any part of that property of which he was made the receiver of all the profits.

It will be seen from the correspondence that follows, to which nothing need be added except a few explanatory notes to elucidate what might otherwise be obscure, that the positions here assumed are supported by the most unquestionable evidence. How some of the letters came into the possession of the writer many will no doubt wonder at learning; but it is only an act of justice to Doctor Muston to state, that his desire to render some aid to the attainment of that redress for which he considered the injuries inflicted on an absent fellow-countryman loudly called, induced him to send to England authenticated copies of all the originals within his reach; and, of the others, the originals themselves are now in this country. It will be only necessary to prefix to the correspondence received from India the following letter, in which the whole was enclosed when laid before the Directors of the East India Company:

To the Hon. the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

Honourable Sirs, London, August 1, 1825.

By the late decision of his Majesty's Privy Council, the *political* part of the question between us,—as to the rights of Englishmen in India to that freedom of speech and discussion which is held to be their birth-right here,—is, for the present at least, set at rest. The *civil* part of the question, (if it may be so termed,) or that branch of it which relates to the *security of property*, has not yet been brought under their consideration; although few can entertain a doubt but that those who have sanctioned the appointment of British Judges for the express purpose of protecting, by British laws, the property of British subjects in India, would determine that such protection of property is as much the right of Englishmen in that country as in their native land. Without waiting, however, for the expression of their opinion on this important subject, I shall pursue the same course, in this great question of the *security of private property*, as I have done in the question of political right to the freedom of public discussion. I shall first represent to your Honourable Court the nature and extent of the injury I have sustained, by the invasion or violation of my property in the country ruled by your servants, and subject to your control; and then state to you, frankly and explicitly, the description and amount of the redress to which I consider myself fairly entitled. If my claims are rejected by you, (which in this case I can hardly anticipate,) I shall feel it my duty to carry them to the Board of Control, from thence, if necessary, to both Houses of Parliament, and lastly, to his Majesty's Privy Council, as a question of property only, and totally unconnected with any of those considerations of danger to the safety of the state, which no doubt influenced their decision on the late appeal against the laws for licensing the press in India.

Admitting that, by the letter of the statute, Mr. Adam was justified in banishing me from India for any thing or nothing, as it suited his pleasure;—admitting that, by the letter of Sir Francis Macnaghten's regulation, Lord Amherst was justified in suppressing the 'Calcutta Journal,' and cutting me off, by a stroke of the pen, from an income which, even after I had quitted the country, might, by common care on the part of my agents, have yielded me half the amount realized under my own management, and been thus equal to an estate of 4000*l.* a-year for life; confiscated for an act in which I could not, by any possibility, have had the least participation, as it was done in my absence, and without either my knowledge or consent;—admitting that all this was perfectly correct, there is surely no statute of Great Britain, no regulation of India,

which gives to a Governor-General the right of saying, "This property may be turned to profitable account while it belongs to one individual; but the same property never shall be so used while it belongs to another individual." There is no law, no regulation, which could justify the Indian Government in saying, "This estate shall never be cultivated with indigo while it belongs to Messrs. Alexander and Co.; but it may be cultivated with the same material if they sell it to Messrs. Palmer and Co." There is no authority, legal or otherwise, by which a Governor-General could say, "This ship, now in the river of Bengal, shall never weigh anchor, or carry cargoes of any description, so long as she is the property of Messrs. Forbes and Co.; but she may be permitted to sail, and bring profit to any other owners who may be found to buy her, and that, too, although navigated by the same crew, directed by the same commander, sailing to the same port, and carrying exactly the same articles on freight or sale." Any such decree as this would be thought the most monstrous that had ever before been heard of; and yet, as your honourable Court will not fail to perceive by the perusal of the Correspondence annexed, the decision of the Government of Bengal, with respect to my property in the 'Calcutta Journal,' was of exactly the same character and description as this imaginary decree, which most men would consider to be too unjust to be tolerated, even for a moment, by persons calling themselves Englishmen.

By the conduct of the Bengal Government, in preventing the property left behind me in India from being used for the benefit of myself and its other legal and undoubted owners, and determining that it *never should* be so used as long as I had any interest whatever in the same, (thus forcing me either to sell at a ruinously low rate, or to suffer the property to rot away in total unproductiveness,) my co-proprietors have been deprived of 10,000*l.* paid by them in lawful money, for the actual purchase of their shares; and I have been deprived of 30,000*l.* in real value, 20,000*l.* of which, at least, was paid out of my own pocket in sterling cash, for the purchase of the copyright, interest, and materials, of which this property was composed. For this injury, I ask, in their names and in my own, that full pecuniary compensation to which the natural sense of honour and of justice, which more or less inhabits the bosom of every man, must admit that we are fairly entitled.

In England, if the continued existence of any noisome or pestilential district is considered inimical to the health, the peace, or the good order of a city, and it is determined to remove it on that account; if, for instance, St. Giles's is to be pulled down, to make room for a more commodious and healthy street across its site, the obvious and invariable course is for the Government, or the parties effecting the demolition and improvement, to obtain an estimate of the value of every house intended to be demolished; and the award of a jury directs the amount of compensation to be made to every individual, whose private property must be destroyed to promote the public good. If a magazine of gunpowder (to which a newspaper in India has often been compared) had existed for several years near the India House, and the Proprietors, or their Directors, were to resolve that the safety of their property was endangered by its continued existence, they might, perhaps, obtain an order to have the powder removed, and the building razed to the ground; but certainly not without compensating, to the utmost farthing, the proprietors of such works for the property destroyed. This principle is admitted and carried into practice even in India itself, and indeed in every other country where law is known, as there could be no security of property without it. The Lottery Committee for the improvement of Calcutta pull down houses and remove obstructions, in order to make new streets, and improve the general health and appearance of the city; but they never think of so doing without first compensating the parties whose property they destroy. The Indian Government take up ships bound on profitable voyages to England, and change their destination by sending them to Rangoon; but if they were to think it necessary to set fire to any number of these before the harbour's mouth, or to sink them at the entrance to the river, for the benefit of

the public service, they would never attempt to do this without compensating the owners for the destruction of this private property, to promote the public welfare.

In England, not a rood of land can be traversed by a canal, not a foot of ground can be added to a turnpike-road, not an inch of wall can be taken from the corner of a private house to increase the width of a street, without compensation to the parties from whom this sacrifice of private wealth is demanded for the unequivocal promotion of the public good. And even in France, where despotism is familiar to all classes, and at a time when the strictest censorship on the press prevailed, the only mode in which the ministers of that country under Louis XVIII. attempted to remove such newspapers as were obnoxious to them by the freedom of their remarks, was, either by obtaining a suspension of the license, for a limited period, through the decision of a court of justice after a trial at law; or by purchasing the shares of the proprietors at their current value, and then disposing of the whole as their own lawful property.

On every principle, therefore, whether of law, of justice, of precedent, or the concurrent authority of experience and common sense, the proprietors of the late 'Calcutta Journal' are fairly entitled to full indemnification for the sacrifice which the Indian Government thought it their duty to make of the private property of individuals, for the promotion of what they deemed the public good: and that indemnification I freely ask, with a confident assurance, that as British merchants, as men of honour, as well as the rulers of a vast empire, you will readily order it to be paid.

When the period shall arrive for considering the transfer of the Company's interests to the Crown of Great Britain, we shall no doubt hear, on the side of his Majesty's Ministers, abundant arguments to prove, that whenever private interests impede the public good, the former must give way; while, on the side of your honourable Court, there will not be wanting able advocates to answer, that, although this, as an axiom of government, cannot be denied, yet that, wherever private property is necessarily sacrificed for the benefit of the commonwealth, compensation is fairly due. If the India House in London should be transformed into an office for a Ministerial Board; if the palaces at Calcutta and Barrackpore should be occupied by some royal personage representing the Majesty of England in the East; if the forts of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, should be garrisoned by King's troops alone, and all the large Indiamen now employed in the trade to China, be converted into ships of war;—your honourable Court would, no doubt, tender to his Majesty's Government an estimate of the *actual cost* of all these valuable edifices, forts, and vessels: you would hardly be content with what they might produce at an auction where there were no buyers, or only those who knew not whether the things to be bought could ever be made use of or not, and who would offer little or nothing for such unavailable materials; which was exactly the case when the wreck of the 'Calcutta Journal' was brought to the hammer. There is not an East India Proprietor, who, in the event of his being called on to relinquish all his property in the Company's stock, and yield up his wealth, his power, his consideration, to the Ministers of the Crown, would not insist on the fullest compensation for the sacrifice of his property at least, however necessary the destruction of the charter might be deemed by the nation at large. Even when paid the full amount of his shares in the joint-stock capital of his trading associates, he would, perhaps, feel himself sufficiently aggrieved at being thus cut off from all *future* enjoyment of that power, patronage, profit, and consideration, which his former situation yielded him, and which the total change in the nature of his property, and the loss of his station as a Director or Proprietor of East India stock, would leave him no hope of again recovering. He would yield up, with no ordinary reluctance, all the prospective advantages of the future; but he would demand the most ample indemnity and perfect security for the re-payment of all the property taken from him, as the amount of his present share in the stock of the Company, or the result of accumulations in its funds of profits, or transac-

tions of the past. My situation is precisely this; I ask no more than every East India Proprietor or Director would ask in a similar situation; and I only require, therefore, of your honourable Court, as a body, to do unto me, that which every individual member of your Direction would, in such case, ask of others to do unto him; and when I seek but this, I feel an unconquerable assurance that I shall not be refused.

I was already sufficiently punished for the strange offence of having anticipated your own sentiments, in disapproving an appointment, of which you yourselves no sooner heard than you censured and cancelled it in terms of far more serious import than any used by me. I was already more than sufficiently punished, for thus assisting to promote your own just views, by being banished from a country where I enjoyed a high and envied reputation, and from a host of devoted friends, among the most honoured and most worthy of the whole community; by being separated from an establishment over which I had presided for years, and been the means of making more than a hundred families employed by it happy; by being torn from domestic enjoyments which it had taken me a long period and considerable expenditure to prepare, for the reception of a family, who were made to participate in all the evils of this sudden removal within a few weeks after setting foot in the country; and lastly, by being cut off from the receipt of a splendid income, drawn from the voluntary contributions of my own countrymen, for labours which enjoyed their approbation, and appeared to them to deserve their reward; an income which, in the course of three or four years more, would have given me wealth enough to pass the remainder of my days in the security of competence, and see my children honourably established in the world.

It was not enough, however, that I should suffer all this for merely expressing disapprobation at an appointment on which you yourselves passed the severest of all possible censures, by ordering the holder of it to be dismissed; but even the wreck of property left behind me, when thus banished and impoverished for the exercise of a virtue which you yourselves almost immediately imitated, has been violated and invaded, so as to fulfil literally the saying of "taking from him that had nothing, even the little that remained."

I may, with truth, say, that on the question of compensation for the sacrifices made of my private property by the acts of your servants in Bengal, which I now submit to the decision of your honourable Court in this country, hangs all the hope I now have left of passing the remainder of my days in the possession of those comforts, which impaired health, increasing age, and a growing family, render necessary to a tranquil existence. I shall, therefore, await your reply with corresponding anxiety, and trust it will not be protracted beyond the period necessary for its due consideration. I entered my present habitation in the firm persuasion that, whatever changes might follow my removal from India, my private property in that country would at least be held sacred. My engagements of various kinds in this country were regulated by this just and reasonable expectation; and one of these, into which I should hardly otherwise have ventured, from the magnitude and uncertainty of its expense, I mean the commencement of actions at law against three wealthy and powerful individuals, has at length terminated, by the most public and voluntary offer being made to me, in a court of justice, of reparation for the injury sustained, of an ample apology from the party inflicting the injury, accompanied by an abandonment of all justification or defence, and the payment by the same individual of all expenses incurred in bringing this proceeding to a close. The world will no doubt applaud this act of justice, tardy as it seems; and its example will, I trust, be followed by those who yet remain to account for their unfounded and unjustifiable aspersions. That these aspersions on my private character, false as they were, had a large share in promoting and apparently warranting the ruinous proceedings of your servants towards my person and property in India, no man, acquainted with the history of those transactions, can for a moment doubt; and as it has now been publicly admitted,

even by my accusers, before the most solemn tribunal of the land, that I am innocent of the crimes imputed to me, justice demands that the evils which have been inflicted on me, under the assumption of my guilt, should be instantly repaired.

If all the former reasons that I have endeavoured to submit to your judgment were inadequate to convince you of the necessity, as well as justice, of that reparation which I now seek at your hands, this single consideration would, I think, alone be sufficient to turn the balance. But it is neither my wish nor my intention to deprive your honourable Court of the fair exercise of a voluntary determination to do an act of justice, uninfluenced by any other considerations, than those arising out of a calm and unbiassed view of the facts of the case. These I have here submitted to you, without reserve or exaggeration, and I await with anxiety, but still with confident expectation and hope, your just and impartial award.

I have the honour to be, honourable Sirs,

Cornwall Terrace, Your obedient humble servant,

Regent's Park. J. S. Buckingham.

P. S. As the correspondence recently transmitted to me from India, and referred to in the body of the preceding letter, will be more agreeable to read in the printed than in the written form, I have had the letters arranged in the order of their dates, and twenty-four copies only struck off, for the use of the Directors of your honourable Court, preceded by a Brief Statement, sufficient to make the letters intelligible without comment. These printed copies I take the liberty to enclose. The originals and authenticated copies are now in my possession, to be produced in the event of their authenticity being questioned, or their inspection by a committee, or other body, deputed to inquire into the facts of this case, being deemed necessary. I shall hold myself in readiness also to give any personal attendance that may be required of me, or to produce either oral testimony or written evidence of the facts stated in the letters now submitted to your attention, at any time or place which your honourable Court may think proper to direct.

CORRESPONDENCE RECEIVED FROM INDIA.

To J. S. Buckingham, Esq. London.

Dear Sir, Calcutta, 2d January 1824.

We have delayed writing fully to you on the subject of the affairs of the Calcutta Journal. We were aware that communications were made direct to you from the office, and have of late postponed writing until we might be able to inform you of the final arrangements intended to be adopted for the concern.

We need not repeat the circumstances which led to the suspension, in November last, of the license under which the Paper was published. With a view to promote your interest, as well as that of the other Proprietors, we used every exertion to procure the restoration of the license, and, at one time, had some prospect of success.

We have now ascertained that no license will be granted for the issue of any Paper from the Columbian Press *whilst the ownership is constituted as at present.* This being the case, it has become necessary to make some arrangement for the close of the *present* concern, and the *transfer* of the property to the best advantage.

Mr. W. P. Muston has been negotiating with us for the purchase of the stock in trade and good-will of the concern, *such as it now is,* and we expect a formal overture from him *when he has assured himself that he will be able to obtain a license.*

Should we fail in effecting to him, or some other person, a private sale, which may be deemed satisfactory, it will become necessary to dispose of the whole concern by public auction. Further delay will detract from the value of the property.

We are, dear Sir, your obedient servants,

Alexander & Co.

To J. S. Buckingham, Esq. London.

My dear Buckingham, Calcutta, January 8, 1824.

Your several Correspondents here will have reported the progression of destructive events, which was closed with the utter ruin of your Press. It is sunk irretrievably and eternally, until some constitutional change be operated in the Government. It has been disclosed that *no* Paper in which *you* had an *interest* would be TOLERATED, or even in which those who had an interest in the (Calcutta) Journal might be concerned; but the *public* declaration of this proscriptive doctrine has not been hazarded, so that we can only reach the fact by means always unwillingly resorted to, and which might be disavowed as a rule of Government, though uttered by one of its members!

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Believe me always yours faithfully,

John Palmer. (1)

To J. S. Buckingham, Esq. London.

My dear Sir, Calcutta, 10th February 1824.

I regret that I have nothing satisfactory as yet to communicate in respect to the affairs of the Calcutta Journal, since our letter of the 2d of January. The enclosed copies of Correspondence will show how matters stand at present, and you will form from it a correct idea of the feeling felt towards the *property* vested in the Calcutta Journal. It is sufficient to say that Mr. W. P. Muston's last letter has as yet received no reply.

This procrastination is fatal to your property. In the hope of Mr. Muston being able to hire the concern on the principle of an arrangement specified in the circular to the shareholders, a heavy establishment has been kept up; and by the delay, the chance of your subscribers transferring their good-will to the 'British Lion,' a successor of the Journal, is nearly annihilated.

The party who gains most at your cost is the owner of the Hurkaru newspaper. You may recollect that on the suspension of the license of the Journal, Mr. S. Smith, proprietor of the Hurkaru, volunteered and was employed to furnish, *pro tempore*, your subscribers with his paper. This arrangement at once made that paper productive—so much so, that the owner has been enabled to induce Dr. Abel, the private physician of the Governor-General, to accept the Editorship, on terms which I have heard improve as the profits of the paper may increase.

I fear the value of the Journal is now only limited to its printing materials. We shall probably shortly have to advise the final close of the concern by sale.

We cannot much longer keep up the present establishment whilst the Government is slowly deliberating on the expediency and safety of permitting use to be made of types and materials which were bought with a fund in which you have a principal share.

The Correspondence enclosed is only part of what has passed. As you may wish to see the whole it shall be sent hereafter.

Yours faithfully,

J. C. C. Sutherland. (2)

No. 1.—November 19, 1823.—Mr. Ballard, to Dr. Muston.

My dear Muston:—Palmer and myself now tender you the Editorship of a new Paper which it is intended to publish from the late *Calcutta Journal Press*. Your salary shall be fixed at 600 rupees per month; and if the paper flourishes, you shall have our recommendation of a proportionate increase. If you accede to our terms, say so, and I will immediately ascertain the form of application for a license. Yours, G. Ballard. (3)

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(1) Head partner of the Firm of Palmer and Co., the wealthiest and most extensive mercantile Firm in India.

(2) Partner in the Firm of Alexander and Co., Mr. Buckingham's agents, and one of the largest houses of business in Bengal.

(3) Directing resident partner of the house of Alexander and Co., the head partner being then absent from Calcutta, and now in England.

No. 2.—November 28, 1823.—Dr. Muston, to Mr. Bayley, Chief Secretary to Government.

Sir :—By the enclosed it will appear that I have engaged to be the Editor of a Paper belonging to certain Proprietors, the principal of whom are Messrs. Palmer and Ballard; and I beg you will assure the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, that both from principle and interest, independently of my public and official situation, (which would alone render it my duty,) I shall pay the most scrupulous attention to the letter and spirit of the Press Regulations; and therefore hope to obtain that license which it is the object of this letter to solicit. I have the honour, &c.

W. P. Muston.

No. 3.—December 18, 1823.—Mr. Ballard, to Dr. Muston.

My dear Muston :—Unless you can get Mr. Harrington to interest himself on your account, *the license will not be granted.* (4) I cannot imagine where the difficulty lies : if I could, I would do any thing not incorrect to remove it. I am, on all accounts, anxious to see you at work. Yours,

G. Ballard.

No. 4.—December 20, 1823.—Mrs. Muston, to her Husband.

My Love :—Henry came here to tell you that my father (5) had seen Mr. Fendall, (6) from whom he learnt that the license had been refused, and *would be refused* so long as Mr. Buckingham had *any* share in the concern. They have none the slightest objection to you; but the writing of Mr. Ballard's letter to you says you will have the sole control, so long as he and Mr. Palmer are Proprietors; from which the Government infer you would have it only *so* long, and then you might be subject to Mr. Buckingham's interference. Yours,

M. Muston.

No. 5.—December 23, 1823.—Mr. Bayley, to Dr. Muston.

Sir :—I am directed by the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th instant, and to apprise you, that after full consideration of the circumstances stated in it, and in Mr. Ballard's private communication (7) which accompanied it, his Lordship in Council does not deem it expedient to sanction the application contained in your letter of the 28th ultimo, and in that acknowledged. I am, &c.

W. B. Bayley, Chief Sec. to Gov.

No. 6.—December 31, 1823.—Dr. Muston, to Mr. Bayley.

My dear Sir :—Being informed that the Agents of Mr. Buckingham have given orders to pay off the Establishment of the Columbian Press, preparatory to a peremptory sale of the property, I was desirous of ascertaining whether I could get assistance from my friends for purchasing the same. Provided I can satisfy them that the purchase will not be merely that of the types, &c., without the power of using them, I am led to hope the sum for which it will sell will be within their power to raise. I, of course, feel no fears respecting the conduct of Government towards myself; but it is still a matter of the most serious importance that I should ascertain the certainty of being allowed a license, before I avail myself of their kindness, or embark myself in so serious an undertaking. Will you kindly do what may be within your power on this occasion, and inform me whether it would be necessary or proper that I should solicit an audience of his Lordship. Yours, very faithfully,

W. P. Muston.

No. 7.—December 31, 1823.—Mr. Bayley, to Dr. Muston.

My dear Sir :—I think it would be advisable for you to request an audience of Lord Amherst, before you make any engagement of the nature adverted to in your note. Government would not, I think, grant the license, except from a perfect assurance that the concern and influence were *altogether transferred from the*

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(4) Mr. Harrington is at this period a Member of the Supreme Council of Government, and the father of Mrs. Muston.

(5) Mr. Harrington, the gentleman named in the preceding note.

(6) Another Member of the Supreme Council.

(7) This private communication has not been sent with the rest of the Correspondence.

former hands; that the ostensible are the real proprietors; and that the rules regarding the Press would be attended to in their spirit as well as in their letter.

Yours, very truly,

W. B. BAYLEY.

No. 8.—January 9, 1824.—Mr. BALLARD, to Dr. MUSTON.

MY DEAR MUSTON :—Of all our constituents none have proved so troublesome as the defunct Journal; we can neither satisfy the pecuniary or political interests or views of those whom we are bound to serve as agents or subjects.

However, I have determined not to trouble the Government, my friends, or myself, any more, BUT TO SACRIFICE THE PROPERTY; and it is therefore at your service, if you are bold enough to buy it at a fair valuation or at auction. Or if you please to rent it, which I think is a better plan, I will let it to you for a twelve month certain, at 2500 rupees per month, including house rent; and at the end of this period of probation you shall have the refusal of it. The renting can be applied only to permanent stock, not that which is consumed in the using; for such you must pay as far as that on hand goes, and provide yourself in future. Before you do any thing, however, ascertain if you can get the assistance you expect; and, above all, a license. Yours,

G. BALLARD.

No. 9.—January 10, 1824.—Dr. MUSTON, to Mr. BALLARD.

MY DEAR BALLARD.—From the impression left on my mind, after a long interview with the Governor-General on the subject of a license for the Calcutta Journal, I am inclined to believe that no objection will be made (on a renewal of my application) provided another name be substituted for its designation, and that the Government is convinced at the same time of my being *bonâ fide* the proprietor of it. The property Mr. Buckingham possesses in it is no objection, if it can be held *without a right of influencing its details by any interference on his part;* and this is a point on which you must be better able to speak than I can. It appears, at first sight, to be impossible to prevent the proprietor exercising a proprietary right; but as his agents, you may do perhaps what he could not do himself—I mean, *dispossess him of that right*, by letting the press, as you have already proposed to do, for a certain period of time. In this manner I might become the *bonâ fide* proprietor for that time, and could apply for a license for that period only. The name also was objected to by Lord Amherst, and I should think the 'Scotsman in the East,' (as that is in my opinion the best paper now in existence,) the best name for a new publication. I will see Mr. Duncan and Mr. Sutherland, for the purpose of ascertaining what aid I can get; without that, the attempt would be vain. Yours,

W. P. MUSTON.

No. 10.—January 13, 1824.—Mr. HARRINGTON, (8) to Dr. MUSTON.

MY DEAR MUSTON :—I spoke to Bayley,(9) who thinks Government will not be satisfied with a transfer of the management to you for twelve months or any other limited period. He thinks *nothing less than a transfer of the property from the present proprietors* will suffice; and says the license must be given to the proprietors, printer, and publisher, not to the editor only. Yours truly,

J. H. HARRINGTON.

No 11.—January 15, 1824.—Dr. MUSTON, to Mr. BAYLEY.

MY DEAR SIR :—I heard from Mr. Harrington it was your opinion that no license would be granted to me, unless I became proprietor of the concern, or an actual transfer of the property was made from the present proprietors, to others who should apply with me and the printer jointly, for a license to publish a newspaper. If this be the case, I have misunderstood Lord Amherst, who appeared to me to require *only* the exclusion of Mr. Buckingham from all and every power of interference or control, and in no way to injure that gentleman's property. (10) Indeed, his Lordship distinctly stated it to be his wish, not to injure

(8) Dr. Muston's father-in-law, and a Member of the Supreme Council.

(9) Mr. W. B. Bayley, Chief Secretary to Government.

(10) There is something extremely new and ingenious in this idea of depriving a man of all control over his own property, without doing the least injury to the property itself.—It could have originated in no other country than India.

the property vested in the Columbian Press; but this wish cannot be realised if the property be transferred from the present proprietors. (11)

His Lordship also stated the necessity for changing the name of the 'Calcutta Journal,' a circumstance, I conclude, his Lordship would not have deemed of importance to mention, had he not intended to favour me with the grant I applied for, in the event of my being able to effect the object of exclusion before mentioned.

Mr. Hogg is preparing a draft, securing to me the entire control of the contents of the paper, and full and sole possession of the concern, (I agreeing to pay the profits of the same after meeting every disbursement, including my own percentage on the returns of the paper,) for one year, renewable at the option of the parties concerned.

This draft I intend to forward for his Lordship in Council's inspection and approval, and any alterations suggested in consequence will be instantly complied with.

The property will be a *bonâ fide* transfer from the proprietors to me for one year, and I shall only solicit a license for that term; at the close of which the Government will be able to judge how far the paper is deserving of a renewal of its license or not. Yours, &c.

W. P. MUSTON.

No. 12.—January 16, 1824.—Mr. BAYLEY, to Dr. MUSTON.

MY DEAR SIR:—I cannot, with propriety, write on this subject in my private capacity. I stated to Mr. Harrington my impression that a *temporary transfer*, of the nature described, would not be such as would induce the Government to grant the license. But, of course, the question will be considered with reference to the circumstances which may be stated in your proposed official communication.

Yours, very faithfully,

W. B. BAYLEY.

No. 13.—January 24, 1824.—Dr. MUSTON, to Mr. WILLIAMS, Solicitor.

MY DEAR SIR.—The accompanying documents, No. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, relate to terms in which Mr. Ballard (as Attorney for Mr. Buckingham) (12) and myself are agreed; and provided the shareholders do not object thereto, we propose to conduct for a time the paper we may be allowed to publish from the Columbian Press on the terms alluded to. The private notes at B. and C. will point out the difficulties to be overcome, and how necessary it will be to obviate any which can be made on the subject of that control which Government is so *determined to destroy*. What is required, at present, is, that you should prepare a draft of a deed in such manner as your judgment and experience will suggest, in order that it be submitted to Government and the shareholders previously to its being engrossed. I shall be happy to consult with you personally on the subject, should you require any further information. Yours, truly,

W. P. MUSTON.

No. 14.—January 26, 1824.—Mr. WILLIAMS, to Dr. MUSTON.

MY DEAR SIR:—For want of the documents I have required, I cannot prepare a deed with proper force and effect. I should have been *very glad* to draw such a deed *professionally*, if I had possessed the requisite materials. The several (perhaps 200) shareholders have *legal rights in the property* in question, and I cannot convey them to you without having some visible authority for so doing.(13)

Yours, faithfully,

J. WILLIAMS.

No. 15.—January 26, 1824.—Dr. MUSTON, to Mr. BAYLEY.

SIR:—I beg the favour of your laying the enclosed draft of agreement (making over to me the property of the Columbian Press, for a twelvemonth, by Messrs. Alexander and Co., the Agents of Mr. Buckingham, they having obtained also the sanction of the shareholders resident in Calcutta to that measure), and at the same time to solicit from the Governor-General in Council the license applied for in my letter of November 28, 1823. Should the Government be satisfied

(11) Here is a distinct acknowledgment of the injury—which even Dr. Muston saw was inevitable—from a compulsory change of proprietors.

(12) In his capacity of partner of the Firm of Alexander and Co.

(13) These *legal rights*, which an English lawyer could not even temporarily *convey*, without due legal authority, the Governor-General took upon him altogether to *destroy*, without a shadow of right to justify such an unlawful proceeding.

with this draft, it shall be immediately engrossed and executed. The intimation I received from the Governor-General, respecting a new name by which the Paper is to be designated, will be duly attended to, and should it meet the sense of Government, it is proposed to call it 'THE BRITISH LION.'

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

W. P. MUSTON.

No. 16.—January 30, 1824.—Mr. BAYLEY, to Dr. MUSTON.

General Department.

SIR:—I am directed by the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date, and of its enclosure. The *temporary nature* of the proposed arrangement, as described in those papers, does not afford any security that the *control* and *influence* of Mr. Buckingham in the management of the Paper may not *again* be exercised AT THE EXPIRATION OF ONE YEAR, to which only the engagement extends; (14) and the Governor-General in Council does not therefore deem it expedient to comply with the application submitted by you. The draft of agreement which was enclosed in your letter is herewith returned. I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

Council Chamber. W. B. BAYLEY, Chief Sec. to Gov.

No. 17.—February 4, 1824.—Mr. SUTHERLAND, to Dr. MUSTON.

DEAR SIR:—As Mr. Ballard may be absent some days, I wish to know if you are likely to obtain a license for a new paper; the keeping up the old establishment of the Journal is RUINOUS. Can you not apply for leave to set up the ———, (any name,) a daily paper, your own property? What is it to Government, whether you buy or hire types? If there is no chance of your obtaining a license, we will sell the concern. Very truly, yours,

J. C. C. SUTHERLAND.

No. 18.—February 4, 1824.—Dr. MUSTON, to Mr. SUTHERLAND.

MY DEAR SIR:—I lost no time in meeting your wish on the subject of a license, and addressed Mr. Bayley, privately, on the moment of its receipt. I stated my idea respecting the several refusals I have met with, that no license would be granted for a paper, which license in prospectus could be considered the property of Mr. Buckingham and his shareholders; adding, if I was correct in my suspicion of the cause of my failures, I hoped he would obtain permission for me to apply (on my own account and responsibility) for a license, according to the form prescribed. Yours, truly,

W. P. MUSTON.

No. 19.—February 10, 1824.—Dr. MUSTON, to Mr. BAYLEY.

SIR;—An offer I made to the Agents of Mr. Buckingham to rent the concern having been accepted, I am now totally unconnected with Mr. Buckingham or the proprietors of the late Calcutta Journal, and, therefore, hope the enclosed, which is in conformity with the rules laid down in the Press Regulations, will be complied with, and that his Lordship in Council will allow me to edit and publish *The British Lion* on my own account. I am, &c.,

W. P. MUSTON.

No. 20.—February 10, 1824.—Mr. BAYLEY, to Dr. MUSTON.

MY DEAR SIR:—You will receive an official answer to your last official letter, in the course of to-morrow. It is merely to the effect, that Government were aware, in the former answer they gave you, that the application for a license, as regarded yourself, was for one year only.

I cannot with propriety, on such a subject as this, enter into a private correspondence, or reply satisfactorily to your private note. My own notions might not prove to be those of the Government, and I might embarrass you and others, by saying that which might not ultimately be confirmed when the subject was officially considered. I can only recommend you to put the subject of your newspaper in as distinct and clear a light as possible, in an official letter. If you are *bonâ fide* the actual purchaser and proprietor of the concern, and the

(14) The only way in which Mr. Buckingham could again resume his influence and control over the management of his own Paper, would have been in consequence of his being permitted by the Court of Directors of the East India Company to return to Calcutta; and, as if this were anticipated, the servants of this Company thus determined to counteract even the measures of their honourable masters!

interest of Mr. Buckingham in it be *entirely and permanently at an end*, I, as an individual, should conceive that no objection could be made. You will consider this as the private opinion of a private individual, and for the correctness of which I cannot vouch. Yours, truly,

W. B. BAYLEY.

No. 21.—February 10, 1824.—Mr. SUTHERLAND, to Dr. MUSTON.

MY DEAR SIR :—Permit me to ask if you have taken the preliminary steps for bringing personally before the Government your application to establish a paper of your own. We are anxious to adopt something decisive as to the stock of the Calcutta Journal. Very truly, yours,

J. C. C. SUTHERLAND.

No. 22.—February 11, 1824.—Dr. MUSTON, to Mr. SUTHERLAND.

MY DEAR SIR :—Mr. Bayley promised me a reply to my last application (which was a public one for a license commensurate with the lease for one year) in the course of to-day. He advises me to put the object I have in view in a clear and distinct form *officially;* and if I can do so, as the actual proprietor, showing that the interest of Mr. Buckingham in it has *entirely ceased*, he thinks (as an individual, not as a public servant) that no objection would be made. From this it is evident, that no license will be granted unless I make an application unconnected with the proprietors and shareholders of the Calcutta Journal. If your House will let me the concern, for a period, say one year, at a rent to be claimable from the actual profits, or receipts above a stipulated sum, at which the expenditure (from an average of years) might be fixed, I will rent it, and set up a paper unconnected with the Calcutta Journal, and *bonâ fide* my own. Yours truly,

W. P. MUSTON.

No. 23.—February 12, 1824.—Mr. BAYLEY, to Dr. MUSTON.

SIR :—I am directed by the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from you of the present date, with its enclosure, and in reply, to transmit you the accompanying license, authorizing Mr. Peter Stone D. Rozario to print, and you to publish, in the English language, a daily newspaper, entitled and called 'The Scotsman in the East.' I am likewise directed to transmit to you for your information and guidance, and that of Mr. D. Rozario, the accompanying copy of printed rules passed on the 5th of April last. I am, Sir, your obedient humble servant,

Council Chamber. W. B. BAYLEY, Chief Sec. to Gov.

No. 24.—February 12, 1824.—LICENSE.

GENERAL DEPARTMENT.—William Pitt Muston, (15) a surgeon in the service of the Honourable Company on the Bengal Establishment, having applied to the Right Hon. the Governor-General in Council for a license to print and publish in Calcutta, a daily newspaper, entitled and called 'The Scotsman in the East,' and having delivered to the Chief Secretary to Government the requisite affidavit, subscribed and sworn by him the said William Pitt Muston, and by Peter Stone D. Rozario; the Governor-General in Council does hereby authorize and empower the said Peter Stone D. Rozario to print, and the said William Pitt Muston to publish, in Calcutta, at No. 4, Bankshall street,(16) (being the house or place in the said affidavit specified,) and not elsewhere, a newspaper to be called 'The Scotsman in the East,' and not otherwise, whereof the said Peter Stone D. Rozario (and no other person or persons) is to be printer, and the said William Pitt Muston (and no other person or persons) is to be the publisher and proprietor. (17) By order of the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, this 12th day of February, 1824.

W. B. BAYLEY, Chief Sec. to Gov.

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(15) It is a curious coincidence, that it is *William Pitt* Amherst who thus takes another man's property and transfers it to *William Pitt* Muston, after a manner that even the statesman, whose name they bear, would have been ashamed to sanction.

(16) The house of Mr. Buckingham, in which the Calcutta Journal had been carried on, in premises built for that purpose out of Mr. Buckingham's own money.

(17) Thus transferring a property of stock, materials, copyright, and good-will, which it had cost 20,000*l.* in sterling money, and five years of hard labour, to create, from its rightful owners—including at least 100 English gentlemen—to an individual who had not paid a farthing nor spent a day in the accumulation of that property, of which, by a single stroke of the Government Secretary's pen, he was thus constituted *the sole and exclusive proprietor!*

This Correspondence was sent into the Court of Directors on the 1st of August. In a few days after this, Mr. Buckingham was confined to his bed, for the sixth time since his return to England, by a most severe and alarming illness, from which those who witnessed it scarcely entertained a hope of his recovery. After about five weeks of intense suffering, he began slowly to recover, and in the anxious desire, so natural to one thus circumstanced, of seizing even the straw that seemed to offer a hope of escape from threatening death, he addressed the following Supplementary Letter to the Court :—

To the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

Honourable Sirs, London, Sept. 6, 1825.

I have just arisen from a bed of sickness, to which I have been confined for the last month; and one of the first objects of my solicitude is to inquire, what has been the fate of my letter addressed to your honourable Court about five weeks ago. The interruptions of my health have been so repeated and incessant, and my last illness so alarmingly severe, that my medical advisers give me little or no hope of relief, except by removing, for a time, to a milder climate, and abstaining from the close application to which I have devoted myself for the last two years, so as to enjoy tranquillity of mind as well as bodily repose. If I possessed the means of supporting myself from my private fortune during such a retirement as this, I should not hesitate a moment in seeking, by these means, a chance of restoration to permanent health. But, desirable as this undoubtedly is, it will be utterly impossible for me to accomplish it, should your honourable Court still continue to withhold from me the reparation so justly due for the total destruction of my private property by your servants in Bengal.

Should your honourable Court, however, as an act of justice, grant me the reparation sought, in any manner that may render it speedily available to my use, I shall proceed, without delay, to embrace the only hope now left me, of recovering that health which, up to the period of my quitting India, I had the happiness to enjoy in a supereminent degree, and which it is no exaggeration to say, has been chiefly undermined, if not entirely destroyed, by the vexations, anxieties, disappointments, and embarrassments, arising out of my banishment from that country, and the subsequent proceedings of the Indian Government towards my property there.

No man that ever lived can, I think, have been made to feel more forcibly than I have done, that "sickness of the heart" which arises from "hope deferred." This "hope," though often protracted and postponed, has never entirely deserted me: I have never yet been able to bring myself to doubt your granting me *ultimate* justice. I have continually dwelt on the assurance that, sooner or later, when the political objects of your Government in restraining the press of India should be completely attained, and my return to that country rendered impossible, the destruction of my private property, occasioned by that public measure, would be fully and even willingly repaired; and I still feel convinced that, whether as legislators, as merchants, or as men, you cannot but think this reparation due by every rule of justice and equity. If it be done quickly, I shall endeavour to seek, in retirement and repose, that tranquillity of mind and health of body to which I have long been a stranger, and may hope to repair, by these means, the shattered state of my frame and constitution,—a source of more pain and misery to my family than even to myself. We have *all*, indeed, been made to suffer more than enough to satisfy the most vindictive of our enemies; and, besides myself, *other* innocent and unoffending beings have been placed on the rack of torture and suspense for years, for the doubtful crime of my being too ardent in my endeavours to repress abuses in a country where all must know that some, at least, exist; and the last of which that I ventured to expose, you have yourselves attempted to remedy, by ordering the immediate removal of Doctor Bryce from an office and occupation now universally admitted to be in the highest degree objectionable.

Had I been guilty of any crime, either moral or political; had I even committed any indiscretion by which your empire in India had been *really* endangered, I should indulge no hope of forgiveness, and but little of public sympathy. But I sincerely believe that there is not one human being in existence who could conscientiously say, that my sudden removal from the country, under all the aggravated circumstances of the case, and the cutting me off, at one blow, from a splendid income of 8000*l.* a-year, raised wholly by my own labours, was not of itself the severest punishment ever before heard of, for so slight an offence as that of censuring an appointment which you yourselves have subsequently disapproved of, and even annulled. When, however, there has been added to this already severe and irreparable punishment, the total destruction of the property that I left behind me, in the confidence that, whatever changes might occur, *this*, at least, would be respected,—a property which it cost me more than 20,000*l.* in sterling money, actually paid by me, to get into the state of perfection and efficiency in which I left it, besides five years of the most valuable portion of my life, and the incessant and almost unexampled labour by which its productive and marketable value was made to exceed even double that sum;—when I reflect on all this, I feel persuaded that there is not a single member of your honourable Court who could in his heart say that I deserve this ruin and destruction of all my long-cherished hopes—this condemnation to perpetual poverty and suffering for the remainder of my days, because I had the misfortune to employ the best portion of them in thinking more of the happiness of *others* living under your dominions, than in providing (as with less pains and virtue I might easily have done) for *my own*.

My strength will not permit me to write more. I have before placed my fortune—I may now truly say, I place my future health, if not my existence, also in your hands. It rests with you to restore to me the one,—for I ask only the restoration of that property which your servants have actually destroyed, and this will afford me the means of supporting and prolonging the other, by relieving me from the pressure of those anxious cares to which all my present sufferings may be fairly attributed. I still rely on your sense of justice; and I have a strong internal conviction that this reliance will not be placed in vain.

I have the honour to be, honourable Sirs,

Your most obedient humble servant,

Cornwall Terrace. J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

Another week elapsed, and no answer was received to this. About this period, however, news reached London of the death of Mr. John Adam, the real originator of all these measures, which he was the first to institute, though to Lord Amherst was left the disgrace of their completion. A Court of Directors was immediately summoned, and at this, as appears, the three following resolutions were made and determined on: First, To grant to Mr. Buckingham's assistant and fellow-sufferer, Mr. Arnot, who was *unlawfully* residing in India *without* the license of the Company, the sum of 1500*l.*, as a *full discharge* of his expectations and his claims. Secondly, To vote the highest approbation which the Court could bestow on the public conduct of their deceased servant, Mr. Adam, who banished Mr. Buckingham without a trial, although he was *lawfully* residing in India *with* the license of the Company. And, thirdly, To refuse to Mr. Buckingham, as principal, the justice they had granted to his assistant; and while paying to Mr. Arnot the smaller loss of 1500*l.*, withholding from Mr. Buckingham and his co-partners, the much greater loss of 40,000*l.*, of which they had been literally robbed and despoiled by the measures of their servants in Bengal.

By this heretofore unheard of and unexampled punishment, not only has a British subject, residing under the East India Company's license in India, been despotically cut off from all future hope of improving his fortune in a lawful and honourable occupation in *that* country; but a whole family of helpless children have been deprived of their just claims to that education and pro-

vision for their settlement in life, which their father's labours had given them every right to expect in *this*. And all this misery is inflicted on them for their absent parent's having merely ventured, while abroad, to anticipate the opinions subsequently expressed by the legal and constituted authorities at home: for having, in short, but gently censured, in the most playful and unassuming manner, an appointment which imposed on a Reverend Clergyman of the Presbyterian Church, Doctor James Bryce, the unsuitable duties of a stationer's clerk: an appointment, of which the Court of Directors and the Board of Control have since expressed their most unequivocal disapprobation. But while these very parties have admitted the full justice of the censures adverted to, by since uniting to remove the Reverend Divine from his unseemly office, they still persist in refusing all reparation for the ruin inflicted on the individual who first drew their attention to the impropriety of the appointment!! The following was the answer returned to Mr. Buckingham's two preceding letters:—

To James Silk Buckingham, Esq.

Sir, East India House, Sept. 14, 1825.

I have laid before the Court of Directors of the East India Company your letters of the 1st ultimo and 6th instant; and I am commanded to inform you, that the Court see no reason to alter the opinion expressed to you in their Secretary's letter of the 12th August 1824; that they do not consider either yourself or the other parties on whose behalf you have appealed, have any just claim whatever on the East India Company.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

P. Auber, *Assistant Secretary.*

After recovering from the deep disappointment which such a letter necessarily inflicted, the whole of the Correspondence, written and printed, was laid before the Board of Control, with an appeal to that body to use their influence in directing justice to be done; to which the following answer was given:—

To James Silk Buckingham, Esq.

Sir, India Board, Oct. 3, 1825.

I am directed by the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th ultimo, together with the papers which accompanied it: and to acquaint you, in reply, that the claim which you have preferred to the Court of Directors, is one respecting which the Board do not feel themselves *competent* to interfere.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

Thos. Per. Courtenay.

Upon this Statement it must be unnecessary to offer a word of further comment. It is here presented, in all the simplicity of its naked facts, as a true and unvarnished picture of the despotism which is still suffered by the Legislature of this country to be exercised towards British subjects in the East. If the voice of England be not lifted up against its continuance, let the nation no longer boast that it is free, nor Englishmen vaunt the superiority of their condition to that of the enslaved countries of Europe; in none of which can be found greater political oppression, nor greater violation of the security of person or property, than is here shown to have been perpetrated under a British Government even in our own day.

RECITAL OF THE SUFFERINGS OF THE DISTRESSED CITIZENS OF LUCKNOW.

(Quoted from p. 997 of the Oude Papers.)

[Having, in another part of this Number, given the opinions expressed by the Marquis of Hastings, Colonel Baillie, and other European observers of the political drama at Lucknow, we think it proper to insert also a Native view of the same subject; especially as the paper containing it, which forms the most singular document of the Oude collection, has already excited much interest, and is likely, therefore, to be the subject of future discussion. The paper was sent anonymously to Lord Hastings while at Futtegurh, about May or June 1815, and several points in it were thought of sufficient moment to justify a reference regarding them to the Resident. Some of the most important allegations being thereby verified, the paper was preserved among the Government records, and notwithstanding the eager desire of the Court of Directors for its suppression, in which they solicited the Marquis of Hastings to acquiesce, the noble Marquis having declined any such compromise, it is now before the public. In justice to both parties, we shall subjoin to it Colonel Baillie's reply.]

ANONYMOUS PAPER.

Two things are requested of the gentlemen of illustrious dignity into whose hands the recital of our calamities may fall: first, that they will be kind enough to read the whole through carefully, and not to be out of temper or displeased on account of its length; secondly, that for the sake of God and the Prophet Jesus, they will be careful and observant, that when it may be translated into the English language for the information of the Governor-General, the import of a single word or construction may not be overlooked, as the ruin of the complainants may be the consequence, and, in that case, on the day of judgment the hand of the sufferers of the city of Lucknow will be on the garment of the translator (in demand of retribution); but let all the gentlemen study to ascertain exactly the true meaning of the whole, and they will receive of God an ample recompense.

It not having been thought proper to send this by Lucknow dak, through fear of Ulee Nuckee, it has accordingly been forwarded by a distant dak. (It came *vià* Moradabad.)

Recital of the Sufferings of the distressed Citizens of Lucknow, for the Information of His Excellency the Earl of Moira, Governor-General.

DISTICH.

"He is a friend who tells the faults of his friend, and brings them present before him as in a looking-glass."

The writer of this has been for some time the faithful servant of the Company's auspicious Government, nor can his heart bear to see contempt of the officers of that illustrious Government become the by-word of all classes; but more especially is he indignant at the disrepute of so great a chieftain as that peer, son of a peer, descendant of peers, that noble son of a noble, descendant of nobles, the most noble of lords, the Nuwaub Governor-General Lord Moira Behauder, (may his glory increase!) the rumour of whose arrival has for a long time raised hopes in the inhabitants of Hindoostan that they would obtain, through his means, every kind of retribution, justice, and prosperity. In the days when, by the good fortune of this devoted, his Lordship arrived at the city of Lucknow, he found the nobles of the city weeping, and the poor of the city lamenting; and were the reason of this to be asked, the whole of the inhabitants of the city would answer with one voice in complaints against the Resident, and regret at the want of attention in such a Governor-General. In the judgment of your slave, that the Governor-General has not done justice; that he has not paid sufficient attention to the sufferings of the inhabitants of the city; that he has given power in all affairs to the Resident; and to such a Resident, who placing his sense of justice and of honour upon the shelf, and falling into the lusts of the brittle things of this world, has given himself into the hands of his moonshee, Ulee Nuckee Khan, a man whose character is about to be set forth at length. That the Governor-General has done all this, is staggering

in the page of history his own name as the source of all our sufferings. Does he not fear that the reputation of so illustrious a Governor, whose conduct and principles are celebrated and current over the seven climates, (whole world,) from Eran and Tooran even to Rumi (Constantinople) and China, and which is in the habits of intercourse with all the kings of the earth, more especially in the time of so merciful and just a Governor, will be affected by our complaints. It cannot, therefore, be from any cause but a want of a proper information on the subject, that all this has been suffered to occur; nor can I understand upon what principle other illustrious gentlemen should have sacrificed the cause of justice to their personal regard for the Resident, notwithstanding our loud and incessant cries for retribution, and should not have brought the sufferings of this city to the notice of the Governor-General. I, an individual, now propose to bring them forward; and I entertain a confident hope that, agreeably to that innate regard for justice which is the characteristic of the English nation, and which has procured for them this extent of dominion, some gentlemen will, from a disinterested public spirit, impress the whole of this subject, in all its bearings, upon the particular notice of the said Governor of exalted dignity, and they will obtain a reward in this world and the next, both for themselves and for him who has from pure disinterested motives taken the trouble to draw up this paper.

The source of all our distress can only be traced to the coming amongst us of the dregs of Hindoostan, street wanderers and beggars, strangers to the principles of government, and to their being brought to the head of affairs; but more immediately is it to be traced to the blindness which appears to exist to the crooked policy of the Resident, which has raised such men to power, and brought ruin on the people of God. The neglect of the Governor-General, when at this city, has given additional confidence to these upstarts; and how can it be otherwise? but if such oppression is openly practised even when the Gover- -General is in the neighbourhood, only can tell what will happen n the Governor-General may be ged to return to Calcutta, and with at injuries these upstarts will not n visit us. My sincere and faithful heart, on perceiving the sufferings of the inhabitants of this city, and becoming convinced that the blame which has attached to so great a Governor-General, on their account, is purely attributable to the wiles of the Resident, is desirous of giving information of the real state of the case. And of a truth, now that the Governor-General will have been informed of all, his sense of justice will leave him no choice but to visit the oppressors with befitting retribution.

DISTICH.

"I tell you what it is, the condition of speech that I should make known (viz. truth). At hearing it (it remains with you) either to take offence or advice."

The detail of what I have to represent is as follows:—

In the time of Lord Minto, the late Nuwaub Saadut Alee Khan was much grieved and distressed at the oppressions committed by the Resident under support of Mr. Edmonstone. This is known to every gentleman and to the world at large, and these vexations were bringing him near his end, when he was sustained, for a short time, by hearing of the intention of Lord Moira to visit Lucknow in person; but of a sudden, from the changeable revolutions of heaven, the measure of the life of that traveller, on the road to eternity, became full to the brim with the mortal poison of death, and on the 22d of Rujeeb, 1229 of the Hijjuree, notwithstanding that his heart was full of a thousand hopes, his former vexations so bore him down, that he made the clay tenement of his existence a house of mourning, (that is, he died). It was an act which calls for justice, that on the death of so illustrious a Vizier, neither the Resident nor any of the English gentlemen attended the bier of the deceased, or performed the dues of mourning. Beyond this would have been hypocrisy; but the Resident finding he was nearer his object in consequence, with every appearance of joy and conviviality, in the very place where the coffin of the deceased was lying, ate his breakfast and drank his tea; and, in another, the Nuwaub Ghazee-ood-Deen Hyder Khan, next heir to the deceased, was seated on the musnud of the Vezarut. At this very time the Resident, by means of Agha Meer, now called Moatum-ood-Dowlah, and through the mediation of Ulee Nuckee, his moonshee, plundered lacs of rupees in money and goods, and he also took the opportunity to open a drawer of the table, and got

possession of the book which had been prepared by the deceased Vizier, containing all the crimes of the Resident, in order that they might be laid open to the Governor-General on his arrival. The Nuwaub Ghazee-ood-Deen Hyder Khan having perceived that his father's affairs had been ruined by the hands of the same Resident, was most fearful for himself, from a continuation of the same injurious conduct: he, therefore, put up with all that was going on from helplessness; but as the reported approach of the Governor-General gave him strength and confidence, he was induced to open his mind to him at Cawnpore and at Lucknow. All his accusations, however, came to nothing. At that time, on the very night of one of the communications, moonshee Ulee Nukee sent for Agha Meer, and said to him, "Now is your time, you may now get the neäbut from the favour of the Resident, and you will also place him under infinite obligations: you will not have such another opportunity. You have only to do what the Resident now bids you. Go, then, to the Vizier, and say to him, 'You are a fool and out of your senses. You have acted very wrong in bringing accusations against the Resident. Do you not know, that it is in the regulations of the English Government, that the Council should remove any one that accuses the Resident, for it is a breach of the treaty, insomuch that the Vizier Ulee was put off the musnud for this very fault, in having brought complaints against Mr. Resident Lumsden. The Governor-General has now determined to seat Shums-ood-Dowlah upon the musnud, and has written to Council on the subject, and the Council are in the Resident's interest, of which their support in the time of the late Vizier is sufficient proof.'" Agha Meer and Ulee Nuckee having before been on good terms, and, indeed, like father and son, Agha Meer was persuaded by the moonshee, and went and told the Vizier just what he had been directed. The Vizier was disturbed, and not in his right senses, so he believed it all. Agha Meer and Ulee Nuckee immediately mounted an elephant together, and went straight to Beebeepoor, where the Resident was, and making him acquainted with all the circumstances, prepared a draft of a razee-namah, (1) to the tenor of which a deed was to be brought in the writing of the Vizier. Agha Meer accordingly returned to the Vizier's presence, and having caused the deed to be written in the prescribed form according to the draft, carried it to the Resident, and it was by his advice, and that of Ulee Nuckee, that Captain M'Leod, and the other English gentlemen, were caused to be turned out with disgrace and ignominy, and were called upon to give back even any little articles which the late Nuwaub had presented them with in token of his favour towards them, and that too in a most disreputable manner, to the scandal and disgust of all, whether noble or otherwise. Agha Meer and Ulee Nuckee boasted of this aloud in public, saying, "Look how degraded and debased I have rendered the English, even when the Governor-General is on the spot; and had the Vizier delayed one instant signing the razee-namah, you would have seen him in the state that Vizer Ulee is now. You see that the Governor-General has no help for it, but to be guided by the Resident's judgment." On hearing this from Ulee Nuckee, every thing appeared to be the reverse of the usual principles of English Government (and no one believed it at the time); until at last, as was promised by the moonshee, Agha Meer was invested with the neäbut,(2) and the Governor-General took his departure towards the west. In this plan it is necessary that the observer of the state of this ruined neäbut, and of those who are connected with it, should bear at the same time the Governor-General's excellent qualities in constant recollection.

The badness of the Resident's administration. and the want of attention on the part of the Governor-General, has been the support of all this confusion: hence have the sufferings of the people of God, the mismanagement of the affairs of the Vezärut,(3) and the squandering of treasure and property collected with the labour and care of years, become the talk of the intelligent of all countries. Be it known, that Agha Meer (now called Moatumud-ood-Dowlah Mookhtaur-ool-Moolk Syyud Mohummud Khan Behauder Zeighum Jung) is the son of Mohummud Nuckee; the same Mohummud Nuckee who was for years a beggar in the streets of Lucknow; and when the nobles of the country used to distribute alms, this Mohum-

(1) Profession of content.

(2) Office of minister.

(3) Viceroyalty or Province of Oude.

mud Nuckee would rush forward importunately before the rest of the Fakeers to seize his pittance, and for every pice he would be turbulent and noisy, and would be every where thumped and kicked: the people of Lucknow have seen this with their own eyes. It is not to be supposed that a man in such a situation could have the means of marrying; but be a man a Fakeer, he is not on that account without the lusts of the flesh, so the said Mohummud Nuckee took to himself a wretched woman of no character, who lived by begging here and there a few fuloos. As it happened, a daughter was born from this said woman to some man with whom she had before had connexion, such a child as they call in Persian a madur-huloo; and after some months more, another child was born of her to Mohummud Nuckee, and that was this Agha Meer. The knowing ones differ on this point: some say Mohummud is the undisputed father, others again that the real father is unknown; but there is no doubt the child was born while the mother was in the keeping of Mohummud Nuckee. In short, until the auspicious age of Agha Meer reached the period of fifteen years he was a wanderer in the streets, and attached himself to the class of labourers employed in building and repairing houses for men of substance. At the time when the Vezärut of Asuf-ood-Dowlah descended to his son Saadut Alee Khan, Ghazee-ood-Deen Hyder Khan Behauder came with his father from Benares, and took up his residence in Muhtab Bagh, in the palace built by Asuf-ood-Dowlah deceased, enjoying the almonership to the Syyuds in distress, as is customary in this Government for the heir apparent. A man named Merza Hyder Ulee of Lucknow, taking compassion on the apparent distress of Mohummud Nuckee, the father of this Agha Meer, assigned for his maintenance a pension of five rupees per month out of the fund for distressed Syyuds, and since he was himself very old, this Agha Meer, his son used to come to the present Vizier, then heir apparent, to receive his father's pension of five rupees. By degrees he got himself enrolled amongst the Khidmutgars; and from this may be traced his rise and present elevation. In course of time, the treasuries which for ages this Government had been employed in filling, became intrusted to the Prince Ghazee-ood-Deen Hyder. Agha Meer kept the keys of the treasuries for his master, and embezzling the treasure secretly, diverted the public resources of the state to his own private expenses, giving a part to Ulee Nuckee the moonshee, in the hope of winning over the Resident by this means. Now the Nuwaub Ghazee-ood-Den Hyder sits on the musnud of the Vezärut, and as Agha Meer had before been in league and on the best terms with Ulee Nuckee, particularly in the course of the embezzlement above-mentioned, they now also are in such way in league together that they preserve the good-will and confidence of the Resident, as has indeed before been hinted. Besides all this, since the present Vizier was foiled in his wishes, Agha Meer having obtained the neäbut by the Resident's means for having brought the razee-namah with the Vizier's seal, and having been invested with the khillat of the situation, now rules with arbitrary power in the affairs of the Vezärut. But those who are about the durbar, in the present times, see enough to convince them that Ulee Nuckee moonshee is, in truth, the absolute master of all, and has the power of loosing and binding in all affairs, whether general or particular. Agha Meer, notwithstanding his ostensible neäbut, spends every day at the house of the moonshee, and does nothing without consulting him. In return, the moonshee goes to the house of Agha Meer, and enjoys with him the entertainment of nautching, &c. Hundreds of acts of oppression, however, are daily committed by Agha Meer in the course of his transaction of business. A few examples shall be stated. First, he has caused to be dug up the houses of hundreds of persons, noble and otherwise, that the materials may be employed in building a palace for himself. The furniture of these houses is left a prey to all the loochas of the city, and not a rupee is paid for any thing. The poor, whose houses he has destroyed, have been thrown upon the world in their wretchedness. Also, by means of Roshun Ulee, (son of that Madur Huloo, daughter of the mother of Agha Meer, who is now known as his sister,) under pretence of mending and making roads, he has knocked down thousands of houses, and many of the muhls (wards) of the city of Lucknow have been deserted in consequence. Agha Meer himself spends his nights and days in drinking, and in the company of women of the bazaar. The administration of affairs exhibits symptoms of this. The land revenues of the Vizier's Government amount to one crore and forty lacs of rupees; but,

though the year is approaching its end, one-fourth of this amount has not been collected, neither is there any one who looks to the settlement of the country, or to the accounts of the revenue. But what excites yet greater wonder and scandal is, that in the house of Agha Meer, which is contiguous to that of the Resident, you hear nothing all day but the sound of the drum and the voices of singers from the bazaar, with the rioting of the loochas of the city, the friends and companions of Agha Meer; and the Resident, notwithstanding that he has delicate nerves, as indeed is usual with the English, encourages this riot. Indeed Ulee Nuckee, though seventy years of age, is a party in the debauches. The disrepute and scandal attending such transactions are not unknown to men of undertaking. Ten thousand rupees a month is the private salary of Agha Meer; what further he requires he takes from the public treasury of the Government without restraint, and applies to his own purposes. In these days some lacs of rupees and many strings of pearls, besides other jewels and wearing apparel, have been embezzled from the public treasuries of the Vezārut; and one day, when he was called to account for this by the Vizier, he said it was necessary, for the proper management of affairs, that he should keep these things by him; and although the Vizier is aware that Agha Meer divides the whole with Ulee Nuckee, still he is obliged to remain silent and wink at it, through fear of the Resident and from want of attention in the Governor-General, as before experienced. From pure helplessness, being reduced to the situation of one out of his senses and without a will of his own, the Vizier has taken to eating bong night and day, thus verifying the moral of this stanza:—

> Oh king! from so much wine what fruit can be expected?
> From such infinite drunkenness what fruit can be expected?
> The king is drunk, the world is ruined,
> Fools surround him on every side:
> From such confusion what fruit can be expected?

The whole territories of the Vezārut have been divided into six zillahs. The first, that of Lucknow, the jumma of which has been fixed at thirty lacs of rupees, and Agha Alee, son of Agha Meer, has been selected to make the collections of it, the age of the said collector being, at the present moment, two years. He is the son of a prostitute by profession, and it is by no means certain that Agha Meer is his real father, as she is a woman of the bazaar, and has never been married to him. Agha Alee, the said collector, is still at the breast, and cannot distinguish between his mother's milk and the salary of 2000 rupees assigned for his maintenance. Weigh this in your mind, ye of acute perception! The second zillah is Sandee and the district of Shah Rah, &c., with the jumma or assessment of thirty-five lacs of rupees. This the Resident has assigned to his own moonshee for his personal benefit. The nominal collector of it, Kootub-ood-deen, the moonshee's nephew, never, in the course of his life, had more than thirty rupees per month allowed him by Ulee Nuckee; but now that every thing belonging to the Vezārut is exposed to every sort of plunder, and the said nephew nominally is allowed a salary of 2000 rupees, besides ten per cent. on the collections of the zillah, he gets for his personal salary and emoluments 100 rupees a month, and no more: the rest is all enjoyed by moonshee Ulee Nuckee, under the countenance and support of the Resident himself. The oppressions, also, which the moonshee has committed on the Chowdries of Sandee, and the circumstances of his knocking down all their houses, are well known to the officers of the Governor-General. The object of my representation is this: that alas! the Vezārut, with all its splendour, high reputation, and with such stores of treasure, should come to ruin in the time of so noble a Governor-General; that the sufferers of the city should experience misery and oppression, and no one listen to their cries.

"How can you hear the cries of supplicants for redress: you have dropt towards the universe the bed-curtains of sleep. Sleep so that the cry of distress may reach your ears, whenever it may be raised by a supplicant for justice."

The circumstances under which Dhoomee Beg, the cutwal, poisoned himself through dread of Agha Meer, the confiscation of his house and property without any legal right, to the ruin of all his heirs and relicts, who have indeed been since imprisoned, all which has been done by Agha Meer, without any interference of the Resident to procure justice. God knows upon whose neck will be the weight of these crimes.

This humble supplicant has a question to put to the Resident, to which I call upon him, in the name of God and the Prophet Jesus, to give a just and

true answer: whether the appointment of Agha Meer to the neâbut, and the fixing of his salary at ten thousand rupees a month, besides what he embezzles from the public treasuries, and the bribes he extorts from the people of the city by threats of knocking down their houses,—whether the appointment of his son and infant to the collectorship, with a salary of 2000 rupees,—whether the placing so low a character over the heads of all the nobles of the city, and giving him authority over them, is not bringing ruin upon the country, and confusion into all the affairs of the Vezārut? What other consequence can result from it, but that the house of the late Vizier will be plundered, and the people of Hindoostan subjected to degradation and ignominy, while your family and fortunes, and those of your moonshee, are enriched from the spoils? This I ask of the Resident and of the Governor-General, whose glory and splendour are so trauscendant. I ask him how he can rest contented when his reputation is taxed with all this. Although the Governor-General is no way a sharer in the stain of those advantages which the Resident obtains, but, on the contrary, is more disinterested, magnanimous, and dignified than any Governor-General who yet has come to Hindoostan, still why does he subject himself to the imputation of palpable neglect, and act entirely on the Resident's representations? For God's sake let him cause them to be investigated and confirmed by some gentleman who has some sense of religion and justice; and since Seetul Pershaud, the Ukhbar Navees, has the orders of the Resident not to report things as they actually are, should any credit attach to the representations of the writer of this, let a man be sent privately, and one entitled to confidence, to report the affairs of the city as they are, so that its state of ruin and devastation may be made known, as well as all the unworthy acts of Agha Meer the Naib; (4) such as his keeping company with all the loochas of the bazaar, his going about the streets on foot, and giving gross abuse to all the chiefs and most respectable men of the city, complaint of which being made to the Resident, he forbad its being noticed in the Ukhbars, lest it should reach the ears of the Governor-General. For all this, every one knows how much the Resident is abused and complained against. How excellent is that saying, "Let not the crown and throne adorn every one. There needs but one king of auspicious fortune, on whom the shadow of the Almighty may have fallen, and whose conversation may not be without wisdom."

Now, however, it has been given out that this Naib, with all this weight of infamy, of dishonour, and of oppression upon him, is about to go to the presence of the Governor-General, through the management of the Resident, and he is accordingly making further embezzlements from the public treasury, on the plea of its being necessary to prepare for his appearance in due splendour; and in this, also, is he assisted and countenanced by the Resident, who wishes him to make an appearance equal to that of Hyder Beg Khan when he went to meet the Governor-General Marquis Cornwallis, and he himself expects to obtain equal honour, and to have his jagier confirmed in the same manner. He has several objects in this mission. First, to get the neābut in perpetuity and complete independence; second, the assignment of jagiers; third, to secure the continuance of Ulee Nuckee's concern in the Government, let who will be appointed Resident; fourth, that he may at least secure his continuance until the Resident may resign his situation. These are the Naib's objects in going to Futtygurh. But it is requested of the Governor-General, in the name of God, that he will not suffer the affairs of the hills to occupy his attention so much as to keep all other affairs from his mind. But it is in justice necessary that he should not act implicitly on the representations of the Resident, to the sacrifice of his own innate judgment. Let him observe how base is the Naib of the Vezārut, and from what parents he is descended; that he was brought up in beggary, and though now raised to the high dignity of the neābut, his innate baseness shows itself in all his actions. To raise to an equality with the nobles of Hindoostan, and to place in authority over them a low fellow who used to feel constantly the smart of the blows and slippers of the Vizier, (insomuch that this was the usual treatment he met with,) is to give offence and disgust to all the really noble, and to subject all that immense wealth, which is the property of the community, to the profligate waste of so low a fellow, with-

(4) "Naib," or "deputy," is the term applied to a minister, as being the *deputy* of the Vizier's son, who is the *nominal* minister.

out any pretensions from former services or present qualifications. On what principles can this be justified? Lastly, this Naib and moonshee Ulee Nuckee, who has become, as it were, a tender father to the Naib, said in public durbar, that the Governor-General had need of much money on account of the hill war at present waging. "Whatever he may need I will furnish him from the Vezārut treasury; and though the fortunes of the Vezārut should be ruined, I will nevertheless have what I want, so that I may secure the Resident in my favour; and as he is so, the Governor-General must necessarily come into my views, nor could there be for me a more propitious moment than the present." Alas! that so low a fellow should sit with such a Governor-General on a footing of equality; that he should talk so sillily, and other Sahebs of high spirit should bear it, and prevent true reports of all from reaching the Governor-General's ears.

This is a sketch of the present state of the neabut. Listen a little to an account of the Naib's connexions, for on no side are agents of oppression wanting. The chief of them is Roshun or Buwahr Ulee, son of that Madur Huloo, daughter of the mother of Agha Meer, born in the house of Mohummud Nuckee. This Roshun Ulee availing himself of the power and influence of his pretended uncle, commits all kinds of oppressions in the city and destroys houses that have stood for hundreds of years, the property of the nobles and others of the city. This man goes amongst the people by the title of Furuk-ood-Dowlah Mismar-ool-Moolk Boom Jung (*viz.* the Suruk of the State, the puller down of the kingdom, the owl of war). At last, however, the operations of this man were stopped by an order from the Vizier after an *ishtukar-namah* (placard) had been stuck up, by which means they at last reached his ears. Not however till he had taken thousands of rupees in bribes, and he then took credit to himself for having procured the suspension of his doings. This man has dealings night and day with the women of the bazaar, and even goes to their houses. Another of the Naib's people is one Usud Ulee, whose father used to keep a perfumer's shop at Jounpore; he is of the Kiunbu tribe, and left Jounpore about twenty years ago to become a street wanderer at Lucknow. For some time, indeed, he practised his villanies in the adawlut of Lucknow as Vakeel, but was turned out by the late Vizier, who was satisfied of his unfitness and misconduct. Now, under the support of Moatumud-ood-Dowlah, whose power is absolute in the courts, he has got himself called judge, and avails himself of the situation to plunder the city. He abuses grossly, even to their faces, Moolvee Juhoor Ollah, Moolvee Wullee, and the other members of the Court, who are of respectable families; nor does any one dare to open his mouth (in their favour) through fear of the Resident Behauder. There is also one Ruhmut Ulee, formerly a Mohurrer of the dewannee court of Lucknow, but turned out for misconduct by the late Nawaub Vizier, who has been appointed Mooftie in these times by the said Usud Ulee, though neither a man of learning nor descended of men of learning. Alas! for these times, that such is the state of the Vezārut! that such is the way with the Governor-General's glory! that such is the admirable character of the Resident for integrity and trustworthiness! But how can Kulpee escape from ruin, when Mullan Muddun (the saint) keeps a ginshop? [*applied apparently to the Resident.*]

The whole of the umlah are of the same description as the above, that is, all those who have obtained their situations through the Naib and moonshee Ulee Nuckee. Since they have come into power, in the affairs of the Vezārut, only loochas and street-wanderers have been promoted. Let the Governor-General send for them and judge of them by trial in his own presence, when the sincerity of this communication will be appreciated. The head and leader of all this confusion, the chief of this band of ragamuffins, is that Ulee Nuckee, who by the countenance and support of the Resident has set all this in motion. The title with which he has been honoured is Mussulleh-ood-Dowlah. The translator of which has only to insert a few nooktas (points) when the real import of his name will be discovered.

This humble suppliant has represented these things at so much length, in order that the gentlemen of just principles may gather from the whole some slight idea of what is passing. The said moonshee was for a long time in a state of distress, but by playing the game of cunning and deceit, in which he is of a truth most expert, he has been brought by the revolutions of fortune to a pitch whence every thing is at his beck. The Resident has confided every thing to him, insomuch that

those people of respectability and high family who were before acquainted with the Resident and enjoyed his friendship and counsel, have lately been kept away by the unworthy conduct of the moonshees into whose hands the whole authority of the Vezärut has descended. His obtaining the whole zillah of Saudee, with its settlement of thirty-five lacs of rupees, has before been mentioned: of this he has taken off four hundred villages and got himself an istemrarie tenure, at a jumma much below the rate of former years, causing himself to be acknowledged Zemindar of this tract, and he has turned out those he found in possession and pulled down their houses. This man has reached the venerable age of seventy years, notwithstanding which he has lately seized and enjoyed by force a young girl of the labouring class, daughter of a Bildar, who had come to Lucknow for employment. (5) The father and mother of the girl went to the Resident to complain, but the Resident said nothing to the moonshee, but ordered the complainants to be turned out. What power would the Nawaub Vizier have to grant redress? He dare not breathe through fear of the Resident. The moonshee has also knocked down hundreds of houses contiguous to his own, in order to make use of the materials in enlarging it; and notwithstanding that all these houses are close to the Residency, nothing is said to him. In short, it only remains for the Governor-General to exercise his sound judgment and high authority, to ascertain the fitness of the Naib, and to redress the wrongs he has committed; and since the Governor-General has given over to such people unbridled authority, and with his eyes open taken upon himself all the ill-repute which attaches to such conduct, the inhabitants of the city of Lucknow have been able to account for it in no way but by attributing it all to the wiles of the Resident. First, the Resident causes the Vizier to understand, that if he does the slightest thing contrary to his wishes, he will have Shums-ood-Dowlah raised to the musnud in his room. Then he says to Agha Meer, "Were you not at Khidmutgar before I raised you to the rank you now hold? In the event of any opposition I will again reduce you to your original state!" Then he writes to the Governor-General that the Vizier is a fool, and if affairs go on well, it is only through the management of Agha Meer, assisted by moonshee Ulee Nuckee, both of whom are devoted to the English Government. (He writes also) That the Vizier is not displeased at any thing that passes. In short, there has been a wonderful exhibition of juggling and sleight-of-hand tricks.

Since the Governor-General has been made acquainted with all this chicanery, and still, out of regard for the Resident, does not exercise his own judgment in the discrimination of the true from the false, he has on that account incurred the imputation of neglect amongst the people of this Government. Your slave, who is the sincere well-wisher (of the English Government), has forwarded this representation, after verifying every thing he has stated by inquiries amongst those who have access to the Resident's office and from the Vizier's private companions; and he affirms that the Vizier holds Agha Meer in complete detestation as well as the Resident's pride, and that though he did express something of the sort to the Governor-General, that nevertheless he had no real desire that the English gentlemen should be turned out; but they were so, and he dares not open his mouth through fear of Shums-ood-Dowlah's being placed on the musnud in his room. He however is, night and day, sighing and weeping at the ruin that has come upon his family and fortunes, and at the tyranny exercised on the people of the city by their oppressors. He passes every day in fear and trembling for his own honour, much less has he the means of affording redress. If you do not give us redress, the day of universal retribution will come. The dominions of the Vezärut are subject to the control of the Governor-General; why then has he placed in authority those few (pajees) low fellows, and why does he suffer the public wealth to be thus wasted? Let him take the country under his own dominion; the Vizier could not say a word in opposition; but if, as is more agreeable to the principles of English government and to justice, it be thought more proper to observe treaties and keep promises, in such case, it cannot be just to suffer the fortunes of the Vezärut to go to ruin in this manner, and that too in the

(5) A petition to this effect has been received. The girl is alleged to have been seventeen or eighteen years old, and to work publicly in the streets. The story they tell, too, is highly improbable.

time of so just a Government; or that the treasure, which has been years in accumulating, should thus be wasted. It is, of a truth, all your own; but it is far from good policy or wisdom to suffer yourself and the other gentlemen of high dignity to fall under the reproach of neglect and inattention. The writer of this is altogether free from all connexion with the affairs of this Government, and has made this representation merely from a disinterested regard, and from a desire to prevent these creatures of tyranny from bringing the glory of the English Government into disrepute through the whole world.

I have conveyed to you information of things exactly as they are.

You have been made acquainted with them, and you know your own plans. Well be it with you.

Written from the city of Lucknow.

A true copy.

(Signed) J. Adam,
Sec. to Gov.

The foregoing was enclosed to Major Baillie with the following note:

Dear Baillie: — Lord Moira has desired me to transmit to you the enclosed Persian paper, which was sent to his Lordship, in a mysterious way, by the circuitous Dâk of Moradabad. The paper is so scurrilous and calumnious, that his Lordship was inclined to save you from the annoyance and trouble of reading it; but, on the whole, he has conceived it to be better that you should be informed of what was thus brought to his notice, with a view to keep nothing concealed from you, and to enable you, if necessary, to trace the author. It professes to give an account of the present state of affairs at Lucknow, but which his Lordship is satisfied is totally unfounded in every point. There are, however, two or three alleged facts advanced, on which his Lordship would be glad to receive information from you, viz. respecting the birth, parentage, and education of Agha Meer, and his declared total incapacity for public business; respecting the person appointed collector or aumil of the district of Lucknow, as it is impossible to suppose that a child could ever have been nominated to that situation, in the manner asserted; and respecting the person who conducts the duties of aumil of Sosree, and the alleged alienation of a part of that pergunnah in Mokurreree in favour of Ulee Nuckee.

Yours, &c.

(Signed) C. M. Ricketts.

Futtygurh, 6th June 1815.

Major Baillie's Reply to Mr. Ricketts.

Dear Ricketts:—I have received your despatch of the 6th instant, and I am highly sensible of the kindness and liberality of the motive which induced Lord Moira to direct this anonymous paper to be sent to me. A production very nearly the same, except in so far as my name is concerned, was stuck up against a wall in Lucknow several months ago, and his Excellency the Vizier offered a large reward to the author if he would come forward and avow it.

The imputations against me are certainly quite novel, though, as a continuation of the proceedings of October last, they are not much to be wondered at

Regarding the birth and education of the Minister, and the circumstances of his appointment to office, the best information I can offer is contained in the enclosed extracts from the rough draft of a narrative of the memorable occurrences of October, which I have lately been engaged in compiling, and which I hope soon to submit to Lord Moira in official form.

The nominal collector of Zillah Lucknow is certainly what the anonymous author states him to be, or nearly so. He is a boy of three or four years of age, I understand. It would be strange indeed, if among so many falsehoods and fabrications, a few circumstances were not to be found that have some foundation in fact. The true circumstances of this case are as follow: On the division of the country into zillahs, the Vizier very naturally gave the patronage of one zillah each to the Minister and Dewan, knowing of course that they could not be holden in their own names, nor the duties discharged by themselves. The Minister being himself the naib of a boy, very naturally gave the name of his only son for his office, and recommended for the duties of the station, as his son's naib, Sheikh Emam Bukhsh, an efficient revenue officer, who was put in nomination, as you know, for the high office of Minister by his Excellency, at the suggestion of the Sheikh's friend, Mr. Clarke. The duties of collector, &c. of Zillah Lucknow are accordingly

performed, and I believe very well performed, by Sheikh Emâm Bukhsh, as the naib of Agha Alee; a name that I first heard of when I received the letter from the Vizier, a translation of which I submitted in my letter to Mr. Adam of the 8th April last. Lord Moira is doubtless aware, that his Lordship's explicit instructions preclude any interference on my part in the appointment of the Vizier's officers; and, in fact, I know nothing of these matters but by the reports contained in the ukhbar, and occasional communications from the Vizier, which he makes to me, now-a-days, very rarely.

The nominal and actual Zillahdar of Sandee, &c. is Syyud Kootub-ood-Deen Hoosein, a near relation of my old moonshee, (another perverted truth in the anonymous paper,) who was for ten years a Tuhseeldar of the highest reputation, in Bundlecund, as is well known to the Board of Commissioners, and particularly to Sir Edward Colebrooke, who relieved Kootub-ood-Deen from his duties in Bundlecund, at my particular request, about a year ago. The late Vizier, when he agreed to the reform, requested me to recommend to him some able and upright revenue officers acquainted with our regulations, and this person was one of a few, (your acquaintance, Taj-ood-Deen, among the number,) whom I named to his Excellency on that occasion. He came over about a year ago, and was appointed Ameen of the pergunnah of Sandee, in which situation he conducted himself so much to the satisfaction of the Vizier and of Colonel Burrell, whose reports are on record in my despatches to Mr. Adam, that his Excellency raised him in December last to the office of Zillahdar, and announced this appointment, and the cause of it, as above stated, to me. The assessed revenue of his district for last year was sixteen lacs of rupees, (not *thirty-five*, as the anonymous author has stated,) of which fifteen only were realized, and I understand from Rajah Dya-Krishen that the revenue has been raised by Kootub-ood-Deen this year to nearly eighteen lacs, with universal satisfaction to the landholders.

My old moonshee got his zemindary in Sandee restored to him at the instance of Lord Minto, as you know; and the present Vizier, who has always been exceedingly kind to the moonshee, granted an *istemrarie*, or perpetual lease of the estate, to his eldest son, at an increasing rent for the first four years, and a fixed assessment ever after. This species of assessment and tenure of lands is very common in all parts of Hindoostan, and was earnestly recommended in my instructions from Lord Minto, and by me to the late and present Vizier, as particularly expedient and beneficial for the whole of the territory of Oude. The moonshee is a great deal too old to derive any personal benefit of importance from the lease, which is at present, he tells me, rather a losing concern; but I trust that his son will profit by it hereafter, to the extent of a comfortable subsistence, derived from his hereditary title to the estate and his own industry in improving it, after I shall have retired from the labours and vexations of my present office, and be precluded from supporting the family of an old and faithful servant who has been with me these twenty years. The diabolical falsehoods respecting this man in the anonymous paper seem to me to be unworthy of notice. Their author I should suppose to be his opponent, Imteaz Alee, who has been long in attendance at your durbar, assisted perhaps by the agent of Akbur Alee Khan, and a vakeel, on the part of Hukeem Mehdee, who are also in waiting at Futtygurh. Those three persons are the only natives of India whom I could suppose to be inimical to myself, and the causes of their enmity are on record. I were as bad as they are in my own opinion, if I were not the avowed enemy of such nefarious practices as some of theirs.

Have the goodness to return the enclosed extracts after Lord Moira has perused them, or a copy, if you wish to retain them, as the draft in some parts is so rough, as to be legible only by myself, and I have no time to transcribe it.

I shall mention what you say to Mr. Home, and communicate his answer hereafter.

Yours, sincerely,

(Signed) J. Baillie.

8th June 1815.

LETTER TO MR. CANNING FROM DR. R. TYTLER H. C. S.

To the Right Honourable George Canning, Secretary of State.

Right Honourable Sir,—I feel assured a British subject may at all times approach you with a statement of facts, connected with the welfare of Britain, without apprehension of being deemed an intruder. I therefore do myself the honour most respectfully, and as is the duty of every liege subject of his Majesty, to communicate to you,

First, That I am a native of Brechin, Angusshire, Scotland, and a servant of the Honourable East India Company, and have served in India nearly seventeen years, with unremitted diligence.

Second, As a faithful and zealous servant of the East India Company, it is impossible for me to see the interest of my honourable masters sacrificed, including the vast detriment of Great Britain and aggrandizement of a foreign power, without remonstrating to you, honourable Sir, against the measure, and imploring you, with the manly patriotism and genuine liberality which has ever distinguished your administration, to view without offence, and consider with attention, the subjoined facts:

1st, From personal knowledge and experience in the islands, (having been at Penang, Singapore, two years in Java, and lately surgeon of Fort Marlbro',) I declare unto you, upon the faith of a Briton and honour of a Company's officer, that the treaty lately concluded between Great Britain and Holland is completely subversive of the commercial interests of our country, and ruinous to the mercantile interests of India, as well as decidedly detrimental to those of the East India Company in every point of view.

2d. This treaty is decidedly advantageous to Holland, and places that power in a most formidable attitude, in which events might render her capable of proving by no means a despicable enemy to Great Britain in the East.

3d. By this treaty the inhabitants of Malacca are greatly benefited, by the exchange from the Dutch to the English flag, as is proved by this: that the moment the transfer became known, the value of land at Malacca rose 30 per cent.

4th. But by the treaty the inhabitants of Bencoolen are ruined in all their hopes and prospects; and the very moment the arrangement was announced, plantations and ground became there, I may say, valueless; and I am myself, by the operation of the treaty, a loser of 1000*l.* sterling in landed property.

5th. It is, therefore, impossible for me to conclude otherwise, than that an arrangement which falls not only most injuriously upon individuals, but tends to annihilate British commerce in the Malayan Seas, could only have been managed by some insidious intrigue, and that yourself, with his Majesty's ministers, have been grossly imposed upon by misrepresentations, or you could never have yielded your assent to such a ruinous negotiation.

6th. The Dutch could advance no correct claim to Singapore; and when I was at *Malacca*, in 1823, I found there commissioners who were said to have it in contemplation to surrender that place, from its being useless and expensive to Holland, into the hands of the Natives. I was also informed at Malacca, that the expenses of that settlement to the Dutch were four thousand dollars monthly.

7th. The Governor-General of the Netherlands Government, Baron Vander Capellen, informed me, in October 1823, that *Chinsurah* was a small and valueless place, and that *Bencoolen* was the same.

8th. It is accordingly evident, that the object of the Dutch could not have been to obtain Fort Marlbro', but the whole of *Sumatra*, in which, unfortunately, they have succeeded.

9th. But the cession of *Sumatra* could only be accomplished by depreciating the value of *Bencoolen* and its dependencies; and such representations were transmitted by Sir Stamford Raffles to his friends in Leadenhall-street, and thus the whole of the spice and pepper trade (an object which has engaged the attention of Holland for two centuries) has been at length placed in her hands, while, had this arrangement not taken place, the Dutch could not have coped with Britain in that valuable branch of commerce; because the Bencoolen nutmegs are at least equal, if not superior, to those of the Moluccas.

10th. Those papers were sent to me for perusal by the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen, accompanied with a letter, now in my possession, which proves the fact—that reports made by him have tended to the completion of this most deplorable measure.

11th, I was informed, in November 1823, by Colonel Nahuys, that the treaty ceding *Sumatra* to the *Dutch*, with all our ports on the west coast, had been concluded; and Colonel Nahuys, after this, had interviews with Sir S. Raffles, at Pamattam Ballum, near Bencoolen. He lived there some time, and must, of course, have informed the Lieutenant-

Governor of the important fact which had been communicated by him to me.

12th. Colonel Nahuys was formerly in Napoleon's army; he is devoted to the Dutch, and not the English interest.

13th. Subsequent to November 1823, in January 1824, when he must have known of the conclusion of the treaty, Sir Stamford Raffles did every thing in his power to remove suspicion from the minds of the people of Bencoolen, regarding this impending and terrible calamity; because he not only in public promised to obtain an increase of salary to the civil servants of the Honourable Company belonging to the west coast establishment, but did appoint myself and two other gentlemen of the settlement, members of a committee, for the purpose of framing a petition, to be presented through him to the Court of Directors, with the view of obtaining for the settlement of Fort Marlbro' the benefit of a code of British law, and remission of the duties imposed upon the importation of nutmegs, &c. into England; Sir Stamford Raffles did, therefore, in this instance, act with great duplicity to those under his government, and blinded the unfortunate inhabitants of Bencoolen so effectually, with respect to the ultimate tendency of his plans, that no suspicion of the treaty's existence was present till the ratification was announced; and the settlers at Marlbro' thus in an instant found themselves, and most unexpectedly, placed under the *Dutch* flag, with the additional mortification of perceiving the glorious standard of Britain (which had floated on *Sumatra* for the long duration of one hundred and fifty years) about to be lowered from the ramparts of Marlborough, and that of a foreign power, equally hateful to themselves and the Malays, exalted in its stead.

14th. In consequence of the deception so cruelly practised upon them, they were thus precluded from being enabled to avert this afflicting and astounding blow by means of petition and remonstrance.

15th. The principal features of Sir Stamford's administration exhibit one continued scene of misrule and misdirection. Thus he removed the Honourable Company's servants from the out-stations of *Sumatra*, and placed creatures of his own, unknown to the service, in their stead, under various pretences, and to the ruin of the Company's interests in the interior of *Sumatra*. He introduced the dreadful system of confining convicts to Rat Island. He continued slavery under the name of "debtors." He altered the Liturgy of the Church of England, to suit the notions of Baptist Missionaries; and he appointed one of those Missionaries a Chaplain, and authorized him to perform the marriage ceremony.

16th. But these acts are altogether illegal and subversive of the laws and constitution of England, as established in our settlements under the dominion of the Honourable Company, agreeably to their charter; because the charter was conferred upon an united body of Merchants trading to the East Indies, in order that that body should, by means of their exclusive charter, preserve the spice trade to Britain; but by this arrangement, the spice trade has become annihilated and lost to the nation, and by consequence the charter, it would almost appear, become abrogated, null, and void, through the representations transmitted to England, from a Company's Governor residing in their oldest settlement.

17th. I have been made a subject of great oppression and injustice, subsequent to the departure of Sir Stamford Raffles, by the acts of those administering the system of his Government, and solely in consequence, as it appears to me, of my having obtained possession of the secrets of that Government, consisting of an underhand correspondence, which has terminated in the lamentable result set forth above.

18th. I am on the eve of leaving Calcutta to join the army at present entering Arracan against the enemies of my country; and in the event of any accident occurring to me during the campaigns, I have directed the original documents, proving the facts now submitted to you, right honourable Sir, to be regularly registered and preserved under the charge of Mr. Thomas Goldsworthy, attorney, of this city, for your information, and that of the British Parliament, as I conclude it will not be thought otherwise than that Sir Stamford Raffles should be brought to answer for his conduct at the bar of the House of Commons; and should I return in safety from the Burmese war, under God's good-will, I pledge myself to substantiate the charges alleged against him.

I have the honour to be, right honourable Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

(Signed) ROBERT TYTLER, M.D.
Surgeon, H. C.'s Artillery.

Calcutta, Jan. 3d, 1825.

PUBLIC COMPANIES.

[The late well-founded dissatisfaction at the mode in which many specious but deceptive Trading and Mining Companies have been got up, for the purposes of private gain and public delusion, has been not unfrequently extended towards public Associations of every description. It is therefore of importance to the characters of individuals whose names have been connected with any of the undertakings founded on correct principles, and useful as well as practical views,—to explain the motives and nature of that connexion with the frankness that is due from one honourable man to another. It was with this intention that the following letters were written; and as there are no persons in whose estimation the writer has a greater desire to stand justified in all he does than the readers of this publication, he hopes his motive for recording them here will not be mistaken.]

To the Editor of 'The Globe.'

Sir,—The appearance of my name in your paper, as one of the Directors of the Tywarnhale Mining Association, having, from some material omissions in a Report of the recent Meeting of its Shareholders, led to inquiries and erroneous impressions, which I am desirous of answering and correcting, with as little delay as possible, I hope you will permit me to occupy a small portion of your space in detailing, as briefly as I can, the causes which led to this connexion of my name with the Association in question, and the motives which still induce me to adhere to it, in the belief that I thereby best perform my duty to the public, as well as to myself. This explanation, while it will be the most effectual mode of answering all inquiries addressed to me individually, will also be attended with the disclosure of some particulars relative to the formation and dissolution of other Associations, which, at the present moment, will perhaps interest the public generally. I shall confine myself to a simple statement of such facts as have come under my own knowledge, and leave your readers to determine for themselves as to the rest.

During the spring of the present year, and when the rage for forming Companies was at its height, I was waited on by a gentleman from a quarter which I knew to be highly respectable, who expressed a desire to obtain from me such information as I might be able to afford him on the resources of Egypt, as well as to learn my opinion of the extent to which commercial intercourse between that country and England might be carried, provided sufficient funds were devoted to that purpose. I gave him all the information on the subject which a residence of several months in that country, and an intimate acquaintance with the details of its agriculture and trade, had placed in my possession; as well as my opinion, founded on an intimate personal intercourse with the present Pasha, Mohammed Ali, that he would most readily encourage an extension of the commerce of his country, especially with England, the friendly disposition of which he was so anxious to cultivate by every means in his power. I was then asked whether I would myself undertake a visit to that country, for the purpose of ascertaining the Pasha's sentiments, and negotiating a commercial treaty with him on behalf of an Egyptian Trading Company, to be formed in London. I replied decidedly in the negative, stating, that the large interest which I had at stake in my own publication, the *Oriental Herald*, and the important actions then pending in the King's Bench, against Mr. Murray, the publisher of the 'Quarterly Review,' Mr. Henry Bankes, the Member for Corfe Castle, and his son, Mr. William John Bankes, the Member for the University of Cambridge, for libels on my character, would make it impossible for me to leave England at that moment, even for a short period. I added, however, that all the information which I could render to others on the subject of Egyptian Trade, was freely at their service, without any reserve or remuneration whatever.

Here our first interview ended. At a second visit, which took place soon after, the proposition of my going out to Cairo was urged on me in so pressing a manner, in consequence, I believe, of its being known that I had, on a former occasion, succeeded in negotiating a commercial treaty with the Pasha of Egypt, for the opening or renewing a trade between Suez and Bombay, that I thought it worthy of reconsideration: and, after some reflection, being inclined to believe that it might be productive of as much public benefit to England, India, and Greece, as of advantage to private individuals, I at length consented to undertake the mission, if no other person could be found for that purpose; though I at the same time felt it my duty to state, what indeed was really the case, that I could not leave England under my present circumstances and engagements, without such a sacrifice of my interests here as would require a much larger sum

to compensate than I then thought any commercial company would be willing to give; I accordingly stated, that I could not enter on this mission without a security for the payment of 5000*l.* before I embarked, out of which I would engage to pay the expenses of the voyage for myself and assistants, and furnish the presents necessary for the Pasha's Court, and a pledge for the payment of a second 5000*l.* in the event of my completely effecting the object of the visit; the latter amount, however, to be paid only in the event of an actual trade being entered into by the Company, in consequence of my success.

This was not then considered unreasonable; and on the understanding of my being willing to go out on these terms, a Company was immediately formed. The names of the leading Directors were submitted to me; and being those of men of the highest character and respectability, I consented to have my own added to it, and was afterwards instrumental in procuring another to complete the prescribed number. Being supposed by these gentlemen to possess the greatest share of information requisite for this purpose, I was requested to draw up a prospectus of the undertaking, which I accordingly did; and this, after undergoing discussion and revision, was adopted as the act of the whole body, and put forth to the world accordingly. The result was, that in a short time the shares were at a premium of 15*l.* or 16*l.* each; and had not the operations of buyers and sellers on the Stock Exchange prevailed over the real interests of the Company as a commercial association, they would no doubt have been worth that, or even a much larger price, as a profitable investment of money.

At this period a gentleman was introduced to the Directors, who, having no sacrifices to make by leaving England as I had, expressed his readiness to go out to Egypt for a smaller consideration than that asked by me. This offer was accordingly accepted, and by no one more readily than myself, who was glad to recede honourably from an engagement into which I had been with some difficulty persuaded, in the hope of doing a great national good, not altogether unmixed with considerations of a more peculiar nature; as I was then, and still am, of opinion, that if an active commerce were carried on with Egypt, we might procure from thence the principal products of India at such a rate as would force the Government of this country to remove all restrictions on Englishmen settling in our Eastern possessions, in order that British capital might be employed in improving our own territories, instead of being laid out on the soil of a possible enemy, and, at least, a foreigner. In short, I believe that such a commerce would do more to hasten the "one thing needful" for India, its COLONIZATION by Englishmen, than any other indirect measure that could be named; and on that ground, chiefly, I entered heartily into the undertaking. This was, however, now likely to be brought about by another individual, at a less expense to the Company, with equal advantage to the shareholders and the nation; and without any necessary sacrifice or absence on my part. I, therefore, rejoiced at the substitution proposed, and I am sure that gentleman would himself be the first to acknowledge the readiness with which I offered all the information, assistance, and introduction, in my power, in order to make his mission agreeable as well as successful.

It being quite settled that the individual in question should lose no time in entering on his voyage, preparations to this effect were actually making, when some transactions of the brokers and jobbers who held shares in the Company, gave a sudden turn to the state of the market; and after a series of discussions between them and such of the Directors as had suffered by their operations, it was thought that the mission of the second individual appointed would not be prudent. The majority of the Directors themselves had, by this time, become the principal possessors of the shares issued, on which very high premiums were paid; and the brokers and jobbers having reaped a large profit, the holding Directors were burthened with such a loss, that it was not thought safe to proceed further in the matter. The public at large were, however, no losers by this result, as the whole of the shares, with a very trifling exception, had reverted to the hands of the purchasing Directors, upon whom the total of the loss consequently fell.

I think it necessary, however, to add, without meaning to impute blame to any other individual, that I myself took no part whatever in this buying and selling of shares. I was not even acquainted with the fact of such purchase or sale, until the whole transaction was at end. The only part taken by me was to give all the information I possessed, and much more time than I could well spare from my more urgent pursuits, to the Directors of the Company in question, for which I neither asked nor received any benefit, privilege, or remuneration whatever. I neither paid nor received a shilling in deposits, premium, or any other of the modes in which both gains and losses occur, and stand, therefore, quite unconnected with any of those premature pecuniary speculations by which this undertaking may be said to have been strangled in its infancy. Had I even gone out to Egypt on the mission intended, my individual reward, large as it

may seem, would have been quite inadequate to the sacrifices which it would have enjoined: but as it is, I am at least spared the pain of considering the failure of the Association attributable, in the slightest degree, to any share taken by me in its transactions: although its dissolution will be always a subject of regret, inasmuch as I believe that much greater public benefits, especially in connexion with the colonization of India, and the independence of Greece, as well as the extension of the maritime and commercial interests of Great Britain, would have arisen from the successful establishment of this Company, than from almost any other of the many associations which about the same period were brought before the public.

Having already extended my letter to a greater length than I had anticipated when I began to address you, I beg to reserve what I have to say respecting the Tywarnhale Mining Association, for a second letter, to be sent you to-morrow; in which I shall use the same frankness and candour, with respect to its transactions and present condition, as I have endeavoured to manifest in this. I remain, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,
J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

Cornwall Terrace, Regent's Park,
Oct. 31, 1825.

To the Editor of the Globe.

SIR,—In continuation of my letter of yesterday, I beg leave to state the following particulars. It was about the period before referred to, when the intended mission on behalf of the Egyptian Trading Company was abandoned, for the reasons already assigned, that the Secretary of the Tywarnhale Mining Association waited on me at my own residence, to solicit permission for my name to be added by him to the list of Directors, which then wanted one only to complete the number. On this occasion, as on the former, I expressed an unwillingness to pledge myself to any undertaking which should require frequent attendance in the city, but on being assured that the organization of the whole Direction was already complete, with the exception of a single name; that the mines were actually at work on behalf of the Company, and that nothing more than an occasional attendance at the Board, when summoned, would be necessary, in order to meet the other gentlemen named, and assist in forming a judgment on the propriety of the measures from time to time submitted to their decision, I requested to see the names of the individuals who were to be my associates in this duty; and finding those of the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Nugent, Lord Dormer, Lord Teynham, and a long list of gentlemen, whose assent I naturally supposed had been voluntarily obtained, I consented to meet them as requested, and my name was added to the list of the Directors accordingly.

Before the day of meeting arrived, however, at which it was my intention to have made myself acquainted with all the details of the Association, as I had no doubt all the other Directors had already done, I was unfortunately seized with an illness, which confined me to my room for some months, and rendered me incapable of attending to any business whatever. During this period, I received a letter from the Secretary, enclosing a resolution passed to oblige Directors to hold a certain number of shares as a qualification: and adverting to the fact that some of that body having already sold the shares allotted to them, and put the profits of the transaction into their own pockets. On entering this Association, I had no intention either to buy or sell; nor had I a thought of remuneration of any kind, being willing, for the supposed pleasure of meeting a body of respectable, and probably agreeable associates, to give my occasional attendance and opinion on the matters brought before them; but, on receiving this letter, I wrote immediately, to express my assent to a resolution founded on so fair a principle, and have uniformly deprecated from that moment to the present, the unjustifiable practice of Directors of public Companies bargaining and trafficking with shares, and becoming, in short, jobbers on the Stock Exchange, instead of attending to the great interests of the undertaking, and providing returns for the capital embarked in it by the proprietors at large.

It was shortly after this, and still during my inability to attend the meetings of the Board from illness, that the sum of 5000l. was drawn from the bankers, by a check bearing the signatures of four directors, and paid to Mr. Jones, the principal proprietor of the mines in question. On that occasion Lord Nugent was in the chair, and three other directors were present. The reasons for making this advance were assigned to be these. The largest holders of property in the mines having undertaken to buy up the minor interests, and assign over the whole to the Company for a certain sum, the money to be paid within a given date, and the assignment to be made from a period equally named, it became necessary to secure these minor interests before such assignment

could be completed; and as it was understood and believed that Mr. Jones, the principal proprietor, could effect this more speedily and satisfactorily by a visit to Cornwall, and personal negociation with the individuals themselves on the spot, the sum of 5,000*l.* was advanced to him from the deposits in the bankers' hands, for that purpose. It might, perhaps, have been proper, on such an occasion, to have had a full board of directors, but the requisite number of signatures (four) having been affixed to the check, it could not have been done without some consideration. Of this transaction, however, I knew nothing whatever, until some time after it had taken place, not being informed of it by letter, and having no personal communication with any Director, until some more days had elapsed. I then, for the first time, learned the fact, but it had become associated with reports of the money being fraudulently obtained, and inconsiderately granted; of the individual himself having absconded, and no hope being entertained of his return; and of the consequent responsibility of every Director to make good the losses from his own private purse.

Not having been, in any degree, a party to, or even acquainted with, the fact of this transaction until after it had taken place, I might well have demurred to such a participation of responsibility, and followed the example of others, which now became general, of sending in their resignations, with a view apparently to escape the apprehended danger. It appeared to me, however, that the more threatening the storm, the greater was the necessity for skilful and active pilots, and that on such an occasion, instead of deserting, every man should have been anxious to be first at his post. Animated by this feeling, I attended at the first Board which was summoned for the purpose of taking this matter into especial consideration, and met there only Mr. Gurney, Colonel Campbell, Captain Langley, and Mr. Warre. Not another individual replied to any letter sent to them after this supposed disaster, and it has been my fate to attend several appointments since, when from the absence of some of even these few, a sufficient number could not be found to proceed to business or constitute a Board. On the motion of Mr. Gurney, however, seconded by myself, the few who met came to a resolution to suspend all the salaries of all the officers employed, and indeed every other expense, except the actual wages of the miners then producing ores on the Company's account, until Mr. Jones's return from Cornwall, and a satisfactory explanation of the application of the money furnished to him should take place.

His absence was fortunately of short duration; and he not only returned quite as soon as he had given any reason to expect his re-appearance, but came prepared to complete his engagements in the fullest and most honourable manner. Nay, more, the original Directors of the Company, in which neither Mr. Gurney nor myself were included, had contracted to purchase from him the several mines named in the contract, for the sum of 80,000*l.*, of which he was to have 18,000*l.* in cash, and the remainder in free shares of the Company at the same rate as they would be valued to others. On finding, however, that these unfounded rumours had rendered any further new shares unsaleable, and that those already issued were at a discount, he not only refrained from compelling the Directors to fulfil their contract by paying him the 18,000*l* stipulated, but consented to take 2,500*l.* only in cash, in addition to the 5,000*l.* already received, and *all* the remainder of his purchase money in shares at par. This proposition at once relieving the Company from a very heavy responsibility, and being decidedly much more advantageous than the one first assented to, was accordingly adopted by the few who now continued to remain by an Association, of which the original framers and patrons had become so suddenly dispersed. A draft of an agreement to this effect was then drawn up by a solicitor, in the presence of the contracting parties, by whom it was signed, and is now in train of completion, provided no legal objection be taken by the professional men engaged, on some technical ground, the parties themselves having signified their assent to all the conditions of the draft in the most formal and solemn manner.

By this arrangement, which it is not assuming too much to say, would never have been completed, but for the fidelity and assiduity of the few who took upon them the charge abandoned by the many, the Company will be put in possession of a property, which, for concentration within narrow limits or bounds, and capacity of production, as reported by disinterested individuals, who have known the mines and their produce for fifty years past, to be not surpassed by any similar extent of mining property in the kingdom; which is said by persons believed to be worthy of credit, to have had more than 100,000*l.* laid out in it by previous proprietors, and afforded more than double that sum in return for their adventure, within their own recollection; which is at this moment in actual work, having several rich veins of ore open; and which requires indeed only that application of capital, for current expenditure, without which no mining operations can be carried on, to make them yield all the ad-

vantages set forth in the prospectus first issued to the public.

A meeting having been advertised to be held by the shareholders, on Thursday last, I felt it my duty to attend, in company with Colonel Campbell and Mr. Warre, the only other Directors present. Mr. Gurney, having been prevented by an unforeseen obstacle from joining us, sent his solicitor on his behalf, with full powers to offer every explanation required. The shareholders evidently came prepared for disclosures of the most unsatisfactory description; and, indeed, rumours which had alarmed so many titled men, might well be supposed to have been not without their influence on the minds of others also. The result of the discussion which then took place, after much more being stated on all sides than appeared in the papers of the day, was simply this: the expression of a very general disapprobation of the conduct of the absent and resigned Directors, who had profited by their privileged shares, and then deserted their posts in the hour of need: and their *unanimous vote of thanks* to the Directors who attended the Meeting, for the frank and satisfactory manner in which they had answered every question, and detailed the actual condition and future prospects of the Association. A Committee was then appointed, of five of the principal shareholders themselves, to meet the Managing Directors at their office, for the purpose of examining the books, and going into all the details; and their report will be the proper place, perhaps, to expect what might be otherwise expressed here; namely the data on which the actual nature of the property has been founded, and the grounds on which its productiveness has been inferred.

My object is sufficiently answered by this detail of my own connexion with the history and progress of this Association thus far. As in the case of the former, so also in this, I have neither paid nor received a shilling in speculations of any kind. I have given a considerable portion of time, my full share of responsibility, and no little labour, towards extricating its affairs from a supposed difficulty, founded wholly on groundless rumour, and have neither sought nor received any remuneration whatever, directly or indirectly; but having yielded, perhaps too readily, to the motives which induced me to expect an agreeable and easy task in becoming a member of a body composed of such attractive names, I have considered it my duty to remain by it till it is fairly out of danger, with the same feeling which would make me adhere to the last plank of the ship, as long as a hope remained of saving her.

I remain, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
J. S. Buckingham.

Cornwall Terrace, Regent's Park,
Nov. 1, 1825.

CIVIL AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

BENGAL.

April 4th, 1825. Mr. M. H. Turnbull, Third Judge of the Provincial Courts of Appeal and Circuit, for the div. of Moorshedabad; Mr. E. Maxwell, 4th Judge of ditto, ditto, ditto; Mr. R. Creighton, Judge and Magistrate of Dinagepore.—22d. The Hon. J. Herbert Harrington, Provisional Member of the Supreme Council of Fort William.—May 19th. Mr. C. W. Truscott, Assist. to the Magistrate and to the Collector of the City of Patna; the Rev. H. S. Fisher, Dist. Chaplain at Delhi; the Rev. J. N. Stevens, District Chaplain at Dinapore; the Rev. J. Young, LL.D., District Chaplain at Dum Dum.—June 2d. Mr. J. J. Harvey, Assistant to the collector of Hidgelee; Mr. E. L. Campbell, Assistant to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue in the Central Provinces.

MADRAS.

May 10th. Mr. Rous Peter, Principal Collector of Madura; Mr. N. W. Kinnersley, Sub-Collector of Tinnevelly; Mr. R. H. Clive, Sub-Collecter of Coimbetore; Mr. F. F. Clementson, Head Assistant to the Principal Collector of Coimbetore.—July 15th. Mr. W. A. Neave, Assistant to the Principal Collector and Magistrate of the Northern division of Arcot; Mr. C. E. Oakes, Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Tinnevelly.—June 28th. Mr. E. B. Wrey, Register to the Prov. Court of Appeal and Circuit for the North Div.

Fort St. George.—July 8th. Mr. James Thomas, Sen. Assistant to the Acct. Gen.—15. Mr. A. P. Onslow, Assist. to the Principal Collector and Magistrate of Coimbatore; Mr. J. Walker, Assist. to the Collector and Magistrate of Tinne-

relly; Mr. A. J. Cherry, Assist. to the Principal Collector and Magistrate of Tanjore; Mr. J. Brown, Assist. to the Collector and Magistrate of Cuddapah.

BOMBAY.

March 31*st*, 1825. Mr. A. Elphinstone, Reg. of the Adawlut Court, at Kaira; Mr. H. G. Burnett, Asst. Reg. to the Court of Sudder Adawlut; Mr. G. Grant, 2d Reg. to the Court of Adawlut at Surat.—April 2d. Mr. A. Bell, 2d Asst. to Collector at Sholapore; Mr. J. H. Farquharson, 1st Assist. to Collector at Broach.—16. Mr. G. C. Houlton, Act. Reg. at Dharwar.—19. Mr. W. C. Bruce, Sub. Treasurer and General Paymaster. —20. Mr. W. P. Le Geyt, Act. Reg. at Poona; Mr. H. Young, 2d ditto ditto, at ditto.—21. Mr. G. L. Elliott, Act. Sub. Treas. and Gen. Paym.—25. Mr. C. Montgomerie, Reg. to the Court of Adawlut at Broach.—30th. Mr. W. Stubbs, Act. and Criminal Judge at Broach; Mr. H. H. Glass, Act. 2nd Register to the Court of Sudder Adawlut. —May 4th. Mr. W. Richardson, Act. Register to the Court of Adawlut in the North Concan.—17th. Mr. G. Grant, Act. Register and 1st Asst. Criminal Judge in the Court of Adawlut, in the North Concan; Mr. Ch. Symes, Act. 2d Register and Asst. Crim. Judge in the Court of Adawlut, at Surat; Mr. F. Bouchier, Act. Asst. to the Chief Sec. to Government; Mr. H. G. Oakes, Asst. to the Sub. Treas. and General Paym.—June 29th. Mr. J. A. Shaw, Asst. Coll. of Customs and Town Duties, at the Presidency.—22d. Mr. W. G. Bird, Coll. of Sea Customs in Guzerat; Mr. F. Bouchier, Dep. Coll. of Customs and Town Duties, at the Pres.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ARMY.

BENGAL.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William, 5th April, 1825. Lieut. H. Todd, 21st N.I. to officiate as Examiner in the College of Fort William, with full allowance; Capt. H. L. White, 36th N.I. Major of Brigade at Chittagong, to the charge of the Jagheerdar Estab. during the absence of Lieut. Col. Hickman.

Head Quarters, Calcutta, 5*th April*, 1825; Lieutenant Swayne arrived in command of Invalids from Rangoon, to place himself under the orders of Major Bristowe.—6th. Lieut. Lewes to act as Adjutant, v. Balderston, rem. to 36th N.I. conf.—7th. Lieut. C. G. Macan, to be Adjutant, v. Brev. Capt. M'Larran prom.; Lieut. G. Irvine, 33d N.I., to be Adjutant; Lieut. Woodburn, 43d N.I. to act as Interpreter and Quarter-mast. in room of Lieut. Fowle, perm. to join the 1st Light Infant. Batt---9th. Lieut. Douglas to officiate as Quarter-Mast. and Interp. to 49th N.I.—11th. Lt. Thompson, 56th Regt. to the charge of 1st comp. of pioneers; Lieut. R. W. Beatson, 13th N.I. to act as Major of Brigade during the absence of Capt. Faithful; Ensign J. H. Phillips, 69th N.I. to do duty with the first Gren. Batt. at Chittagong; Lieut. Litrapp, to act as Adj. to the 42d N.I. during the absence of Lieut. and Adj. Gibbs---12th. Ensigns Farmer, and Mitchell, who were appointed to do duty with 20th Regiment, to do duty with 28th N.I. at Berhampore; Ensigns J. Remington, W. H. Dyke, D. T. Caddy, H. T. Tucker, Arthur Lee, Jos. Ferris and Hub. Maynard, also to do duty with ditto; Ensign B. Boyd, to do duty with 65th Regt.; Ensign W. Elliott ditto, with 49th ditto; Ensign J. Ewart, ditto, with 68th ditto; Captain Chapman, to act as detach. staff to the Troops at Rungpore during the absence of the Brig. Maj.; Lieut. Patch, to officiate as Adjut. to left wing of 10th Regt. during its separation from Head Quarters.---13th. Cornet Mellish, 7th Light Cav. to do duty with 3d Light Cav. till opport. offers of joining his own Corps; Lieut. Wintour, to act as Adjutant to the right wing of the 53d N.I. during its separation from Head Quarters; Lieut. Interp., and Quarter Mast. Bellows to act as Staff to the Detachment consisting of the 10th and 56th N.I. under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Thomas; Lieut. Jardine, 1st N.I. to act as Cantonment Adj. on the depart. of Lieut. Ramsay; Lieut. J. S. Rotton, 4th Batt. of Art. to be Interp. and Quarter-Master.---14th. Lieut J. B. Fenton, 67th N.I. to be Adj. to Maj. Wilson's levy.---16th. Lieut. Wintour, to act as Adj. to the left wing of the 53d Regt. during its separation from H. Q. and to act as station staff at Meerut; temp. arrangement.---May 11th. Lieutenant J. Macan to act as Adjutant to the left wing of 52d Regt. during its separation from H. Q.---12th. Lieut Paton of Engin. to perform the duties of Executive Garrison Engineer at Allahabad during the absence of Lieut. Irving—13th Supernumerary Lieut. J. P. M'Dougall, 21st N.I. is brought on the effective strength of the department as Sub. Asst. Commis. Gen. v. Aplio transferred to the Dep. of the Adj. Gen. of the army. Ditto, Lieut. J. C. Lewis, 50th N.I. to be supernum. Sub. Ass. Com. Gen. v. M'Dougall.---13th. Capt. J. C. Odell, 41st N.I. attached to 1st Gren. Batt. to temp. Command of Chitta-

gong Prov. Batt., during the absence of Capt. Bertram; Lieut. Blake, 3d Batt. of Art., to do duty with Horse Artillery, under Capt. Lumsden; Lieut. Iliff to officiate as Interp. and Quarter Mast. in 67th N.I. during the absence of Brevet Capt. and Lieut. M'Mahon; Lieut. Maclean, 67th N.I. to proceed to the Presidency on special duty.-- 20th. Lieut. Col. G. Hickman, of the Invalid Estab. to the Command of 9th or Furkabad Prov. Batt.; Lieut. Col. J. Winton, 57th N.I. transferred at his own request to the invalid Estab. from 22d April last, the date of his nom. to that rank, to be regulating officer of the Invalid Jagheerdar Estab. at Chittagong, vice Hickman.

COURTS MARTIAL.

Head Quarters, Calcutta.—No. 3239. At a General Court Martial held at Fort William, on the 22d day of April 1825, Capt. P. B. Husband, of his Majesty's 87th Regt., was arraigned on the following charge :—

Charge.—" Capt. P. B. Husband, of his Majesty's 87th Regt., charged by me, with conduct disgraceful to the character of an officer and a gentleman, in having, on the 11th of April 1825, about the hour of eleven in the forenoon, come to the Bengal Hurkaru Library, and then and there, having with him Lieut. and Brevet Capt. Kennelly, of the same Regt., enticed me into a private room, under the expressed assurance that no unfair advantage should be taken of me, and having there abused me in a moss gross and unwarrantable manner, suddenly, and while I was entirely off my guard, having both my hands behind me, struck me a blow on the head with his fist, and repeated his abuse, parts of which were, that I was a " Liar," a " Coward," a " Villain," and the like; and the whole of which assertions were and are utterly false."

" The whole or any part of such conduct being in particular breach of his pledge above quoted, and disgraceful to his character as an officer and a gentleman."

(Signed) R. A. M'Naghten,
Lieut., Dep. Judge Adv.

Calcutta, April 12, 1823.

Upon which charge, the Court came to the following decision :—

Sentence.—The Court having maturely considered the evidence before them, are of opinion that the prisoner, Capt. Husband, of his Majesty's 87th Regt., is guilty of conduct violent and unjustifiable, in having gone to the Hurkaru Library with Captain Kennelly, of his Majesty's 87th Regt., and there having induced Lieut. M'Naghten to retire with them into a private but open room, under the express assurance, that no unfair advantage should be taken of him, and there having struck Lieut. MacNaghten a blow, and applied to him the opprobrious words, Liar, Coward, and Villain, and the like, in breach of the assurance above quoted.—The Court acquits the prisoner of any thing base or dishonourable as imputed in the word " Entice," or in the alleged manner of the blow; and are of opinion, that the conduct of the prisoner, Capt. Husband, arose from a series of irritating proceedings on the part of the prosecutor.

" The Court adjudge the prisoner, Capt. Husband, of his Majesty's 87th Regt., to lose a portion of his rank, by being placed three steps lower in his Regiment, and having his Regimental Commission dated the 20th of May 1822. But the Court do not intend by their sentence to affect Capt. Husband's army rank." Approved,

(Signed) E. Paget, General.
Com.-in-Chief in India.

" In consideration of the high character and gallant services of Captain Husband and the circumstances under which in a moment of extreme irritation he was led to the commission of the offence specified in the sentence, the Court most earnestly recommend him to the clemency of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief."

Signed by the President and all the Members.

The Commander-in-Chief accepts the recommendation of the Court, and is pleased to remit the sentence passed upon Capt. Husband, 87th Regt. He is accordingly to be released from arrest, and return to his duty.

The foregoing order is to be entered in in the General Order Book, and read at the head of every regiment in his Majesty's service in India.

Head-quarters, Calcutta, June 2, 1825. At a General Court Martial, held at Fort William on the 30th of May, 1825, of which Major-General Dalzell was President, Lt. R. A. M'Naghten, Deputy Judge Advocate-General, was arraigned on the following charge :—

Charge—" Lieutenant M'Naghten, Dep. Judge Adv.-Gen. of the Presidency Division of the Army, placed in arrest by order of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, on the following charges :—

" 1st. For having, at Calcutta, on the 20th of May, 1825, sent a challenge to fight a duel, to Capt. Kennelly of his Majesty's 87th reg.

" 2d. For highly improper and unofficer like conduct, in having, on the same day, sent an insulting letter to Capt. Kennelly, after Capt. Kennelly had refused to meet him, and had informed him that if he, Lieut. M'Naghten, wrote again on the affair the letter would be laid before the Commander-in-Chief,

such being the unanimous opinion of his (Capt. Kennelly's) brother officers as to the line of conduct he should adopt."

By order of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

(Signed) W. L. WATSON,
Adj.-Gen. of the Army.

Adj.-Gen.'s Office, Presid. of Fort William, May 25, 1825.

Upon which the Court came to the following decision:—

"Sentence.—The Court having maturely weighed and considered the evidence on the prosecution, and what the prisoner, Lieut. M'Naghten, has urged in his defence, are of opinion, on the 1st charge, that he is guilty.

"The Court are also of opinion on the 2d charge, that Lieut. M'Naghten is guilty to the extent of highly improper conduct, in having, on the same day, sent an insulting letter to Captain Kennelly, after Capt. Kennelly had refused to meet him, and had informed him, that if he, Lieut. M'Naghten, wrote again on the affair, the letter would be laid before the Commander-in-Chief, such being the unanimous opinion of his (Capt. Kennelly's) brother officers as to the line of conduct he should adopt.

"The Court adjudge the prisoner, Lieut. M'Naghten, to be cashiered.

"The Court having performed their duty in deciding on the case submitted to their judgment, cannot close their proceedings without recording their feeling of disapprobation of the gross invective against Capt. Kennelly, and the indecorous observations upon the decision of a former Court Martial, which the prisoner has allowed himself, in his defence, and which they should have considered it their duty to have checked at the time, if they had not felt that, in vindicating himself against a charge, the consequence of which was certain, the prisoner had a strong claim to their forbearance." Approved,

(Signed) E. PAGET, General,
Com.-in-Chief in India.

The Commander-in-Chief entirely approves the sentence of the Court; he nevertheless, after the most mature and deliberate consideration of all the circumstances of the case, is so much inclined to believe that the trouble and embarrassments in which Lieut. M'Naghten has involved himself and others, are more attributable to great error in judgment, than to any other cause, and he is pleased to remit the penalty awarded by the Court.

After the proofs, however, which Lieut. M'Naghten has afforded, of the total absence of that calm and dispassionate judgment, so peculiarly requisite in an officer holding the Staff appointment of Deputy Judge-Advocate General, and especially evinced in the instances of the "gross invective against Capt. Kennelly and the indecorous observations upon the decison of a former Court Martial," so justly reprobated by the Court, whose proceedings are now under review, the Commander-in-Chief will consider it his duty to recommend that he may be removed from that office.

In the meantime his Excellency is pleased to direct, that Lieut. M'Naghten may be released from arrest, and return to his regimental duty.

By order of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

W. L. WATSON,
Adj.-Gen. of the Army.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Head Quarters, Calcutta.

Fort William, May 13, 1825.—Memorandum: It is hereby directed that no property connected with the estates of deceased officers, &c. of the Honourable Company's Service, shall be disposed of by 'private sale,' without special permission obtained for that purpose, through the Military Department, when no will has been found; or from the executor, where there is one to the estate. In the latter case, the amount of proceeds are still answerable for regimental debts, and are not to be paid over till such are satisfied.

The Right Hon. the Governor-General in Council is pleased to direct that the following augmentation be made to the regular Native Army of this Presidency, viz.:—

1. Two regiments of light cavalry, on the existing establisment of 8 troops each, and twelve regiments of infantry of 1000 men each, exclusive of Native commissioned, non-commissioned officers, and drummers; the whole to be designated 'extra regiments.'

2. The corps of the line will supply the Native drafts for the infantry in the usual manner: the drafts from the cavalry regiment are to be made so as to give to the new regiments an equal portion of trained men and horses, that the whole may have the same number of recruits and remounts to raise and to train.

3. The two cavalry regiments and six of the twelve regiments of infantry will be completely officered, by the mode of drafting adopted on the augmentation published in General Orders, under date the 11th of July 1823; the remaining six regiments of infantry will be formed in all respects as regiments of the line, with the exception of European officers, of whom they are to have for the present but three each; viz. an officer to command, a second in command, and an adjutant; these officers to be bor-

rowed from such corps as can best spare them.

4. The Honourable the Court of Directors, having ordered that commissions shall not be issued in such cases without their [illegible]ction, officers must be prepared to return to the regiments whence they were drafted, and in the rank which they would have held had this augmentation not taken place, in the event of its being disapproved.

PROMOTIONS.

Fort William, May 13, 1825.

Artillery. 1st Lieut. Edward Parry Gowan, to be Capt. of a Company, in succession to Macalister, retired, with rank from Oct. 24, 1821, vice Grimshaw, prom.

2d Lieut. J. Edwards, to be 1st Lieut. in succession to Gowan, prom., with rank from Dec. 28, 1824, vice Burrowes, deceased.

Engineers. Supernm. Capt. Edw. Garstin is brought on the effective strength, with rank from July 5, 1822, vice Smyth, retired.

3d L. Cav. Supern. Major B. C. Swindell is brought on the effective strength, vice Dunbar, retired, from April 26, 1824; Capt. S. Smith to be Major, and Lieut. E. A. Campbell to be Capt. from Feb. 4, 1825, vice Swindell, transferred to the Invalid Estab.; Cornet J. Woore, to be Lieut. from Sept. 21, 1824, vice Nind, dec.; Cornet D. Wiggens, to be Lieut. from Feb. 4, 1825, vice Campbell, prom.

4th L. Cav. Supern. Major H. Hawtry is brought on the effective strength, vice Ridge, retired, from Nov. 3, 1824.

6th L. Cav. Major Harry Thomson, to be Lieut.-Col. from April 29, 1825, vice Stirling, dec. N. B. Supern. Major W. Dickson comes on the established strength of the Regt. vice Thomson, prom.

Infantry. Sen. Lieut.-Col. T. Garner, to be Lieut.-Col. Com. in suc. to Popham, dec. with rank from Nov. 7, 1824, vice Gregory, dec.; Sen. Major Charles Peach, to be Lieut. Col. in suc. to Garner, prom. with rank from Jan. 6, 1825, vice Knight, transf. to the pension establish.; Sen. Maj. John Swinton, to be Lieut. Col. from April 22, 1825, vice D'Aguilar, invalided; Major S. H. Tod, to be Lieut. Col. from April 22, 1825, vice Swinton, transf. to the Invalid Establishment.

12th N. I. Ensign F. Corner, to be Lieut. from May 1, 1824, for the new organization, vice Farrer, resigned.

Late 15th N. I. Lieut. J. Thomson to be Capt. from May 1, 1824, vice Garner, prom.

16th N. I. Brev. Capt. and Lieut. J. M'Laren, to be Capt. of a Comp. vice Scott, dec. from Aug. 9, 1824; Ens. Ch. H. Robinson, to be Lieut. date do.

Late 17th N. I. Lieut. Brev. Capt. F. Hodgson, to be Capt. of a Comp. from May 1, 1824, vice Stuart, prom. from July 1, 1823, in the room of Mathew, whose resignation cancels his prom.

Late 18th N. I. Ensign A. E. Campbell, to be Lieut. in suc. to Paterson, resigned, with rank from May 1, 1824, for new organization.

31st N. I. Lieut. F. S. Wiggins, to be Capt. of a Comp. from Jan. 25, 1825, vice J. E. Wallis, dec.; Ens. W. Saurin, to be Lieut. from the same date, vice Wiggins, prom. N. B. This cancels the promotions of Lieut. Brev. Capt. W. H. Whinfield and Ens. A. Jackson in the 30th N. I.

32d N. I. Lieut. Ch. Coventry to be Capt. and Ens. Wm. Mitchell, to be Lieut. from July 12, 1824, vice Thomas, resigned.

36th N. I. Ens. T. F. Flemyng, to be Lieut. from May 6, 1825, vice Lane, dec. 44th N. I.; Ens. James Burnett, to be Lieut. vice Brown, resigned, with rank from May 1, 1824, for the new organization.

41st N. I. Captain Geo. Hunter, to be Major, Brev. Capt. James Steel, to be Capt. and Ens. J. W. V. Stephen, to be Lieut. from Jan. 6, 1825, vice Peach, prom.

57th N. I. Capt. E. Barton, to be Major, Lieut. Brev. Capt. E. Hering, to be Capt. and Ens. E. Darvell, to be Lieut. from April 22, 1825, vice Swinton, prom.

64th N. I. Capt. C. W. Brooke, to be Major, Lieut. Brev. Capt. J. H. Waldron, to be Capt. from May 30, 1825, vice Birch and Fergusou; Ens. T. J. Nuthall to be Lieut. vice Richardson, dec., from Dec. 27, 1824.

63d N. I. Capt. Abraham Locket to be Major, Lieut. and Brev. Capt. R. B. Fergusson to be Capt. of a Comp., and Ens. W. C. Ormsby to be Lieut. from April 22, 1825, in suc. to Tod, prom.

RESIGNATION OF SERVICE.

Fort William, April 5.—The following gentlemen have been permitted to resign the service of the Hon. Company:

Capt. R. Burney, 24th N. I. and Assist. Surg. Pickthorn.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort William.—April 12, 1825. Assist. Surg. Mackinnon to the medical charge of the 6th Light Cav.—15. Mr. James Hardy, temp. to do duty as Assist. Surg. on this establ.; Assist. Surg. J. Grant to office as Sen. Assist. to the Pres. Gen. Hosp. and in medical charge of the prisoners in the jail during the absence of Assist. Surg. Wood; Assist. Surg. A. R. Jackson to be 2d Assist. to the Pres. Gen. Hosp. vice Grant; Assist. Surg. H. Covell to be Dep. Apothecary to the H. C.—16. Assist. Surg. Palgrave to do duty with 36th N. I. temporary arrangement; Assist. Surg. H. Clarke posted to the 36th

N. I.—May 11. Assist. Surg. J. F. Stewart, M. D. at present attached to the 1st Europ. Reg. is posted to the 69th N. I. at Benares, but to remain with 1st Europ. Regt. until relieved; Offic. Ass. Surg. Barber, having reported his recovery, to proceed to Cawnpore, and place himself under the orders of the Superint. Surg. —13. Ch. G. Wilkie, Surg. temp. to do duty as Assist. Surg. on this establish.; Assist. Surg. Chalmers to proceed to Cawnpore, and place himself under the orders of the Superintend. Surg. of that station—20. Assist. Surg. C. W. Welchman to the medical duties of the civil station of Tumlook, vice Clapperton; Assist. Surg. J. B. Clapperton to the medical duties of the civil station of Midnapore, vice Welchman.

FURLOUGHS.

Fort William.—April 4, 1825. The leave of absence granted to Lieut. R. W. Halhed, 28th N. I. to proceed to the Cape, is commuted to furlough to Europe, for health.—5. Lieut. G. Emly, of the Artil. to ditto, on private affairs; Brev. Capt. W. H. Steeman, 1st N. I. Assist. to the Agent of the Governor-General in Saugor, and the Nerbudah territories, to New South Wales, for eighteen months, for health; Capt. M. C. Webber, 34th N. I. commanding the Patna Provincial Batt. to the Mauritius, for 12 months; Assist. Surg. W. Hamilton, Civil Surg. at Bhopal, to ditto, for 8 months; Lieut. J. G. M. Home, 43d N. I. to the Straits of Malacca, for 7 months. —11. Lieut. Malim, 13th Light Inf. to Europe, for health; Lieut. Swayne, 44th Regt. to ditto, on private affairs; Lieut. Col. Kelly, 54th Regt. to do. for health. —15. Major C. P. Baker, 38th N. I. and Assist. Sec. to Government in the Mil. Department, to Europe, on private affairs; Lieut. W. H. Symes, 40th N. I. to do. for health; Brev. Capt. W. Tover, 64th N. I. to sea, for 9 months; the leave of absence granted to Lieut. A. Colebrooke, 27th N. I. is cancelled at his own request; Surg. C. O. Gardner, M.D. from May 20 to Nov. 20, to the Presidency, preparatory to making application for furlough to Europe.—May 9. Capt. J. Waterman, 13th Light Inf. to Europe, for health; Assist. Surg. C. C. Johnson, Madras Establ. to do. for do. —Capt. W. Hodgson 26th N. I. to Singapore, for health, to be absent eight months.—20. Lieut. G. Wright, 10th N. I. to Europe, for health.—June 6. Capt. Enderby, from June 29, for 6 months in extension, for health; Ens. and Adj. Richardson, Royal Regt. for 4 months, to Madras, preparatory to making application for furlough to Europe, for health.

MADRAS.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Fort St. George.—April 15, 1825. Lieut. Col. E. W. Snow, Dep. Adj. Gen. has returned to his duty from foreign service; Lt. Col. G. Cadell to resume the appointment of Assist. Adj. Gen. of the Army till further orders; Lieut. R. B. Fitzgibbon to return to his duty as Quarterm. Interp. and Paym. to 5th Light Cav.

Head Quarters, Choultry Plain.—April 20. Capt. H. Wiggins, doing duty with 22d Regt. to the charge of the Volunteers and Recruits proceeding to Rangoon, and when relieved to return to 22d Regt.; Lieut. W. Macqueen, also doing duty with do. to place himself under the orders of Capt. Wiggins.

Fort St. George.—April 26. Capt. B. R. Hitchins, 7th N. I. to be Dep. Adj. Gen. to the Madras troops serving in Ava; Capt. W. S. Steele, 24th N. I. to be Dep. Quarterm. Gen.—May 2. Lieut. J. A. Duff, of 25th N. I. to do duty with the 38th N. I. and will join the Infantry Recruiting Depot; Lieut. H. T. Hitchins, Adj. of the 19th N. I. will take charge of the Recruits for the 19th and 45th Regts. N. I. entertained by Adj. Leggatt.—3. Deputy Assist. Commiss. Gen. Capt. R. W. Sheriff to be a temp. Assist. Commis. Gen.; Lieut. J. E. Butcher, of the 48th Regt. of N. I. to be a temp. Sub-Assist. Commiss. Gen.; Capt. J. R. Laurie, 9th N. I. to be Paym. to the Light Field Division of the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force at Jaulnah, vice Kelso, promoted; Capt. R. Hunter, 4th N. I. will act as Paym. at the Presidency, during the temporary absence and on the responsibility of Capt. Watson.—9. Lieut. J. Ross, appointed to do duty with the 22d N. I. will join and do duty with Capt. Dickson's Detachment of the 38th N. I. until its arrival at Rangoon, when he will join the 22d N. I.—10. Lieut. Colonel G. Gillespie, of the 5th Light Cavalry, and Captain A. Kerr, of the 7th Light Cav. have returned to their duty without prejudice to their rank.—12th. Capt. J. Watson, of the 14th Regt. N.I., will proceed to Cuddapah, and take charge of the details at that station till further orders.—13th. Capt. R. E. Milbourne to the charge of the office of Chief Engineer; Capt. James Oliphant to act as Superint. Engineer with the Hyderabad Subs. Force; Capt. Duncan Sim to the charge of the office of Insp.-Gen. of Civil Estimates; Capt. T. P. Ball, of the 37th N.I., and Lieut. T. R. Barton, of the 36th N.I., have returned to their duty without prejudice to their rank, arrived 9th May.—15th. Lieut.-Col. E. W. Snow, Dep. Adj.-Gen. of the Army, to join the Hd.-Qrs. of the Army at Bangalore.—24th. Capt. H. Mitchell, 6th N.I., to act as Paym. to the Lt. Field Div. of the Hyderabad Subs. Force at Jaulnah until the arrival of Capt. Lawrie.—27th. Lieut. T. G. E. G. Kenny, 13th N.I., to be Adj., vice Dods, promoted; Lieut. C. A. Browne, 15th N.I.,

to be Qr.-Mast., Interp., and Paym., vice Wardell, promoted; Lieut. H. L. Harris to act as do. do. do. during the absence of Lieut. Browne; Lieut. T. L. Green, 58th N.I., to be do. do. do., vice Locke, resigned; Capt. T. P. Ball, 37th N.I., to act as Ass. Qr.-Mast.-Gen. to the Nagpore Subs. Force during the absence of Capt. Steele.—31st. Lieut. A. Seton, Horse Brig. of Art. to be Adj., vice Dickinson, promoted; Lieut. P. L. Harvey, 3d Lt. Inf., to be Adj., vice Maxtone, promoted; Lieut. D. L. Arnot to be Qr.-Mast., Interp., and Paym., vice Gordon, promoted.—June 3d, Capt. W. James, 20th N.I., and Act. Paym. in the North. Div. to be Paym., vice Stock, promoted; Lieut. I. Forrest, 29th N.I., to be Paym. at Vizagapatam, vice Chauvel, promoted; Capt. G. Dods, 13th N.I., to be Cantont.-Adj. at Palawram, vice Forrest; 6th. Capt. G. Milsom, 9th N.I., and Ensign G. P. C. Smithwaite, 26th N.I., to join the Detach. under orders for Rangoon; Capt. R. Gray, 2d N.V.B., to proceed to Cuddapah, and assume the command of that station; Capt. Watson, 14th N.I., to join his corps at Bellamy.—7th. Lieut. W. S. Carew, Artill., to be Qr.-Mast., Interp., and Paym., to the 4th or Golundar Bat.; Lieut. J. Anderson to be Adj. to the 1st Bat.; Lieut. J. Wahab, 16th N.I., to be Adj., vice Randall, promoted; Lieut. A. Pinson to be Adj., vice Wallace, promoted; Lieut. D. M'Leod to be Qr. Mast., Interp., and Paym., vice Taylor, promoted; Lieut. O. F. Stint, 16th N.I., and Lieut. T. A. Chauvel, 20th N.I., have returned to their duty without prejudice to their rank.—14th. Lieut. Sturt to do duty with the Detach. of his Regt. at Walljahbad.—17th. Capt. T. Walker, 4th N.I., to be Paym. to the Centre Div. of the Army, vice Watson, promoted.—21st. Capt G. F. Symes, of the Artil., to be Commis. of Stores at Masulipatam, vice Best, deceased; Capt. C. Hosmer, ditto, to be Dep. Commis. of Stores at Vellore, vice Symes.—26th. Ensign A. M. Glass, 49th N.I., to continue to do duty with the 2d N.I. till 1st Nov. 1825, when he will join his own Regt.—28th. Lieut. F. H. De Montmorency, 3d Lt. Cav., to be Surv. of the first class in the Survey Branch of the Qr.-Mast.-Gen.'s Depart. with the Madras troops in Ava; Lieut. E. J. Harris, 8th Lt. Cav., to be Ass. in the Qr.-Mast.-Gen.'s Depart., vice Montmorency; Lieut. J. F. G. M'Lean, 3d N.I., and Lieut. C. Turner, 35th N.I., have returned to their duty without prejudice to their rank.—July 1st, Lieut. W. T. Drewry, Superint. Engineer at Jaulnah, to officiate as Superint. Engineer with the Nagpore Subs. Force until further orders; Lieut. J. Briggs to be Dep. Ass. Qr.-Mast.-Gen. to the Mysore Div. of the Army, vice Osborn, resigned; Capt. the Baron Kutzleben, 44th N.I., to act as do. during the absence of Lieut. Briggs on Foreign Service; Lieut. N. M. Burt, 8th Lt. Cav., to be Qr.-Mast., Interp., and Paym., vice Harris; Lieut. P. Risdon, do., to be Adj., vice Burt; Lieut. C. Hadgate, 13th N.I., to be Qr.-Mast., Interp., and Paym., vice Briggs; Lieut. T. C. Hitchins, 19th N.I., to be Qr.-Mast., Interp., and Paym., vice Cuxton; Lieut. C. Nott, do., to be Adj., vice Hitchins; Lieut. G. Waymouth, 27th N.I., to be Adj., vice Cranston, deceased; Lieut. A. B. Dyce, Brigade Major at Bangalore, having returned from Foreign Service on Sick Certificate, to take charge of that appointment from this date.—5th. Capt. R. Murcott, 36th N.I., to be Dep. Judge-Advocate-Gen., vice Nixon, promoted; Lieut. W. J. Hill, Artil., to be Adj. to the 4th or Golundauze Bat. of Artil.

Fort St. George, April 15th. — The Committee appointed to ascertain the proficiency of Lieut. Rowlandson in the Persian language, have reported that his translation was eminently distinguished for chasteness of style and elegance of execution; and consider him well qualified for any duties which the knowledge of that language may require.

PROMOTIONS.

Fort St. George.—May 13. Sen. 1st Lieut. J. Dickenson to be Capt., vice Maxwell, deceased, dated 18th Nov. 1824.

Artillery.—Sen. Capt. T. S. Watson to be Major; and Sen. 1st Lieut. G. F. Symes to be Capt., vice Palmer, deceased, dated 9th June 1825; Sen. 1st Lieut. Charles Hosmer to be Capt., vice Best, deceased, dated June 10th.

1st Light Cavalry.—Sen. Cornet T. W. T. Prescott to be Lieut., vice Cheape deceased, dated June 8th 1825.

4th Light Cavalry.—Sen. Lieut. J. Taylor to be Capt.; and Sen. Cornet F. Forbes to be Lieut., vice Bridges, deceased, dated 26th May 1825.

5th Light Cavalry.—Sen. Cornet G. Elliott to be Lieut., vice Irvine, deceased, dated June 22d, 1825; Sen. Cornet E. Gaitskill to be Lieut., vice Donaldson, deceased, dated 15th May 1825.

8th Light Cavalry.—Sen. Major S. Martin to be Lieut.-Col., vice M'Leod, deceased, dated 22d May 1825.

Infantry.—Sen. Lieut.-Col. J. Prendergast to be Lieut.-Col. Commt., vice Steele, deceased; Sen. Major C. Brook, from 39th N.I., to be Lieut.-Col., vice Prendergast, promoted.

1st N.I.—Sen. Major J. Nixon to be Lieut.-Col., vice Agnew, retired, 1825; Sen. Capt. J. Ewing to be Major; Sen. Lieut. (Brev.-Capt.) R. Taylor to be Capt.; and Sen. Ensign M. W. Perreau to be Lieut., in succession to Nixon, promoted, dated July 2d, 1825.

3d N.I.—Sen. Lieut. J. Maxtone to be

Capt.; and Sen. Ensign T. J. Adams to be Lieut., vice Marr, invalid, dated 23d April 1825.

3d N.I.—Sen. Major J. Walker to be Lieut.-Col., vice Greenhill, promoted, dated 14th Oct. 1824.

8th N.I.—May 13th Sen. Lieut. Brevet-Capt. F. Fosberry to be Capt. and Senior Ensign; J. S. Bushby to be Lieut., vice Miller, deceased, dated 9th May 1825.

12th N.I.—Lieut. R. Dunmore to be Brevet Capt., dated 27th June.

13th N.I.—Sen. Ensign Everest to be Lieut., vice Robins, resigned, dated 22d June 1825.

14th N.I.—Sen. Ensign C. F. Liardel to be Lieut., vice Newton, deceased, dated 27th June 1825.

15th N.I.—Sen. Capt. A. Stock to be Major; Sen. Lieut. H. T. Van Heythuysen to be Capt.; and Sen. Ensign C. Thursby to be Lieut., vice Robertson, deceased, dated 25th April 1825; Sen Lieut. G. B. Wardell to be Capt.; and Sen. Ensign H. S. Harris to be Lieut., vice Webbe, deceased, dated 6th May 1825.

16th N.I.—Sen. Lieut. J. Randall to be Capt.; and Sen. Ensign Benj. Heyne to be Lieut., vice French killed in action, dated 30th March 1825.

19th N.I.—Sen. Lieut. (Brev.-Capt.) R. Caxton to be Capt.; and Sen. Ensign R. Prettyman to be Lieut., vice Fiott, deceased, dated 19th Nov. 1824.

22d. N. I. Sen. Capt. W. Kelso to be Major; Sen. Lieut. R. Gordon to be Capt., and Sen. Ensign W. S Mackinlay to be Lieut. vice Yeates, dec. dated 13th March, 1825.

24th. N. I. Lieut. C. Sinclair to be Capt. by Brev. dated 27th May, 1825.

27th. N. I. Sen. Ensign R. A. Joy to be Lieut. vice Cranston dec. dated 15th June, 1825.

31st. N. I. Sen. Lieut. A. Derville to be Capt.; and Sen. Ensign Gordon, to be Lieut. vice Robson, dec., dated 2d June, 1825.

39th. N. I. Sen. Capt. H. Walpole to be Major; Sen. Lieut. (Brev. Capt.) J. Ward to be Capt; and Sen. Ensign C. W. Tollemache to be Lieut. vice Brook, prom.

41st. N. I. Lieut. A. Macarthur to be Brevet Capt. from 29th June, 1825.

44th. N. I. Lieut. W. Cunningham to be Brev. Capt. from 29th June, 1825.

46th. N. I. Sen. Lieut. J. Wallace to be Capt.; and Sen. Ensign J. A. Shearman to be Lieut., vice Heade, dec., dated 13th May.

50th. N. I. Lieut. T. Locke to be Brev. Capt., dated 8th June.

REMOVALS AND POSTINGS.

Fort, St. George. May 2d, 1825.—Ensign G. P. C. Smithwaite, by request, from the 27th N. I. to the 26th N. I. in which he will rank next below Ensign S. Bayley; Ensign Smithwaite will join the Infantry Recruiting Depot.—4th. Capt. W. Preston from the Car. Eur. Bat. to the 2d Nat. V. Bat. and will join the Det. at Chingleput.—Capt. R. J. Marr, lately trans. to the Non Effec. Estab. to the 3d N. V. Bat. and will join the Detach. at Vizagaptum.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Fort. St. George.—April 26, 1825. As. Surg. A. Stevenson, ap. to the Zilla of Combaconum, vice Griffiths; As. Surg. Tilson, M. D., to act as Med. Storekeeper, during the absence of Surg. Bruce. — 27th. As. Surg. D. Archer, M. D. Horse Brig. to accompany the H. Q. of the Army to Bangalore, and to afford Medical aid to the escort.—May 2d. As. Surgeon J. P. Grant to the 22d Regt. N. I. and will join and do duty with Capt. Wiggins's Detach. until he has an opportunity of joining his own Regt.—May 20th. Messrs. Williams, Brown, and Duncan Munro, are admitted on the Estab. as As. Surgs.; As. Surg. W. Brown, to enter on the Gen. duties of the Army; As. Surgeon Duncan Munro to do duty under the Garrison Surg. of Fort St. George.—24th. Mr. Taplin is admitted on the Estab. as As. Surg., date of arrival, 6th May.—27th. Surg. H. Trotter to be Staff Surg. to the Field Force in the Dooal, vice Moore; Surg. M. S. Moore, M.D., to act as Staff Surgeon at Jaulnah, during the absence of Surg. Haines.—June 6th. Sub As. Surg. Watson, now in Med. charge of a Detach. of H.M. 48th Foot, on route to Trichinopoly, to continue to do duty with same Regt. till further orders.—10th. Med. pupil Wall dismissed from the service.—17th. As. Surg. J. Morton is appointed to the Med. Charge of the Collectorate of Coimbatoor; As. Surg. W. A. Hughes has returned to his duty without prejudice to his rank, arrived June 7th.—26th. As. Surg. Lauder to afford Med. aid to Capt. Roy's Detach. of 2d Eur. Regt. to Secundabad, where he will be relieved.—28th. As. Surg. A. E. Blest, M.D. to the Med. charge of the public Cattle Depot in Mysore, vice Wight, resign.—July 1. Patrick Miller, M. D. is admitted to the Estab. as As. Surgeon, date of arrival, 20th June, to do duty with the Garrison Surgeon of Poonamallee.

MEDICAL REMOVALS.

Head Quarters, Choultry Plain, April 27th, 1825.—Surg. Sir H. Levestre, K. T. S. from the 50th to the 1st N. I. and Surg. S. Heward from lat. to former; Surgeon J. Smart, M.D. from the 2d Horse Brig. to the 48th, N. I., and Surg. M. S Moore, M. D., from lat. to former.—June 21st. As. Surg. Stokes from 5th. N. I. to 2d Bat. of Artil.; As. Surg. W. A. Hughes to the 6th N. I.

RESIGNATION OF SERVICE.

Fort St. George, May 10.—As. Surg. Jos. Bainbridge permitted to resign the

service of H. C.—June 3d. Ensign H. Smith, 2d N. I., do.—21st. Lieut. I. Robins, 13th N. I. do.—Lieut. Col. P. V. Agnew, C. B. of Infantry is permitted to retire from the H. C. S. The Hon. the Governor in Council takes this opportunity of expressing his high sense of Lieut. Col. Agnew's meritorious conduct during a service of 25 years.

FURLOUGHS.

Fort St. George, April 19.—Lieut. J. P. Beghie, of the Artil. to sea for six months.—22. Lieut. C. Butler, 1st. Eur. Regt. to Europe for health; Lieut. D. T. Whitcombe of the Artil. to do. for do.; Ensign G. A. Smith, 26th N. I. to do. for do.; Ass. Surg. C. C. Johnson to do. for do.—26. Ass. Surg. Griffiths, to do. for one year.—29. Lieut. J. A. Lang, to do. do.—May 3. H. Cleghorn, act. Chief Engin. to the Cape and St. Helena, for six months.—3. Lieuten. W. Todd, 14th N. I. to sea for six months.—24. Captain J. Gorton, 5th Light Cavalry to sea for six months.—31. Lieut. G. Sprye, 11th N. I. to Europe for health. —June 10. Capt. F. G. Smith, 47th N. I. to do. for do.—14. Capt. G. Gill, 1st N. I. to do. for do.; Lieuts. G. Wright and W. Reece, 10th N. I. to do. for do.—20. Lieut. F. H. Ely, 42d N. I. to 31st Dec. 1825, on sick certif.—21. Lieut. R. Bradford, 33d N. I. to Europe for health; Ass. Surg. Stokes, to do. for do.—24. Lieut. A. Taylor, 4th Lt. Cav. to do. for do. via Persia; Surg. J. Smart, M. D. to sea for six months.—July 5. Lieut. H. E. C. O'Connor, 32d N. I. to Europe for health.

BOMBAY.

MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Bombay Castle.—March 26. Lieut. F. N. B. Fortune, 12th N. I. to be Adj. Quart. Mast. and Interpreter; Lieut. Col. Corseilles, 9th N. I. to command Jurat div. until the arrival of a Major Gen. on H. C. staff from England.—Apr. 7. Lt. Hart. 22d N. I. to be employed tempor. as an Ass. to Capt. do. in opening Khoomarlie Ghaut; Major (now Lieut. Col.) Kinnersley having been continued in office of Paymaster, after obtaining his majority, is removed from that appointment by order of the Hon. Court of Directors. Lieut. Col. Kinnersley will, however, officiate as Acting Paymast. till further orders.—11. Lieut. Poole, 1st Lt. Cav. to act as line Adjt. to field detachment, under Major Thomas in Myhee Caunta, in addition to Lieut. Hall, as Staff Officer with Infantry detached from Baroda under Capt. Adamson; Lieut. R. M. Hughes to be Interp. in Hindoostanee, and Quart. Mast. vice Fortune, dated 8 March.—Apr. 18. Lieut. A. Warden to be Interpret. to H. Q. of Horse Artillery; Lieut. Col. Cooper to be Chief Engineer, vice Brooks ret. to Europe.—2d. Lieut. J. W. Fraser, 2d Batt. Artil. to be Interp. in Hindoostanee, Quart. Mast. and Paymaster, vice Yeadell. app. Assist. Commiss. of Stores in North District of Guzerat.—22. Lieut. J. Outram, 23d N. I., placed at disposal of Collect. and Polit. Agent in Candeish, for the purpose of commanding a Bheel Corps to be raised in that province.—May 6. Lieut. T. W. Barlow to be Adj. vice Outram; Lieut. E. P. Ramsay to be Interp. in Hindoostanee and Mahratta lang. as Quart. Mast. vice Barlow; Ensign F. Marsh, 2d or Mahratta Interp. to 9th N. I. at Poonah, to officiate as Interp. in that language, and in Hindoostanee to H. M. 26th Regt., whilst both corps are serving at the same station.—June 27. Lieut. Bordwin of the Corps of Engineers, to be Assist. to the Executive Engineer in the Poonah division, and to conduct the Engineer's duties at Sattarah.—30. Lieut. G. Candy, Interp. and Quart. Mart. of the 3d N. I., to officiate as Interpreter in the Hindoostanee and Mahratta languages to H. M. 6th Regt. of Foot, from 20th June, until further orders.

POSTINGS.

Bombay Castle.—April 18.—Cornet F. Farrant, and G. O. Reeves, permanently to 3d Light Cav.; Cornet C. J. Owen, to 1st Lt. C.; and Ensign C. S. Thomas to 10th N. I.

MEDICAL APPOINTMENTS.

Bombay Castle, March 29.—Sub. Ass. Surgeon John Durham, dismissed the service for irreclaimable intemperance. —April 4. Ass. Surg. E. W. Edwards to have charge of medical duties of the H. C. Cruiser, Benares.—22. Ass. Surg. A. Graham, to be Civil Surg. at Kaira, vice Howison resigned.—25th. Surg. W. Gall removed from Army, and placed on Pension List in India, on scale laid down for Captains subject to approval of H. C. D.—May 3. Sen. Ass. Surg. R. Pinkey, from to be Surg., vice Gall. —June 27. Ass. Surg. H. Gibb, to be Ass. Gar. Surg. at Surat, in succession to Ass. Surg. Magee, removed to the 4th extra Batt. dated 21 June, 1825.

FURLOUGHS.

March 24.—Lieut. Col. Staunton, to Europe for health; Ass. Surg. A. J. Robertson, Artil. do. do.—June 29. Lieut. Col. B. W. D. Sealy, 3d N. I. to do. for do. —30. Capt. A. Campbell, Artil. Sen. Dep. Commiss. of Stores at the Presidency, to the Cape for 12 months; Lieut. J. Laing, Adj. of the Pioneer Batt. to ditto for nine months.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

CALCUTTA.

Births.—April 5. Mrs. J. B. Gardner, of a daughter. 16. At Chowringhee, the lady of E. Phillips, Esq., Surgeon, 62d N. I., of a daughter. 18. The lady of Lieut. H. B. Henderson, of a son. 9. The wife of Mr. T. A. Frith, indigo planter, Upper Provinces, of a son. 22. The wife of Mr. W. Cornelius, of a son. At Dum-Dum, the lady of Capt. Croxton, of the Artillery, of a daughter. 23. At Fort William, the lady of Major J. P. Boileau, of a son. 25. At Chowringhee, the lady of Major D. H. Whish, of the Artillery, of a son. May 13. The lady of W. Money, Esq. of a son. 22. Mrs. M. A. Pereira, of a son. June 8. At the house of E. Bird, Esq , the lady of E. C. Matthias, of H. M. 44th Reg., of a still-born son.

Marriages.—April 9. Mr. E. Hughes to Miss R. Namey. 12. At the Cathedral, E. Waller, Esq. to Miss Sarah Buckingham. 14. Ensign the Hon. R. V. Powys, 12th N. I. to Miss I. Beckett. 26. At the Cathedral, Capt. G. M. Greville, 16th Lancers, to Eliz. Mary, eldest daughter of J. Pearson, Esq., Adv. Gen. of Bengal. 28. At the Cathedral, G. Strettell, Esq. to Anne, only daughter of the late A. Greenlaw, Esq. May 16. At St. John's Cathedral, A. Grant, Esq. to Miss C. E. Jarrett. 18. At ditto, W. R. Fitzgerald, Esq., of the Bengal Engineers, to Sarah, eldest daughter of the late R. Fulcher, Esq. 24. Mr. C. Lefevre to Caroline, widow of the late G. Rowland, Esq. 26. At the Cathedral, Mr. G. Ackland to Miss E. D. Hudson. 26. T. G. Rochfort, Esq., Allipore, to Mary Anne, daughter of the late Capt. Hodges, of the Bengal Cavalry. 28. Mr. J. Luis to Miss B. Hendrick. June 10. At St. John's Cathedral, Mr. T. Benson to Miss Mary Matthews. At ditto, Mr. W. Hall to Miss A. E. Calcraft.

Deaths.—April 6. Mrs. Macdonald, aged 45 years. 17. Mr. L. Jackson, aged 25. 19. Mrs. M. Potter, aged 27; A. Dorrett, Esq., aged 25. May 18. Mr. J. Ravenscroft, aged 27. 19. Charles, son of Mr. J. V. Landeman, aged 2 years and 9 months. Caroline, wife of Mr. F. Myers, aged 17. 23. Of cholera, Charlotte, wife of Mr. J. G. W. Bruce, aged 25. June 2. Mr. A. Antony, aged 22. 4. The infant son of Mr. Pereira, aged 1 year. 7. Francis, lady of Captain J. Webster, aged 34. 11. At Chowringhee, the infant son of Major Bryant, Judge Advocate General, aged 1 month. 13. A. H. Webster, Esq., of the firm of Collier and Webster, attornies at law, aged 32 years.

MADRAS.

Births.—March 21, Mrs. Ferrae, of a daughter.—23. The lady of Lieut. F. Blundell, of ditto.—May 7. Mrs. M. D'Lima, of ditto.—The lady of Major Wilkinson, of the Artillery of ditto.—30. The lady of H. Foord, Act. Ass. Adj.-Gen. of Artillery, of a son.—June 8. The lady of G. Tod, Esq. of a ditto.—11. The lady of Joseph Bainbridge, Esq., of a son.—22. The Lady of Lieut.-Colonel Torrens, of a daughter.—26. Mrs. Burke, of a daughter.—28. The lady of Major Napier, of ditto.—July 2. The lady of the Rev. A. Webster, of a son.—8. Mrs. Taylor, of a daughter.

Marriages.—April 28. Mr. J. Prendergast to Miss M. Macgraham.—28. Mr. P. Carstairs to Miss M'Leod.—May 9. Mr. L. S. Lefevre to Miss A. Lamoury.—19. J. R. Cuppage, Esq., Penang C. S., to Ann Bellenden, third daughter of J. Underwood, Esq., Garrison Surgeon, Vizagapatan.—25. Mr. J. de Vaz to Miss O. Camus.—30. Mr. A. J. M'Kertish to Harriett, only daughter of the late Mr. J. M'Rae, Ass. Rev. Surveyor.—June 6. Mr. F. Lamoury to Thomasia V., third daughter of the late Mr. F. Aubray.—7. Lieut. and Adj. C. Hosmer, R. Artillery, to Miss E. Scott, second daughter of the late J. D. White, Esq., Member of the Medical Board.—June 22. Mr. F. Thompson to Miss E. Cornado.—Mr. E. Bell to Mrs. H. E. Carty.—25. Mr. S. Aratoon to Miss A. Kennedy.—14. Mr. Sub. Ass. Surgeon G. T. Webb to Miss E. Gorman.—July 1. At St. Thomas' Mount, J. Walker, Esq., C. S., to Margaret Sommerville, second daughter of W. Allan, Esq., of Leith.—4. Lieut. D. Macleod, 4th Light Cavalry, to Emily, second daughter of the late Major-Gen. Durand.—7. William, eldest son of W. Gordon, Esq., late of the H. C. C. S., to Eliza, daughter of G. Garrow, Esq., of the same service.

Deaths.— May 3. Mr. O. Balfour. 12. Mr. J. Crure, aged 24.—16. Mrs. M. Richardson, aged 24; Mrs. Skillern, aged 40; Col. James Erskine, C. B. H. M. 48th foot.—June 1. Capt. F. Robson, 31st N. I.—7. Lieut. G. Cheape, 1st Lt. Ca[illegible]—14. D. L. De Rozario, of cholera, aged 56. [We are happy to correct a mistake in our last Number. The death of Mrs. Chamier was announced as taking place the 13th April last. That lady was safely delivered of a son on that day.]

INTERIOR OF INDIA.

Births.—March 2. At Berhampore, the lady of Lieut. Bond, 47th N. I. of a

son.—22. At Secrora, the lady of Lieut. and Adj. Minto, 18th N. I., of a daughter, still-born; at Nusserabad, the lady of Lieut. Thompson, 56th N. I., of a daughter.—April 2. At Singapore, the lady of W. P. Paton, Esq. of a daughter. 4. At Torandah Factory in Purneah, Mrs. G. Buckland, of a daughter.—6. At Carangoly, the lady of B. Cunliff, Esq. C. S. of a son.—14. At Cannanore, the lady of Major G. Jackson, 19th N. I. of a daughter.—15. At Futtyghurh, the lady of S. Reid, Esq. of a son.—18. At Cawnpore, Mrs. W. Gee, of a daughter.—19. At Allahabad, the lady of F. Corbyn, Esq. B. M. Serv. of a daughter.—19. At Benares, the lady of the Rev. D. Fraser, of a son.—22. At Futtyghurh, the lady of H. R. Cooper, Esq. of a son.—22. At Chunar, the lady of Lieut. Col. Playfair, of Loodiana, of a son.—28. At Agra, at the house of Capt. Chadwick, the lady of R. Brown, Esq. Surgeon, 23d N. I. of a daughter.—30. At Manantoddy, Mrs. Pinto of a son.—4. At sea, on board the *Coromandel*, the lady of Lt. J. F. G. McLean, 3d Lt. Inf. of a son; at Benares, the lady of M. J. Tierney, Esq. C. S. of a daughter.—10. At Tellicherry, the lady of W. Mason, Esq. B. C. S. of a son.—10. At Vepery, the wife of Mr. P. Reiley, of a son.—11. At Quilon, the lady of Capt. A. Haultain, of a daughter; at Bangalore, the lady of Capt. E. Osbourne, 2d N.I. of a daughter. 17. At Trichinopoly, the lady of Capt. C. A. Elderton, Mil. Paym. South Div. of a son.—18. At the house of Brigadier Vanrenen, Commander in Rohilcund, the lady of Lieut. C. P. Comyne, Commanding 53d N. I. of a daughter; at Masulipatam, the lady of C. Roberts, Esq. C. S. of a son.—20. At Salem, the lady of G. Drury, Esq. of a daughter.—22. At Secunderabad, the lady of J. Morton, Esq. Ass. Surg. of a son.—23. At Vepery, the lady of Capt. Clemons, 9th N. I., of a son.—26. At Dinapore, Mrs. A. Jones, of a daughter; the lady of T. Allsop, Esq. of a daughter; at Pursewaukum, the wife of Mr. G. G. Warwick, of a son; at Delhi, the lady of Capt. T. F. Hutchinson, Commanding Delhi Prov. Batt. of a daughter.—29. At Tranquebar, Mrs. M. C. Penman of a daughter.—30. At Pondicherry, the lady of J. Benjamin, Esq. of a daughter.—June 1. At Purneah, the lady of W. Woollen, Esq. B. C. S. of a son.—2. At Samulcottah, the lady of H. Memardiere, Esq. 29th N. I. of a son. 3. At Kamptee, the lady of Capt. Bentley, Act. Paymast. of the Nagpore Subs. Force, of a daughter.—6. The lady of Lieut. J. S. Impey, Paym. to the Nagpore Subs. Force, of a son.—7. At Chandernagore, the lady of Mons. Parazet, of a son; at Dacca, the lady of John Drew, Esq. C. S. of a son.—12. At Belgaum, the lady of Lieut. J. Taylor, 4th Lt. Cav. of a son.—17. At Secunderabad, the lady of Assist. Surg. M.D. H. M. 30th Regt. of a daughter.—22. At Nagpore, the lady of Lieut. Stack, 3d Bombay Lt. Cav. of a son.—25. At Nellore, the lady of E. Smalley, Esq. of a daughter.—July 1. At Bycullah, the lady of David Malcolm, Esq. of a daughter.

Marriages.—At Cochin, Lieut. F. Haleman, 15th Native Infantry, to Emilia, daughter of J. Rodgers, Esq., of Cochin.—March 12th. At Bareilly, Lieut. and Quarter-Master Griffin, 24th N.I., to Elizabeth Margaret, eldest daughter of Major Daru, H. M. 11th Light Dragoons. —31st. At Delhi, William Bell, Esq., C. S. of Moradabad, to Miss H. C. Matteson.—April 3d. At Monghyr, at the residence of Dr. Tytler, T. M. Farnworth, Esq., 43d N.I., to Eleanor, eldest daughter of the late P. Gillis, Esq.—7th. At Bankepoor, Francis Gouldsbury, Esq., H. C. S., to Charlotte Amelia, youngest daughter of the Hon. J. A. Elphinstone, sen. Member of the Board of Revenue in the Central Provinces.—10th. At Patna, Mr. Thomas Thriepland to Miss Mary Ann Chamberlain, of Dinapore. —11th. At Pulicat, Sarah Leonora, only daughter of the late C. W. Canterversscher, to the Rev. E. Irion, Dutch Missionary of that station.—27th. At Kishnaghur, Lieut. F. B. Corfield, 20th N.I., to Miss Ann Nairne, daughter of the late Major R. Nairne, 6th Regt. of Cavalry.— May 2d. At Muttra, at the house of Capt. J. Angelo, 3d Lt. Cavalry, John Low, Esq., Superint. Surg. Bengal Estab., to Mrs. C. Ferris, widow of the late Major Ferris, B. A.; at Poonamallee, Mr. Qr.-Master A. Gow to Miss E. Burn.—10th. At Patna, Mr. J. W. Jacob, eldest son of W. Jacob, Esq., of Futtyghur, to Miss L. D. Abreo.—July 5th. At Bangalore, Mr. J. Reggie to Ann Maria, third daughter of Mr. F. Deas, Sub.-Ass-Surg. of that station.

Deaths.—Jan. 18, 1825. At Rangoon, of wounds received in action with the enemy, Captain W. G. Clark.—March 25th. At Vellore, Mr. Abel Penn, Commissary of Ordnance, aged 68. He served the H. C. nearly half a century.— 26th. At Masulipatam, Capt. Charles Forbes, aged 39. This brave officer fell a victim to his honourable exertions in the service of his country at Rangoon.— April 3d. At Cawnpore, the infant son of J. Wemyss, Esq.—6th. At Nacrekul, on route to Sholapore, Ensign W. A. Saxon, 44th N.I., of cholera, aged 21.— 8th. At Meerut, Frances, widow of the late W. H. Wallis, His Majesty's 24th Light Dragoons.—10th. At Dacca, the infant son of Mr. J. N. Kallonas.— 15. At Rangoon, Lieut. Williamson, H. M. Roy. Regt.—17. At Barrackpore, Eliza Anne, daughter of W. H. Bell, Esq. aged 4 years.—21. At Secunderabad, of cholera, the lady of Capt. Binning, 19th N. I.—23. At Poonah, Catherine,

wife of Mr. F. R. Luxa, Clerk in the Commissioners' Office; at the Hyderabad Presidency, the infant son of Mr. A. Truvale, aged 13 months.—24. At Moorshedabad, at the house of the Hon. W. Leslie Melville, of cholera, J. Hyde, Esq. of Manchester.—24. At Secunderabad, Mary, wife of the Rev. J. Boys, M. A.—25, At Neilgherry, Major W. M. Robertson, 15th N. I.—May 3. At Alleppey, at the house of Capt. Gordon, Eliza, lady of Capt. J. W. Falconer, aged 20.—4. At Intally, Ensign Hurrell, 6th N.I.—5. At Trivandrum, Capt. J. J. Webb, 15th N. I.—8. At Cuddapah, Capt. H. Miller, 8th N. I.—10. At Vepery, the wife of Mr. R. Reiley.—11. At Cawnpore, the infant daughter of Lieut. H. L. Worrall, Dep. Pay-mast.—12. At Cuddalore, H. W. Kensington, Esq. C. S.—13. At Cuttack, Mrs. E. Cooper, aged 20; at Royapettah, Mr. Etienne Andrew and Daughter, from an accidental explosion; at Cuttack, the only daughter of the Rev. J. Peggs, aged 5 months.—14. At Trichinopoly, Lieut. A. G. Donaldson, 5th Lt. C. 15. At Bangalore, Fanny, infant daughter of Capt. C. Custon, Paym. 19th N. I.; at Col. Hessing's, Diggah, Miss Mary Whittle, niece of Capt. T. Waterman, aged 29.—18. At Berhampore, Elizabeth, wife of Mr. S. Adam, writer in Collector's Cutcherry, at do.—20. At Trichenopoly, George Forbes, son of J. Bird, Esq. aged 3 years; at Trichinopoly, A. Fenton, Esq. Ass. Surg. of H. M. 48th Regt.—21. At Belgaum, Lieut. Col. A. Mac Leod, 4th N. Cav. commanding a Lt. Field Detach. of the Dooab Field Force, aged 44.—22. At Meerut, Lieut. W. Beveridge, Inv. Establishment. 25th. In Camp, near Belgaum, of cholera, Capt. R. Bridges, 44th L. C.—26th. At Dacca, the infant son of Mr. M. N. Kallonas, aged two years.—28th. At Belgaum, at the house of J. W. Shearman, Esq., Rosa Eliza, wife of Lieut. G. Parks, 22d Lt Inf.—June 1. At Nagpore, Mr. Cond. J. M. M'Gillan.—2d, At Kamptee, the infant daughter of Capt. W. N. Pace, 25th N.I.—4th. At Bauleah Residency, Ann Maria, daughter of R. B. Berney, Esq. C. S. aged 14 months.—5th. At Bangalore, Mr. J. H. A. Craig, aged 45.—6th. At Wallajahbad, Ensign H. Dixon, 7th N.I.—7th. At Dacca, the infant son of J. Mackay, Esq. aged nine months.—8th. At Tranquebar, Miss H M. Offvorius, aged 13.—11th. At Sulkea, H. Blundell, Esq. H.C. Civ. Service, aged 30.—14th. At Courtallum, Lieut. and Adjut. W. Cranston, 27th M.N.I. of dysentery; at Kamptee, Ens. T. White, 41st N.I.—15th. At Bolarum, Ann, wife of David Henderson, Esq. Cantonment Surg., and third daughter of C. Hay, Esq. of Balendoch, Perthshire; at Woon, Georgiana Young, daughter of Captain Isacke, Assistant Resident at Nagpore; at Ahmedabad, Mr. E. Watkins, Pension establishment.—15th. At Ramnad, the infant son of Major Campbell.—20th. At Hurnee, W. Ferril, son of the Rev. S. Stevenson.—21st. At Negapatam, Lieut. Irwin, 5th Lt. Cav.—22d. At Pondicherry, William George, son of the late Major H. G. Harvey, H.C.S. aged three years.—22d. Miss M. G. Harrison, aged 16.—24th. At Arcot, Mr. A. Corbett, aged 37.—25th. At Thome, Mr. T. Barrett, eldest son of Col. Barrett.—27th. At Luz, Mrs. H. D'Silva.—June 30th. At Masulipatam, J. H. Jones, Esq. Superint. Surg. of the North div. of the Army.—July 1st. (M.) Mr. W. Stapleton, aged 28.—10th. At Royapooram, Mrs. Ann Childs.

CEYLON.

Birth.—March 9th. At Colombo, the lady of Capt. Braybrooke, Cey. Regt., of a daughter.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Marriage.—March 18th. T. C. Harrison, Esq. Bengal Med. Service, to Miss Stuart, daughter of the Rev. M. Stuart, Symon's Town.

GREAT BRITAIN, &c.

Births.—Nov. 14, in Montague-sq., the lady of James Taylor, Esq. of a daughter.

Marriages.—Nov. 8, at Mary-le-bone Church, Sir J. T. Claredge, Recorder of Prince of Wales' Island, to Miss M. P. Scott, eldest daughter of Vice Admiral Scott.

10th. At St. George's, Hanover-sq., the Rev. T. Schreiber, A. M., Rector of Bradwell, Essex, to Sarah, third daughter of Rear Admiral Bingham, Commander in Chief of His Majesty's ships in the East Indies.

14th. At Minto, Roxburgshire, J. P. Boileau, Esq. eldest son of J. P. Boileau, Esq. Mortlake, Surrey, to Lady Catherine Elliott, daughter of the late, and sister of the present Earl of Minto.

Deaths.—Nov. 1. At Clifton, Harriette, younger daughter of the late C. Ranken, Esq., H. C. S.—At Cheltenham, Mrs. M'Leod, relict of the late Capt. M'Leod, H. C. S.—At Bencoolen, on the 2d of July, Lieut. W. Rolfe, R.N.

At Iconium, in Asia Minor, T. A. Bromhead, M.D., formerly of Christ's College, and only son of the Rev. E. Bromhead, of Reapham, near Lincoln. This enterprising traveller, after five years' absence, was hastening homewards, when arrested by sudden and fatal disease.—At sea, on board the Providence, on her passage from the East Indies, soon after leaving Bengal, Mrs. Smith, aged 27, the lady of John Smith, Esq., of Drongan, Ayrshire, N. B., of the firm of Fergusson and Co., Calcutta.—On his passage from Calcutta, S. N. Leigh, eldest son of the Rev. Leigh Richmond, Rector of Turvoy, Beds., aged 26.

COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE.

CALCUTTA.—June 13, 1825.

Government Securities, &c.

Buy.]	Rs. As.		Rs. As.	[Sell.
Premium	28 0	Remittable Loan 6 per cent.	27 0	Premium
Discount	1 8	5 per Cent. Loan	2 8	Discount
At par	0 12	4 per Cent. Loan	1 8	Ditto.

MADRAS.—July 11, 1825.

6 per cent. paper 32 per cent. prem.
5 .. .. 2 to 8 per cent. prem. according to Registry.
4 0

Exchange at 106¼ Mad. Rs. per 100 Sa. Rs., the rate now adopted by the Merchants and Agents at Madras, in all purchases and sales of Government Securities.

Exchange on England 1 | 8¼ at 3 months' sight.
.. .. 1 | 9 at 6 months' do.
Ditto on Bengal 105 at 108 Mad. Rs. per 100 S. Rs.
Ditto on Bombay par.

BANK OF BENGAL RATES.

Discount of approved Private Bills	Sa. Rs. 6	0
Do. of Government Ditto	5	0
Ditto of Salary Ditto	5	0
Interest on Loans on Deposit of Company's Paper for 2 months fixed	6	0

BOMBAY.—July 2, 1825.

EXCHANGE.

On London, 6 months, 1s. 10d. per Rupee.
Calcutta, 30 days, 1080 Bombay Rs. per 100 Siccas.
Madras, do. 98¼ Bombay Rs. per 100 Madras.

COMPANY'S PAPER.

Remittable, 138 Bombay Rs. per 100 Siccas.
Unremittable, 106 a 116 do.
According to Registry.

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date. 1825.	*Port of Arrival.*	*Ship's Name.*	*Commander.*	*Place of Depart.*	*Date.*
Nov. 2	Off Portsmouth	Pss. Charlotte	Blyth ..	Bengal ..	May 24
Nov. 2	Portsmouth ..	Ann & Amelia	Ayscough ..	Singapore	May 15
Nov. 2	Portsmouth ..	Suffolk ..	Endierk ..	Batavia ..	July 15
Nov. 2	Off Cowes ..	Minerva ..	Bell ..	Singapore	May 25
Nov. 3	Off Dover ..	Liberal ..	Matson ..	Batavia ..	May 14
Nov. 3	Downs ..	Timandra ..	Wray ..	Bengal ..	Apr. 20
Nov. 3	Off Portsmouth	Deveron ..	Billett ..	N. S. Wales	May 26
Nov. 3	Downs ..	Harriet ..	Fulcher ..	Singapore..	May 30
Nov. 3	Downs ..	Dart ..	Hastings ..	South Seas..	Aug. 8
Nov. 3	Off Southworth	Alexander ..	Robe ..	Batavia ..	June 18
Nov. 7	Downs ..	Monmouth ..	Simpson ..	Cape ..	Apr. 19
Nov. 9	Downs ..	Abberton ..	Percival ..	Bombay ..	July 15
Nov. 9	Dover ..	Pioneer ..	Ward ..	Batavia ..	July 23
Nov. 19	Portsmouth ..	Sophia ..	Barclay ..	Bengal ..	May —
Nov. 22	Off Portsmouth	Hooghley ..	Reeves ..	Batavia ..	Aug. 15
Nov. 22	Off Portsmouth	Comet ..	Corneston ..	Batavia ..	Aug. 6
Nov. 24	Off Portsmouth	Margaret ..	Henderson ..	Mauritius..	Aug. 22

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	*Port of Arrival.*	*Ship's Name.*	*Commander.*	*Port of Depart.*
1825.				
Mar. 7	Penang	Couch	Musson	London
April 22	Sydney	Hooghley	Reeves	London
April 29	Sydney	Royal Charlotte	———	London
May 3	Sydney	Lady East	Talbert	London
May 3	V. Diemen's Ld.	Elizabeth	Collins	London
May 15	New S. Wales	Hercules	Vaughan	London
May 15	Sydney	City of Edinburgh	M'Kellan	Liverpool
May 23	Bombay	Abberton	Percival	London
May 26	Bombay	Cornwall	Morrison	Liverpool
May 29	Bengal	Rockingham	Beach	London
May 30	Bombay	Windsor	Haviside	London
May 31	Bombay	Vansittart	Dalrymple	London
June 3	Madras	Atlas	Hone	London
June 4	Bengal	Waterloo	Alsayar	London
June 5	Bombay	Inglis	Serle	London
June 5	Bombay	Kelly Castle	Adams	London
June 7	Madras	Lady Campbell	Irvine	London
June 8	Bombay	Royal George	Ellerby	London
June 10	Bombay	Amity	Gray	London
June 20	Madras	Coromandel	Boyes	London
June 20	Madras	Herefordshire	Hope	London
June 20	Madras	Prss. Charlotte	Biden	London
June 23	Madras	Lord Suffield	Depral	London
June 25	Batavia	Mary	Steele	London
June 27	Bengal	Bengal	Pearce	Liverpool
June 27	Ceylon	Tiger	Kent	London
July 1	Batavia	Comet	Crineston	London
July 2	Batavia	Guardian	Sutherland	London
July 4	Madras	Hope	Flint	London
July 6	Madras	Madras	Fayrer	London
July 18	Batavia	Borneo	Ross	Lond. and Cape
July 19	Batavia	Philotaxe	Rounds	London
July 22	Batavia	Sir Charles Scott	Wise	Liverpool
Aug. 9	Anjier	Bombay	Charilie	London
Aug. 12	Batavia	Batavia	Blair	London
Aug. 12	Anjier	Lowther Castle	Baker	London
Aug. 13	Anjier	Buckinghamshire	Glassport	London
Aug. 13	Anjier	Warren Hastings	Rawes	London
Sept. 17	Teneriffe	Toward Castle	Jeffrey	London
Oct. 8	Madeira	Fairlie	Short	London
Oct. 15	Madeira	Sir Wm. Wallace	Brown	London
Oct. 17	Madeira	Hibberts	Theaker	London

DEPARTURES FROM EUROPE.

Date.	*Port of Depart.*	*Ship's Name.*	*Commander.*	*Destination.*
1825.				
Nov. 10	Deal	Elizabeth	Badger	Mauritius
Nov. 11	Portsmouth	George	Clark	Bengal
Nov. 11	Portsmouth	Pyramus	Brodie	Cape, Ceylon, Bombay
Nov. 12	Liverpool	Grecian	Steele	Bombay
Nov. 12	Liverpool	Mary	Beachcroft	Mauritius
Nov. 12	Deal	Falcon Steam Pt.	Moore	Batavia
Nov. 13	Liverpool	Wm. Young	Morrison	Bengal
Nov. 14	Cowes	De Onderneming	Letzey	Batavia
Nov. 19	Deal	Luna	Knox	Cape
Nov. 25	Portsmouth	Ganges	Boulbee	Madras and Bengal

SHIPS SPOKEN WITH AT SEA.

Date. 1825.	Lat. and Long.		Ship's Name.	Commander.	P. of Depart.	Destination.
June 21	11 S.	120 50 E.	Lady East	.. Talbert	.. Sydney	.. Bombay
July 9			Royal Charlotte	———	London	.. Madras
July 9			Malcolm	.. Eyles	.. London	.. Madras
July 10			Guildford	.. Johnson	.. London	.. Bengal
July 21			Marq. Welling.	Blanshard	London	.. Bengal
Aug. 3			Bussorah Merch.	Stewart	.. London	.. Bengal
Oct. 1	35 N.	11 W.	Claudine.	.. Chrystie	.. London	.. Bengal
Oct. 11	39 N.	12 W.	Resource	.. Tomlin	.. London	.. Bengal
Oct. 11	15 N.	25 W.	Marq. Wellesley	Coulson	.. London	.. Mauritius
Oct. 27	16 N.	26 W.	Columbus	.. Brown	.. London	.. Bengal
Oct. 29	40	12	Joseph	Christopherson	London	.. Bengal

GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

PASSENGERS HOMEWARD.

By the *Minerva*, from Singapore.—Richard Prince, Esq. from St. Helena.

By the *Cornwall*, from Bombay for Liverpool.—Mrs. Morrison.

By the *Abberton*, from Bombay—Lieut.-Col. Sealy, 3d Regt. N.I.; Mrs. Sealy and Masters Sealey; Mrs. Forster; Misses Forster and Furlong; Lieut. Furlong, H. M. 20th Regt.; Capt. Sealey, H.M. Marines, died at sea. Sept. 1, 1825; Lieut. Hawkins, H. C. Marine; Lieut. Stalker, Pioneers; Capt. Campbell, H. C. Artillery, landed at St. Helena; Cornet Hamilton, 3d Bengal Cavalry; Capt. Connor, H. M. 20th Regt.

By the *Timandra*, from Bengal.—Lt. R. W. Halked; Mr. H. H. Court.

By the *Adrian*, from Bengal; Lieut. Emley, Bengal Artillery; Lieut. Dormer, Bengal Infantry; Mr. W. Barlow.

By the *Sophia*, from Bengal and Madras.—Mrs. Barclay; Mr. Wright; Capt. Jones, H. M. 69th Regt. and Mrs. Jones; Capt. Pernam, H. M. 45th Regt.; Mr. Carruthers and Mrs. Carruthers and child; Miss Clays; Masters Dixon; Capt. Eyre, of the Royals; Lieut. Reece, from the Mauritius; Mrs. Miller and three children; Dr. Dick, from Bengal; Mr. Cunningham, free Mariner.

PASSENGERS OUTWARD.

By the *Ganges*: Capt. E. M. Boultbee, for Madras and Bengal.—Major Davis; Capt. and Mrs. Cumberledge; Capt. and Mrs. Thomas; Misses Trueman and Wright; Lieut Cameron; Capt. Stokes; Messrs. Mills, M'Kenzie, Warren, Johnson, Brooks, Church, Quin, Pellewe, Inman, Talbot, Proudfoot, Toulmin, Ellis, Godrington, Wright, M'Leods, Robertson, Russell, Black, Eld, M'Donald, Norgate, Walker, Pennyfather, and Ekins.

By the *Catherine*: Macculloch, for Bengal.—Col. Fagan; Mr. and Mrs. Roberts; eleven young Ladies; Messrs. Goodday, Reid, Ouseley, Chinn, Wilson, Munro, Salter, and Cotton—Cadets; Mr. Bourdillon, Writer; Messrs. Wilkie, Duncan, Fitzgerald, Tait, Lissmore, Campbell, Hutton, and Mears—Cadets.

By the *Columbus*, Brown, for Bengal—Mr. and Mrs. Sheppard; Miss Porteous; Mr. Fender, Assist. Surgeon; Messrs. Carstairs, Bryant Nuttall, and Reid—Cadets; Capt. and Miss Newton; 34 Lascars.

STEAM NAVIGATION TO INDIA.

From an announcement which will be found among our Shipping Advertisements, it will be seen that a Vessel is about to start for India uniting the comforts of a sailing ship with the occasional aid of the power of Steam. We are given to understand that great pains have been taken to make the accommodations complete; and that more than ordinary speed in the voyage is certain. We further learn that this Ship is the first of a series similarly equipped, which, for the next twelve months, will sail regularly every other month, but which is eventually intended to form a punctual monthly conveyance between England and India, the advantages of which are too evident to need illustration.

